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THE CŌLAS

SECOND EDITION

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

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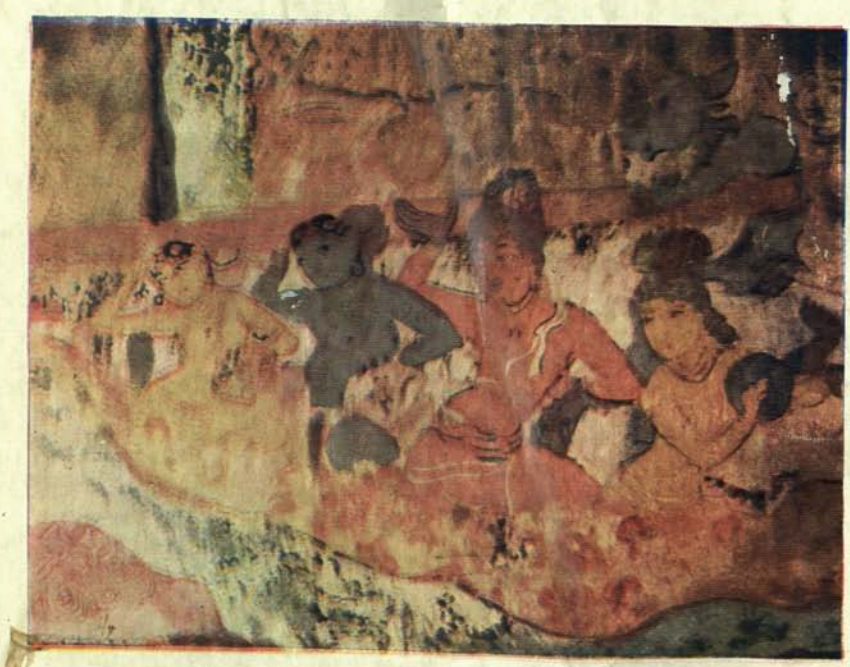

Gandharvas and Apsarases

Dancing Apsaras

THE CŌLAS

BY

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2nd Edn

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This book has been out of print for many years now and I am grateful to the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Madras for the invitation they extended to me to revise it for a second edition. The first edition appeared in two volumes in 1935 and 1937, each volume accompanied by an appendix of select inscriptions containing abstracts of unpublished inscriptions. This appendix has been omitted in the present edition partly to save space, and partly because the evidence is now fairly familiar to the reader. There is also another valid reason. The Central Advisory Board of Archaeology has adopted a resolution advising the Union Department of Archaeology to bring out at an early date an up-to-date Topographical List of South Indian Inscriptions similar to the well-known list of *The Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* by Prof. V. Rangachari, and I understand work on these lists is being undertaken, besides steps for speeding up the publication of the texts of these inscriptions.

The promise of a separate study of Cōḷa Art held forth in the Preface to the first edition has not materialised; difficulties in the way of a comprehensive treatment are unfortunately still too many. These will disappear only if the Archaeological Department or a South Indian University undertakes a systematic survey and description of the monuments with photographs, plans, and elevations on the model of what has been done for Kambuja, Annam and Java by the French and Dutch archaeologists working in those countries. This work is beyond the resources at the command of the present writer who has therefore, with the permission of the authorities of the University of Madras, added a fresh chapter to the book giving a summary account of the main features in the history of Cōḷa Art with adequate illustrations. In the preparation of this chapter he has received considerable aid from Mr. K. R. Srinivasan, Superintendent for Archaeology, Southern Circle, and Dr. S. Paramasivan, Archaeological

Chemist in the South—both from their writings and from personal discussions with them.

The whole text has been carefully revised, and in part rewritten in the light of recent discoveries and interpretations. Some ancillary matter on feudatory dynasties which seemed unduly to hamper the narrative has been omitted, and the foot-notes collected at the end of each chapter instead of being distributed at the foot of the pages.

My obligations to previous writers will be evident from the notes. For the new chapter on Art I have availed myself of the writings of the late Jouveau-Dubreuil and of Mr. Percy Brown in particular. The sources of the illustrations are indicated in the description of plates and it will be noticed that I owe most of the illustrations to the courtesy of the Director-General of Archaeology. Mr. K. R. Srinivasan has allowed me to reproduce some photographs in his private collection. Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, Government Epigraphist for India, not only extended ample facilities for consulting texts of inscriptions, but furnished some valuable references, placed his transcript of the Karandai Plates at my disposal, and also permitted me to reproduce the excellent seal of these plates, the better preserved of the two seals on them; this now takes the place of the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates included in the first volume of the first edition.

Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent of the Madras Museum, and Mr. P. R. Srinivasan, his archaeological assistant, as well as the numismatic assistant of the Madras Museum, very readily enabled me to consult the Coins of the Dhavalesvaram hoard, though it entailed a considerable inroad on their precious working hours on more than one occasion; Mr. P. R. Srinivasan also kindly undertook the detailed description of the illustrations which is appearing under his name. Lastly Mr. H. S. Ramanna, Lecturer in Indology in the Mysore University, kindly undertook the task of indexing the book.

To all these friends I tender my most grateful thanks. The Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, has been evincing a personal interest in

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	SOURCES ..	1
II.	EARLY NOTICES ..	18
III.	CŌḶAS IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE ..	30
IV.	GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ŚANGAM AGE ..	63
V.	FROM THE ŚANGAM AGE TO VIJAYĀLAYA ..	100
VI.	THE RISE OF VIJAYĀLAYA. ĀDITYA I (c. A.D. 850-907)	110
VII.	PARĀNTAKA I (A.D. 907-955) ..	120
VIII.	FROM THE DEATH OF PARĀNTAKA I (A.D. 955) TO THE ACCESSION OF RĀJARĀJA I (A.D. 985) ..	140
IX.	RĀJARĀJA THE GREAT (A.D. 985-1014) ..	168
X.	RĀJĒNDRA (A.D. 1012-1044) ..	194
XI.	THE SUCCESSORS OF RĀJĒNDRA (A.D. 1044-70) ..	245
XII.	THE ACCESSION OF KULŌTTUNGA I (A.D. 1070) ..	285
XIII.	KULŌTTUNGA I (A.D. 1070-1120) ..	301
XIV.	THE SUCCESSORS OF KULŌTTUNGA I (A.D. 1120-63) ..	342
XV.	RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II AND KULŌTTUNGA III (A.D. 1163-1216) ..	365
XVI.	RĀJARĀJA III AND RĀJĒNDRA III, THE END (1216-1279) ..	417
XVII.	THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CŌḶA EMPIRE ..	445
XVIII.	LOCAL GOVERNMENT ..	486
XIX.	TAXATION: FINANCE ..	520
XX.	POPULATION: SOCIAL DIVISIONS: STANDARD OF LIFE ..	546
XXI.	AGRICULTURE AND LAND TENURES ..	567
XXII.	INDUSTRY AND TRADE ..	592
XXIII.	COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ..	613
XXIV.	EDUCATION AND LEARNING ..	628
XXV.	RELIGION ..	635
XXVI.	LITERATURE UNDER THE CŌḶAS ..	662
XXVII.	CŌḶA ART ..	693
	DESCRIPTION OF FIGURES IN THE PLATES ..	749
	INDEX ..	771

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FRONTISPIECE

PLATE I.

FIG. 1. General view of the Śiva temple, Vijayālayacōḷēśvara on Mēlamalai, from north-west, Nārttāmalai (Pudukkottah State), Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 2. The main temple, Vijayālayacōḷēśvara on Mēlamalai, from north-west.

PLATE II.

FIG. 3. Agastyēśvara temple (Śiva, early Cōḷa) from north-west, Panangudi, (Pudukkottah State) Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 4. Śiva temple, early Cōḷa style, Ēnādi (Pudukkottah State), Tiruchirapalli Dist.

PLATE III.

FIG. 5. Śiva temple — Vimāna (early Cōḷa) from north-east Koṛkai, Tirunelveli Dist.

FIG. 6. Nāgēśvara temple, Kumbakonam.

PLATE IV.

FIG. 7. Mūvarkōvil, No. 1, south view, in Koḍumbāḷūr, (Pudukkottah State), Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 8. View of the Agastyēśvara shrine at Mēlappaḷuvūr, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

PLATE V.

FIG. 9. Agastyēśvara temple—Lion Pillars, at Mēlappaḷuvūr, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 10. Koranganātha temple, from south-west, Śrīnivāsanallur, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

PLATE VI.

FIG. 11. Bṛhadīśvara temple, general view, from south-east, Tanjore, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 12. Bṛhadīśvara temple — Vimāna from North-west, Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

PLATE VII.

FIG. 13. Bṛhadīśvara temple, north doorway with Dvārapālakas on the main shrine, Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 14. Laddigam, entrance *gōpura*.

PLATE VIII.

FIG. 15. Airāvatēśvara temple, general view, from south-east, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

PLATE IX.

FIG. 16. North-east view of Airāvatēśvara temple, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 17. South-west view of Alankāra maṇḍapa in Airāvatēśvara temple, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

PLATE XXV.
FIG. 63. Bṛhadīśvara temple, metallic image of Naṭarāja at Tanjore.
FIG. 64. Naṭarāja, Velāṅganṇi (Tanjore).
FIG. 65. Naṭarāja, Tiruvālangāḍu (Chittoor).

PLATE XXVI.
FIG. 66. Image of Naṭarāja with eight hands, front and back view, Nallūr, Tanjore Dist.
FIG. 67. Śiva temple — Metallic image of Naṭarāja (Sandhyā-Tāṇḍavamūrti), Tiruvarangulam, Pudukkottah State.

PLATE XXVII.
FIG. 68. Bronze — Image of Śiva as Vṛṣabhāntika with Umā, front view, (Treasure trove) Tiruveṇkāḍu, (Shiyali Taluq), Tanjore Dist.
FIG. 69. Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷēśvara temple — Metallic image of Śiva (Vṛṣabhāntika).

PLATE XXVIII.
FIG. 70. Sukhāsanamūrti (late), Pudukkottah museum.
FIG. 71. Bronze statue of Kirātamūrti — Tiruvēṭkaḷam near Chidambaram.
FIG. 72. Metallic image of Kirātārjunamūrti, Radhanarasimhapuram, Tanjore Dist.
FIG. 73. Metallic image of Ālinganamūrti at Tiruvāḍuturai, Tanjore Dist.

PLATE XXIX
FIG. 74. Metallic image of Bhikṣāṭanamūrti (Pichcāṇḍār) in the Śiva temple at Tirunāmanallūr.
FIG. 75. Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple — Metallic image of Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, (late), Tirucheṅgōd, Salem Dist.
FIG. 76. Subrahmaṇya temple — Metallic image of Skanda with four arms, Tiruviḍaikaḷi, Tanjore Dist.

PLATE XXX.
FIG. 77. Viṣṇu.
FIG. 78. Viṣṇu.
FIG. 79. Lakṣmī (?)
FIG. 80. Lakṣmī.

PLATE XXXI.
FIG. 81. Viṣṇu temple, metallic images of Rāma Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, Tirukkaḍaiyūr, Tanjore, Dist.
FIG. 82. Bronze image of Śiva as Kalyāṇasundara — Pārvatī being presented to Śiva in wedlock by Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu, (Treasure trove) Tiruveṇkāḍu, (Shiyali Taluq), Tanjore Dist.

PLATE XXXII.
FIG. 83. Seal on Karandai plates.

PLATE XXXIII.
FIG. 84. Dvārapālaka, Vijayālayacōḷēśvara, Nārttāmalai.
FIG. 86. Nāṛttāmalai — platform before Śamaṇakuḍagu.
FIG. 87. Detail of sculptured elephant and lion fighting in the open court, Airāvatēśvara temple, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 85. Female door-keeper, Kampaharēśvara temple, Tribhuvanam, Tanjore Dist.

PLATE XXXIV.

FIG. 88. Balustrade, Tribhuvanam.

FIG. 92. Nāgēśvara, Agni presenting *pāyasa* to Daśaratha.

FIG. 93. Nāgēśvara, Daśaratha distributing *pāyasa* among queens.

FIG. 94. Nāgēśvara, Birth of Rāma.

PLATE XXXV.

FIG. 89. Tribhuvanam—Ornamental niche, north basement of Vimāna.

FIG. 90. Tribhuvanam — Ornamental niche, south wall mahāmaṇḍapa basement.

FIG. 91. Tribhuvanam—Another ornamental niche.

FIG. 99. Puñjai, Kṛṣṇa and Pūtanā.

PLATE XXXVI.

FIG. 95. Nāgēśvara, Rāma's fight with Tāṭakā.

FIG. 96. Nāgēśvara, Hanumān before Rāvaṇa.

FIG. 97. Tribhuvanam, Rāvaṇa, Śītā, Jaṭāyu.

FIG. 98. Puñjai, Varāha panel.

PLATE XXXVII. — COINS

LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS

EXTENT OF KARIKĀLA'S KINGDOM .. 34

CŌḶA KINGDOM UNDER PARĀNTAKA I .. 133

THE KAḌĀRAM CAMPAIGN OF RĀJĒNDRA .. 212

CŌḶA EMPIRE UNDER KULŌTTUNGA I .. 324

CŌḶA EMPIRE UNDER KULŌTTUNGA III .. 392

PLAN I. VIJAYĀLAYA-CŌḶEŚVARA TEMPLE .. 699

PLAN II. GROUND PLAN OF SUNDARĒŚVARA TEMPLE AT TIRUKKATTAḶAI .. 702

PLAN III. MŪVARKOIL: KOḌUMBĀLUR .. 708

DRAWINGS ACCORDING TO JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, *ARCHEOLOGIE DU SUD DE L'INDE* .. 747-48

(1) Parts of the plinth (*upapīṭha*). (2) Parts of the pillar. (3) Evolution of palagai. (4) Parts of the capital. (5) Evolution of the Corbel. (6) Two forms of the pañjara.

ABBREVIATIONS

ARA.	Annual Reports on Archaeology, Madras.
ARB.	Archaeological Reports, Burma.
ARE.	Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Madras.
ASC.	Archaeological Survey Reports, Ceylon.
ASI.	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports of the Director-General.
ASSI.	Archaeological Survey of Southern India.
BEFEO.	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient.
BG.	Bombay Gazetteer.
CSI.	Coins of Southern India by Sir Walter Elliot (1886).
CV.	Cūḷavamsa, edited and translated by Geiger, (Pali Text Society).
DKD.	Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, by Fleet (in the BG).
EC.	Epigraphia Carnatica.
EHI.	Early History of India, V. A. Smith
EI.	Epigraphia Indica.
Ep. Bir.	Epigraphia Birmanica.
EZ.	Epigraphia Zeylanica.
HAS.	Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
HISI.	Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, Sewell (1932).
IA.	Indian Antiquary.
IAL.	Journal of Indian Art and Letters (India Society, London).
IHQ.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
IMC.	Indian Museum Catalogue (of Coins), Vol. I. V. A. Smith.
JA.	Journal Asiatique.
JAHRS.	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
JBBRAS.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JIH.	Journal of Indian History.
JISOA.	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (Calcutta).
JMU.	Journal of the Madras University.
JOR.	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
JRAS.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
List.	Kielhorn : List of Inscriptions, Southern. (EI. vii and viii).
MAR.	Mysore Archaeological Reports.
MV.	Mahāvamsa, edited and translated by Geiger (Pāli Text Society), continued in CV.
NI.	Nellore Inscriptions edited by Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty.
OZ.	Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.
PK.	The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1929).
PSI.	Inscriptions of the Pudukkoṭṭai State.
QJMS.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
SII.	South Indian Inscriptions.
Studies.	Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1932).
TAR.	Travancore Archaeological Reports.
TAS.	Travancore Archaeological Series.

Chapter I

SOURCES

Introduction.

On the history of the Cōḷas, as on many other subjects of early Indian history, we had, till about 1900, little information of an authentic character. When, in the early years of the last century, Col. Mackenzie made his great effort to survey all and collect as many as possible of the antiquarian remains of the Madras Presidency, his agents in the Tanjore district failed to discover anything more remarkable on the ancient Cōḷas than the *Cōḷavamśacaritram*. This is a late *Sthalapurāṇa* which is legendary and full of miracles. Tradition knew nothing of the real history of the older rulers of the land and could not tell if the Cōḷa dynasty numbered eighty-four kings or sixteen. Epigraphy has made remarkable progress in South India during the last fifty years. Hultzsch, Venkayya and Krishna Sastri have brought out scholarly editions of many of the inscriptions. Of the Śangam literature, which is doubtless the earliest group of Tamil writings extant, considerable portions have been recovered and published. Now it is both possible and necessary to attempt a comprehensive study which shall bring together the results so far attained, and so to approach a definitive history of the Cōḷas.

To attempt a task of this nature in a subject which, thanks to fresh discoveries or new interpretations of old material, is apt to have its foundations disturbed from time to time, is, we are warned, to run the risk of our structure collapsing no sooner than it is reared. But this is, in regard to Cōḷa history, greatly to under-estimate the permanence of the results reached so far; for a careful review of the steps by which the reconstruction of this history has proceeded since the days when the clues obtained from Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates were correlated to the evidence from the Cōḷa inscriptions of Tanjore and other places in the Tamil country, must convince the most sceptical among scholars that a considerable tract of ascertained knowledge has been added permanently to the history of South India. Even the discovery, in recent years,

of the important Karandai (Tanjore) plates of Rajendra I and the Chārāla plates of Vīrarājendra[1] has not made any great difference to the general outline of the political history of the Cōḷas. A settled and continuous narration of the political history of the Cōḷas appears therefore not merely quite possible to undertake, but likely to be of more than transient interest. The case for such an undertaking becomes stronger if it is observed that, in its administrative system and in its literary and artistic achievement, Tamil civilisation may be said to have attained its high water mark under the Cōḷa empire of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. Under this empire also flourished in their greatest strength the sea-faring instincts of the people of Southern India which enabled them to add for a time an overseas empire to the more abiding prospects of a profitable trade with the states of the Far-East. The telling of a story which fills so large a place in the past life of the land and is so full of colour and incident should not be unduly postponed. At the same time we should recognise that, in regard to certain points of the story, the preliminary researches, of which one should have desired to avail oneself, have yet to be made; and even the attempt to paint the picture as a whole may be the means, by drawing attention to their need, of bringing such researches into being.

Divisions of the subject.

The history of the Cōḷas falls naturally into four divisions: the age of the literature of the Śangam, the interval between the close of the Śangam age and the rise of the Vijayālaya line, the Vijayālaya line which came to prominence in the ninth century A.D. and lastly, the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa line of Kulōttunga I and his successors from the third quarter of the eleventh century to about the middle of the thirteenth. Nearly two centuries before the rise of Vijayālaya in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, there flourished a Cōḷa kingdom in the Telugu districts comprising portions of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapūr,[2] whose kings traced their descent from Karikāla. Nothing definite is known, however, of their connection with the early Cōḷas. Again, from about the twelfth century, there were a number of local dynasties which claimed also to be among the descendants of Karikāla and to belong to the Kaśyapa *gōtra*. Besides their legendary pedigree there seems to be no evidence connecting them in any manner with the

Cōḷas of the Tamil country. Of these late Telugu-Cōḍas, who have left behind a large number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions, we need make only passing mention in this history.

Sources: Early Period.

The main source of our information on the early Cōḷas is the early Tamil literature of the so-called third Śangam. The brief notices of the Cōḷa country and its towns, ports and commerce furnished by the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy are best interpreted in the light of this literature. The striking coincidences in these matters between the classical writers and the literature of the Śangam are enough to show that this literature belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era. And the somewhat obscure account in the *Mahāvamsa* of many conflicts between the inhabitants of Ceylon and Tamil immigrants into the island receives some elucidation from a comparison of the proper names in the *Mahāvamsa* account with those occurring in the Śangam poems. The synchronism between Gajabāhu I and the Cēra king Śenguṭṭuvan was viewed with suspicion by Hultzsch; but it rests not simply on the identity of the name of the Ceylonese king in the *Mahāvamsa* and in the *Śilappadikāram*, but on the existence of an active intercourse, political and cultural, between South India and its island-neighbour.

The period covered by the extant literature of the Śangam is unfortunately not easy to determine with any measure of exactness; though it seems most likely that it extended over five or six generations at the most. Excepting the longer epics, the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*[3] which, by common consent, are taken to belong to a time later than the Śangam age, the poems have reached us in the form of systematic anthologies, some of which, like the *Ahanānūṟu*, follow a highly intricate scheme in their arrangement. Each individual poem has generally attached to it a colophon on the authorship and subject-matter of the poem; in the poems of the division called *Puṟam* which deal with concrete objective situations, the name of the king or chieftain to whom the poem relates, and the occasion which called forth the eulogy or description, are also found. It is from these colophons, and rarely from the texts of the poems themselves, that we can gather the names of many kings and chieftains and of the poets and poetesses patronised by them. The task of reducing these names to an

ordered scheme in which the different generations of contemporaries can be marked off from one another has not been easy. Some writers have been apt to draw on their imagination and invent genealogical connections not supported by the sources; others have confessed themselves beaten in the game and have denounced the colophons as late and untrustworthy guesses, not worth much consideration at the hands of the modern historian.[4] Before adopting this counsel of despair, one would do well to recollect that some anthologies, like the *Kalittogai*, are said to have been put together by a poet represented in the collection itself, and that no reasoned case has been made out against accepting the literary tradition relating to these anthologies and the individual poems in them.[5] In any attempt to deal systematically with the data drawn from these poems, the casual nature of the poems and the wide difference between the purpose of the anthologist who brought them together and that of the modern historian must not be lost sight of; or one might fall easily into the error of weaving a continuous story out of discontinuous material.

The Vijayālaya line.

On the history of the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line, there is an abundance of authentic material from diverse sources. This makes the narration of their history a relatively easy task. But of the fortunes of the Cōḷas in the interval between the end of the Śangam age and the rise of Vijayālaya, that is, in the age of Pāṇḍya-Pallava dominance, we have practically no record. The scanty references to them in the Pallava and Cāḷukya inscriptions are but feebly supplemented by the hagiology of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism relating to the period.

Inscriptions.

The dynasty of Vijayālaya has left behind a large number of stone inscriptions and a few copper-plate grants of great value to the historian. The illustrious Rājarāja I, under whom South Indian monarchy attained a sweep and splendour till then unknown, conceived the idea of prefixing to his inscriptions a set historical introduction recounting, in an ornate and poetic style of Tamil, the main achievements of his reign and kept up-to-date by additions made to it from time to time. The narration of the descent of a king and, incidentally, of some salient facts relating to himself and his ancestors was for centuries before Rājarāja's accession the more or less universal practice of

kings and chiefs who followed the norm set before them by the *Smṛti* and *Dharmaśāstra* of the country for the drawing up of charters (*Śāsanam*) setting forth gifts (*dāna*) of various kinds. But such narration formed part, generally speaking, only of copper-plate grants (*tāmraśāsana*) and was composed *de novo* on each separate occasion; and this practice, while it gave full scope for the fancy of the poet-composer of the *praśasti*, sometimes resulted in contradictory and confusing statements made about the same king in different grants. In ordering, therefore, the writing, on stone, in set form and in the language of the people, of an official and authorised account of the leading events of his reign, Rājarāja initiated a practice which, as it was kept up by his successors, not only satisfied the boundless vanity of this race of kings, but furnishes to the historian a formal record of exceptional value of the transactions of each reign.[6] Most of these historical introductions have been the subjects of scholarly discussion and elucidation by Hultzsch and Venkayya in the earlier volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, and though these *mey-kkīrttikaḷ* occasionally merit the waggish description of them as *poy-kkīrttikaḷ*, still, as a rule, they furnish invaluable guidance to the internal chronology and general history of the reign, besides providing picturesque and trustworthy accounts of particular events.

Few of these inscriptions are purely historical in aim and character. The one at Tiruvēndipuram[7] recording in detail the tribulations of Rājarāja III and the relief he obtained from the intercession of his Hoysaḷa contemporary, is the most considerable among the handful of purely historical inscriptions. Generally speaking, inscriptions record gifts and endowments of a public or private nature, usually to temples, *maṭhas* and Brahmans; sometimes the construction of a temple or its renovation, or the setting up of a new image forms the subject of an inscription. To provide for the maintenance of a lamp in a temple was a common method of earning religious merit for oneself or of expiating an offence. This was done by gifts of money or cattle calculated at so much or so many per lamp, and it was possible for two or more persons to endow a lamp jointly and apportion the merit among themselves in accordance with the share contributed by each. Often the lamps were to burn throughout the day and night, to be per-

petual, (*nandā viḷakku*);[8] but day-lamps, night-lamps for the occasions when *pūja* was performed (*śandi*) were also known.[9] When the lamps were provided for by gifts of cattle, the expression '*śāvā-mūvā-ppērāḍu*' invariably occurs, and it means literally 'the big sheep that neither die nor age.' That this was only a formal way of expressing the permanence of the endowment becomes clear from the use of the same expression even where cows, and not sheep, are given. Moreover, if for any reason the original herd went down in numbers, and in one instance a herd of fifty cows was reduced to twenty-six in less than three years,[10] the fact was taken into account in assessing the obligations of the herdsmen for the future. Among the donors we find not only kings and their officials, but several corporations including occupational and commercial guilds, caste organisations, military groups, and village assemblies, and many private individuals, men and women. The class of courtesans, the *dēvaraḍiyār*, 'servants of the Gods', often made considerable benefactions to temples which were suitably recognised by privileges of a hereditary nature being conferred on them in relation to the services and festivals in the temples concerned.

Several inscriptions were obviously intended to publish and preserve in a more or less permanent form decisions and agreements on matters of public importance. In this class, which though not extensive is doubtless of greater interest to the student than the more numerous donative records, we find royal orders on taxation and land-revenue, the resolutions of village assemblies on their own constitutional arrangements, their awards in disputes between communities or other corporate organisations, judgments delivered against persons guilty of theft, adultery, murder and other crimes, and political compacts between powerful feudatory chieftains of particular localities. Quite often, inscriptions on temple walls served the purpose of a public registration office by conserving a trustworthy record of sales, mortgages and other forms of transfers of property-rights in village-lands.[11] Sometimes a record is expressly described as the copy of a copperplate grant.[12] A unique inscription from Tiruviḍaivāyil (Tanjore) preserves an otherwise unknown Dēvāram of Ñānasambandar on the local shrine.

Their language and script.

The language and script of the Cōḷa inscriptions varied with the time and place of the records. The language most commonly employed was Tamil; some Sanskrit records are known, besides several bilingual inscriptions employing both. Kannaḍa and Telugu were also employed in the Karṇāṭaka and Telugu areas. The assumption has sometimes been made[13] that Tamil was the prevailing language in Cōḷa times in all places where the Tamil inscriptions of Cōḷa rulers are found, and that Tamil receded from these areas at a time subsequent to the period of Cōḷa rule in these parts. Such inscriptions are, however, only proof at best of the presence of some Tamil immigrants in non-Tamil regions that were brought for a time under Cōḷa rule. The recovery of some Telugu and Kannaḍa records of the Vijayanagar rulers and their Nāyak viceroys, and of the Hoysaḷas from distinctly Tamil areas cannot prove that the Tamil country exchanged its language for Telugu or Kannaḍa during the period of these records. The long Marathi inscription of Tanjore of A.D. 1803 is another instance. Vaṭṭeḻuttu was the prevalent script in which Tamil was written in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries; in the former it gave place to Tamil about the time of the Cōḷa conquest[14] though 'in the insulated *malaināḍu* (Malabar) it continued as late as the middle of the eighteenth century A.D.' The Sanskrit language employed the Grantha script, closely allied to the Tamil in its evolution. Numerous as are the published inscriptions from which the evolution of the script can be traced with tolerable accuracy, chronological arguments drawn from palaeography are generally not so conclusive as might be wished, and must be received with caution. There are fewer chances of stone inscriptions being found to be forgeries than copperplate grants and, as a matter of fact, very few Cōḷa inscriptions are of doubtful authenticity. One of the most conspicuous examples is that of a record[15] purporting to be dated in the twenty-ninth regnal year of a Rājēndracōḷa Rājakēsari. By mixing up in its historical introduction the events of different reigns, the record rouses suspicion; its palaeography belongs to the fourteenth century, and it is found in a temple of which the walls bear no other inscription of an earlier date than the reign of Rājarāja III.

Temples.

From the tenth century A.D., the period of Cōḷa rule was a great epoch in the building of structural stone temples. The walls of the new temples, their pillars and their plinths were usually covered with inscriptions in course of time. The great temple of Rājarājēśvara in Tanjore furnishes, in this respect, only a leading example of a practice very common at the time. We are expressly told[16] that before older structures were pulled down for rebuilding a shrine, the inscriptions on the walls were, in many cases, copied out in books and re-engraved later on the walls of the new structure. Even brick temples had sometimes inscriptions engraved on their walls.[17] We shall never know the extent of the damage inflicted in recent years by the ignorant piety of renovators of ancient shrines. Government have been unduly slack in stopping such damage; they have even refused to lay down a procedure to be followed by renovators which would have minimised the extent of the damage.[18] Sometimes inscriptions are found engraved on rocks and boulders not forming parts of temples, but they are the exception.

Legendary kings.

The copper-plate grants known by the names of Anbil, Leyden (larger), Tiruvālangāḍu and Karandai, as well as the Kanyākumāri stone inscription and the Chārāla plates of Vīrarājēndra, give long legendary genealogies intended to bring out the solar origin of the Cōḷa dynasty. The Udayēndiram plates of Prithivīpati II Hastimalla[19] give a much shorter list of the legendary ancestors of Vijayālaya. Of the several names in these legendary lists, which are by no means identical with one another,[20] only two or three names appear to be historical. Karikāla, Kōccengaṇān and probably also Kiḷḷi may be identified with the kings of the same names of whom we hear in the Tamil literature of the Śangam age. Barring the names of these kings, however, and some common legends,—e.g., that of Manu sentencing his son to death as he had by an accident crushed a calf to death under his chariot-wheel, and the story of Śibi rescuing a dove from the pursuit of a vulture by offering it his own flesh—there is nothing else to indicate the relation in which the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line stood to those of an earlier time mentioned in early Tamil literature. We shall see that even in regard to Karikāla and Kōccengaṇān the account

given in the copper-plates is more legendary than historical and has little in common with the earlier literary accounts.

Astronomical data.

The stone inscriptions often contain astronomical data which, being less enigmatic than those from the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of a later age, have yielded, in the hands of Kielhorn and others, results of great value to Cōḷa chronology. It is, however, easy to exaggerate the significance of such data. 'The fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious.'[21] Relatively few inscriptions quote any definite era like the Śaka or Kaliyuga,[22] but in several instances the details furnished are so full and accurate that, together with the historical introductions characteristic of particular monarchs and the regnal years cited, they have led to the attainment of chronological results of precision and value. These results show that whenever possible the Cōḷa monarchs followed the practice of choosing their successors and associating them in the administration of the country in their own life-time. This must have been done with the double object of avoiding disputed successions and providing opportunities for proper training, sufficiently early in life, for the future sovereigns of the country.

Administration.

Sometimes years elapsed between the date when a royal order was issued or some transaction took place, and the time when it was engraved on stone. In a record[23] of a money-endowment which was made in the thirtieth year of Parāntaka I, for instance, we are told that part of this money was invested in the thirty-fifth year with the assembly of a neighbouring village. Some important inscriptions give a full account of the different stages that intervened between the issue of a royal order, especially in revenue matters, and its actual execution. A careful study of them throws much welcome light on the administrative machinery and practice of the time. They also tell us a great deal about the numerous taxes, tolls and dues of various kinds in terms not always readily understood, and about the numberless changes in place-names that formed such a marked feature of the Cōḷa period. We also learn much of society, religion, arts and crafts from the inscriptions.

Inscriptions of other dynasties.

Side-lights on Cōḷa history are often obtained from the inscriptions of neighbouring dynasties. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions of the time of Kṛṣṇa III, those of the Eastern Cāḷukyas and some even of the Eastern Gangas, and the inscriptions of the Western Cāḷukyas, often go to confirm or modify impressions obtained by a study of Cōḷa records. The records of prominent feudatory dynasties, or of individuals like Kōpperuñjinga, become important as we approach the period of the decline of Cōḷa power. Hoysaḷa records also explain in part the politics of the period of decline.

Monuments.

Next to the inscriptions, monuments are the most interesting and instructive source of history. And for the Cōḷa period these take the form mostly of temples and sculptured halls and towers in them. It was also the age when the art of casting bronze images attained its high-water mark. Though several temples dating from Cōḷa times are in a good state of preservation, very little has been done for the systematic study of their architecture and sculpture. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil has given a shrewd account of their general characteristics in his *Archaeologie du sud de l'Inde*, and for the rest, we have only the haphazard observations scattered in the reports of the Archaeological department. When monuments standing on the surface have received such scant attention, it is no wonder that more ancient monuments buried in the soil remain undisturbed. Yet the importance of this branch of archaeology for the early history of Southern India can hardly be overestimated.[24]

Coins.

Numismatics, which forms an interesting and important branch of archaeology in relation to the history of the rest of India, has so far not yielded, except in a few instances, any striking results for the general history of South India. South Indian coinages, however, have 'as yet not received a scientific treatment in any way to be compared with that which has obtained such valuable historical results from the coins of the North.'[25] The finds of Roman coins and the coinage of the Madura Sultanate have been rather closely studied and with good results. During the period of their paramountcy in Southern India, the Cōḷas issued coins of gold, silver and copper. Specimens of the gold issues are extremely rare; silver coins are not so rare, and

copper pieces of different sizes are met with every day. These coins, generally speaking, are of two types—one carrying on both sides the Cōḷa symbol of the tiger in the centre, flanked by the symbols of the subject powers, the Cēra bow and the Pāṇḍyan fish, with a legend giving the name of the king; the other, called by Prinsep and Elliot the 'Ceylon type', in which the symbols give place to 'a rude human figure, standing on the obverse and seated on the reverse.'[26] As the 'Ceylon type' makes its appearance in the reign of Rājarāja I and the type with the symbols is known to persist for a long time after, even up to the reign of Kulōttunga I, the view, common at one time, that coins of the 'Ceylon type' are later than those of the other type must be modified. In fact, it may be doubted if we have any coin specimens clearly of an age anterior to Rājarāja I, so that the 'Ceylon type' would appear to be really coeval with the other.[27] None of the known specimens of Cōḷa coins have yet been identified with any of the coins mentioned in contemporary inscriptions.

Literature.

Literature is in other countries the bed-rock of history; in India it is often a snare. The utter impossibility of basing any part of the ancient history of India solely, or even primarily, upon literary evidence has been deplored by several modern students. Not only is there a paucity of professedly historical works, but of very few really ancient compositions do we know with certainty the time and place of origin. Great books which, like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhhārata*, have for ages served as popular cyclopaedias of national culture, were frequently revised; the time, the authorship and the extent of such revisions are so obscure that it is hopeless to make an intelligent use of data drawn from these works.[28] Lastly, in the few works of which we have definite knowledge in regard to authorship and provenance, a great amount of space is taken up by conventional descriptions, and it is seldom that we come across the plain downright statement of a fact.

In Tamil literature, the poems of the Śangam age are very realistic and *prima facie* trustworthy and do not share the demerits of the literature of a more fulsome age; but by a cruel irony of fate these poems are involved in some chronological obscurity; and the compositions, especially those of the Cōḷa period, of which we know the authors and dates, exhibit

in abundant measure all the defects of court poetry. Still, after all allowance is made, the evidence from indigenous literature for the history of the Cōḷa kingdom will be seen to be not inconsiderable in volume and will, if used with care, go far to eke out the testimony of archaeology.

The Cōḷa empire under Vijayālaya and his successors witnessed one of the greatest periods of literary and religious revival in South India. Sometime in the tenth or eleventh century A.D., the canonical works of South Indian Śaivism were arranged more or less in their modern form by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, who was also its first hagiographer and whose work formed the basis of the far more elaborate *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam*, known generally as *Periya Purāṇam*, of Śēkkiḻār, a contemporary of Kulōttunga II in the twelfth century. Great as is the value of the tradition preserved by these writers, they are to be accepted more as witnesses to beliefs current in their own times than as correctly recording what we should now call the early history of Śaivism. This distinction has not been sufficiently considered by those writers who have drawn rather freely from Śēkkiḻār in their accounts of transactions that took place centuries before his time. Moreover, a careful study of the *Periya Purāṇam* reveals that many details for which there is no warrant in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's short notes on the saints make their appearance for the first time in Śēkkiḻār's account; and for aught we know, Śēkkiḻār was guided only by his imagination and by popular belief. Such details, however valuable as reflecting a definite, and as it happened the final, stage in the growth of Śaiva hagiology, should not be accepted, without sufficient corroboration from other sources, as part of the early history of Śaivism in South India; much less would they be entitled to credence if they are opposed to the testimony of contemporary inscriptions or other evidence equally trustworthy. It seems only proper, therefore, that we accept the beautiful pen-pictures which abound in Śēkkiḻār's great work as idealised accounts of life and society as he saw them in his own day rather than as studies and portraits of a bygone age. Thus the description of the Brahman village of Ādanūr and of the hamlet of pariahs attached to it in the story of Nanda, the pariah saint, may well be used in any re-construction of rural life in Cōḷa times, allowance being made, of course, for the play of the well-

understood conventions of literature that dominate such accounts.

Equally remarkable is the settlement of the Vaiṣṇava canon of the 'Four Thousand Sacred Hymns' which took place about the same time as the Śaiva canon was fixed by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. The *Divya sūri-carita* and the *Guru-paramparai* form the Vaiṣṇava counterpart of the *Periya Purāṇam* from which they differ in providing an elaborate, though impossible, chronology for the lives of the Vaiṣṇava saints, the Āḻvārs. In addition to being a record of traditions and beliefs prevalent at the time of their composition, these works furnish the background necessary for a proper estimate of Rāmānuja and his place in the history of Vaiṣṇavism. And the great commentaries on the hymns of the Āḻvārs, written in a peculiar jargon more Sanskrit than Tamil, though perhaps of a slightly later age than the Cōḷa period, still have great value for us, as they record in a casual manner several incidents of Cōḷa times. This feature, as well as the idiosyncrasies of language that mark these commentaries, sometimes assist us in elucidating the Cōḷa inscriptions.

Among works of secular literature which can be dated with accuracy, the most interesting from our point of view are the *Vīraśōḻiyam* of Buddhamitra, the *Kalingattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār and the three *ulās* and the *Kulōttungan Piḷḷaittamiḻ* of Oṭṭakkūttan. The first is a work on Tamil grammar composed by a Buddhist writer in the reign of Vīrarājēndra. The *Yāpparungalam* and the *Yāpparungalak-kārikai* are other works on one branch of grammar, prosody, by a Jaina writer, Amitasāgara, of somewhat earlier date. These three works possess glosses slightly later than the original texts; and the examples cited by the authors of these commentaries to illustrate particular rules of grammar are often of uncommon interest; they provide fresh information, and confirm, and sometimes elucidate, data drawn from the inscriptions. The *Kalingattuparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār is a war-poem of the conventional *paraṇi* type, which has for its subject-matter the conquest of the Kalinga country by Karuṇākarat-toṇḍaimān, the celebrated generalissimo of Kulōttunga I. The poem is justly celebrated for the excellence of its diction and its superb display of metrical effects; it fetched the title of *Kavic-cakravarti* (Emperor of Poetry) to its author, a title which seems

to have been kept on as a sort of poet-laureateship, or at any rate was conferred also on Oṭṭakkūttan who, though himself a poet of no mean order, paid his predecessor the high compliment of imitating him closely in his *Takkayāgapparaṇi* on a well-known theme of mythology. For all its fabulous and supernatural elements, and the absurd hyperboles characteristic of it, the *Kalingattupparaṇi* is still valuable to the historian as it furnishes much welcome information on the Cōḷa genealogy and on the details of the Kalinga campaign of Kulōttunga, including the route taken by his army. Parts of the poem were translated into English by V. Kanakasabhai some years ago, and the translation was published in the *Indian Antiquary*. Oṭṭakkūttan chose the *ulā* as the vehicle of his encomiums on three successive monarchs who followed Kulōttunga I. The *ulā* is, like the *paraṇi*, a conventional literary form. If the *paraṇi* is *par excellence* a war-poem, the *ulā* is just its opposite; free from the cares and anxieties of his high station, with no troubles domestic or foreign to cloud his happiness, the king with his retinue is conceived as going for a stroll round the capital city; the beginning of the *ulā* generally gives a more or less studied account of the achievements of the king and his ancestors, and provides a somewhat detailed description of the chief men among his courtiers who accompany him and the place they occupy in the administration of the country; this part of the poem is of considerable historical value. What follows in the *ulā* is not of much immediate interest to us; it is, to a modern student, a monotonous account of the amorous looks and the tell-tale acts of the women of the city who, at the sight of the king, become agitated and love-sick. Besides the three *ulās*, on Vikrama, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II, Oṭṭakkūttan also wrote the *Kulōttunga-śōḷan-piḷḷait-tamil*, a child-poem on Kulōttunga II; notable for its fine sentiment and high eloquence, this poem is not nearly so useful to us as the *ulās*.

The number of late chronicles and Sthalapurāṇas is legion. The *Navacōḷacarita*, a Vīra-śaiva compilation available in a Kannaḍa and a Telugu version, the *Bṛhadīśvara-māhātmya* or the *Cōḷavamśacaritra* in Sanskrit, of which there is a Tamil translation among the Mackenzie Mss., and the *Koṅgudēśa-Rājākkaḷ*, also in the same collection of manuscripts, are the leading examples of this class. But as Fleet has observed,[29]

the fanciful nature of such works and their utter want of reliability for any purposes of early history 'are disclosed at once by the very slightest thoughtful examination.'

Foreign evidence.

Though not copious, the evidence from Chinese writings is extremely valuable on account of its settled chronology and the matter-of-fact nature of the data furnished by it. Arab travellers, Muslim historians and the early European travellers like Marco Polo give important hints on the impression made by South India on foreign observers in those days. This line of external evidence is of particular value for an understanding of the nature and extent of the foreign commerce of the period.

1. Karandai plates (unpublished): I am obliged to Mr. N. L. Rao, Government Epigraphist for India, for a transcript of the text. For the Chārāla plates see *EI.* xxv pp. 241-66.

2. *EC.* xii (7) and *EI.* xi, Mālēpāḍu plates.

3. A relatively late date for this poem, later than A.D. 400, seems to be forced on us by the trend of the discussion of the relation between Canto XXIX of this poem and the *Nyāyapravēśa*, unless indeed this Canto is treated as having suffered a later revision. See *Nyāyapravēśa* (Baroda), pp. xiii-xvi for a succinct review of the discussion by A. B. Dhruva.

4. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *History of the Tamils* pp. 416-7.

5. For a full discussion of this subject see *Studies*, I.

6. These introductions were, in some inscriptions, omitted in part owing to exigencies of space. e.g. 96 of 1925 of the eleventh year of Rājēndra II. See also *ARE.* 1935-6, II 39.

7. 142 of 1902, *EI.* vii p. 161.

8. It is interesting to observe that Parimēlaḻagar explains the phrase *'poyyā viḷakkam'* in *Kuṟaḷ* 753 by *'nandā viḷakku.'*

9. This, I believe, is the correct interpretation of the expression *'śandiviḷakku'* which figures so often in the inscriptions and is usually translated into 'twilight-lamp.' See *Tamil Lexicon* s. v. சந்தி —canti.

10. 120 of 1926 (year 6 of Rājēndra I).

11. In 134 of 1926 (Rājak. 16) we have an instance of a temple raising money by mortgaging some of its land to a woman in the queen's service.

12. 180 of 1894 (Kulōtunga I, 23).

13. *ARE.* 1895, I 7 and 1908, II 49. See also Venkayya *IA.* xxxvii pp. 199-200.

14. *TAS.* i p. 286.

15. 490 of 1926, *ARE.* 1927 II 32.

16. *ASI.* 1909-10 pp. 128-9; also 92 of 1895 and *ARE.* 1920 II 17.

17. 123 of 1900; *EI.* vii pp. 145-6.

18. *ARE.* 1902, I 8 and G.O. (Madras) 763 Public, 6th August 1902. After drawing attention to the destruction of the Kalinari Īśvara by the inhabitants of Tirunāmanallūr, the government epigraphist says in his report: 'The Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Chetties are spending year by year a portion of their large earnings in repairing the ancient Śiva temples of Southern India. In the course of these "repairs" they have totally destroyed the following shrines with every one of their inscriptions: The Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeevaram, the Jambukēśvara temple on the island of Śrirangam, the central shrine of the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, the same at Tiruveṇṇainallūr in South Arcot and the same at Tiruppugalūr in the Tanjore District. Of some of the inscriptions in the first two temples, I have inked estampages in my office. The remainder are lost for ever, as the inscribed stones have been dressed again before rebuilding the temples. Many other temples are now going to be treated in the same manner.' Government declined to restrict the activities of renovators by the issue of prohibitory orders as suggested by the epigraphical department which thereupon made 'a more vigorous attempt to secure impressions of the inscriptions thus threatened with destruction.' This has led to the accumulation of thousands of impressions in the epigraphist's office which have little chance, as things stand, of being published in any reasonable period even in the bald form adopted in *SII.* (Texts). There is also a real danger that in the race between publication and collection, collection might suffer without publication gaining adequately.

19. *SII.* ii. no. 76.

20. For a comparison and critique of these lists see *TAS.* iii; also *EI.* xv.

21. Fleet, quoted by Rice, *EI.* xiv, p. 340.

22. Writing of the Grāmam inscription of Parāntaka I which is dated in a Kali year and in which the day is expressed by giving the number of days that had elapsed since the beginning of the era, this is what Kielhorn says: 'I may add that this is the earliest known Cōḷa date which can be verified and that, of the 136 dates hitherto examined, it is the only one in which the era of Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates 18 quote the Śaka era: and of these 12 are in Kanarese, 4 in Telugu and only 2 in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Vīrarājēndra which does not admit of verification.' *EI.* viii p. 261.

23. 164 of 1912.

24. *ARA.* 1912-13, I 10; 1915-6, I. 8.

25. Rapson-*Sources of Indian History*: *Coins*, p. 123.

26. Elliot, p. 108.

27. Very little was known of the real history of the Cōḷas when Elliot wrote his great work on the *'Coins of Southern India.'* He indeed

dates the origin of the 'Ceylon type' in the eleventh century (p. 108) and calls it 'a remarkable change' from the earlier type; the Cōḷa coins actually figured and described by him (some of which were considered again by Hultzsch *IA.* xxi p. 323) support this view.

Rapson (*op. cit.* sec. 126) stereotypes the theory of Elliot and gives, doubtless by oversight, c. A.D. 1022 as the date not only of the introduction of the Ceylon type but of 'the beginning of the reign of Rājārāja Cōḷa.' He also describes the figures in the Ceylon types thus: *obv.* king standing: *rev.* king seated. It may be doubtful if the 'rude human figure' (Elliot) which Tufnell (*Hints,* p. 11) took to be that of a '*rākṣasa*' was intended to represent the king. A unique silver coin with legend Śri Rājarājadēva' (Hultzsch *IA.* xxv, p. 317) combines the squatting figure on the *obv.* with the symbols and legend on the *rev.*

28. Foulkes's articles in the *Indian Antiquary* on 'Civilisation of the Dekkan down to the 6th Century B.C.' (viii pp. 1 ff) are a measure of what is possible with only such sources at our disposal.

29. *IA.* xxx pp. 6-7.

Chapter II

EARLY NOTICES

The Country.

According to tradition, the Cōḷa country comprised the land between two streams having the same name, Veḷḷāṟu,[1] in the north and the south, the sea on the east and Kōṭṭaikarai in the west. This area includes the modern districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and part of the former Pudukkottah state. The Kāvēri and its branches including the Coleroon (Koḷḷiḍam) dominate the landscape of this generally flat country which slopes gently towards the sea. The low tableland of Vallam broken by small ridges of grit and sandstone to the south and south-west of Tanjore, and a number of protruding masses of crystalline rock, of which the Trichinopoly rock in the centre of the fort is the best known, are the only relief to the monotony of the level surface. To find any hills of importance, we must turn to the northern taluks of the Trichinopoly district lying on the border, if not altogether outside, of the Cōḷa country proper. The delta of the Kāvēri is a large alluvial plain 'devoid of all natural eminences, save the ridges and hillocks of blown sand, which fringe the narrow strip of beach along the sea-coast. "The sea rolls upon a shelving sandy shore unbroken by rocks of any kind"; hence the coast is remarkably monotonous in aspect. The whole surface of the delta is one even level of paddy fields interspersed only with tops or clumps of cocoanut, mango and other fruit trees. There are no forests or tall tree jungles.'[2] The soil is very favourable also to the bamboo and the plantain.

The Kāvēri

The glory of the Kāvēri forms an inexhaustible theme of early Tamil poetry. This noble stream was released from his water-pot by the sage Agastya in response to the prayer of the king Kānta and for the exaltation of the 'children of the sun.'[3] She was the special banner of the just race of the Cōḷas, and she never failed them in the most protracted drought. The yearly freshes in the Kāvēri formed the occasion of a carnival in which the whole nation from the king down to the meanest peasant took part.

Towns.

Kāvērippaṭṭinam on the coast, about eight miles to the north of Tranquebar, serves to identify the Kāvēri proper from amidst its more considerable offshoots that find their way to the sea, and the little village apparently marks the site of the Cōḷa emporium of ancient renown.[4] Negapatam, about ten miles south of Kāraikkāl, also on the sea board, was perhaps known to Ptolemy as an important town; at any rate it became a seat of trade and the centre of many religious faiths including Buddhism, long before it attracted the attention of European merchants and missionaries. Tanjore, Trichinopoly, the modern representative of the more ancient Uṟaiyūr which is now a suburb of Trichinopoly, and Kumbakonam are the other notable cities of the Cōḷa country. Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, at the meeting point of the modern districts of Trichinopoly, S. Arcot and Tañjore, rose into prominence as the Cōḷa capital in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and is now a small place with a magnificent temple in ruins.

The name Cōḷa.

Of the origin of the name Cōḷa we have no knowledge whatever. The learned Parimēlaḻagar is inclined to make it the name, like Pāṇḍya and Cēra, of a ruling family or clan of immemorial antiquity[5] and renown. The story of the eponymous brothers Cēran, Śōḻan and Pāṇḍiyan is doubtless an instance of euhemerism.[6] Whatever its origin,[7] the name Cōḷa was from the earliest times used to describe the people and the country subject to the sway of the Cōḷa dynasty of rulers. Col. Gerini's attempt to connect the word with the Sanskrit *Kāla* (black), and with *Kōla* which 'in the early days designated the dark-coloured pre-Aryan population of southern India in general,' is hardly more convincing than the efforts to derive it from Tamil '*Cōḷam*' (millet) or Sanskrit '*Cōra*' (thief).[8]

Other names.

Other names in common use for the Cōḷas are *Kiḷḷi*, *Vaḷavan* and *Śembiyan*. *Kiḷḷi* perhaps comes from 'kiḷ', meaning 'dig' or 'cleave' and conveys the idea of a 'digger';[9] this word often forms an integral part of early Cōḷa names like Neḍungiḷḷi, Nalangiḷḷi and so on, but almost drops out of use in later times. 'Vaḷavan' is most probably connected with '*vaḷam*', 'fertility', and means owner or ruler of a fertile country, such as the land of the Kāvēri was. *Śembiyan* is

generally taken to mean a descendant of Śibi,[10] a legendary hero whose self-sacrifice in saving a dove from the pursuit of a falcon figures among the early Cōḷa legends and forms the subject-matter of the Śibijātaka among the Jātaka stories of Buddhism.[11]

The crest.

The Cōḷas adopted the tiger as their crest; the same animal was figured on their banner. Not one of the numberless references to this Cōḷa emblem which occur in Tamil literature tells us anything of its origin. Some late local chieftains of the Telugu country who claimed descent from Karikāla adopted the lion-crest.[12] And the Sindas of the Nāga family, who used the Vyāghralāñchana, had the story that Sinda, their eponymous ancestor, born of the serpent king Dharaṇēndra at Ahicchatra in the region of the Sindhu, was reared by a tiger. A slightly different form of the story makes him the offspring of a union between God Śiva and the Sindhu, brought up on tiger's milk by the king of serpents.[13] These late inventions only confirm the fact that the origin of the tiger-crest was forgotten quite early by those who had adopted it.

Early References.

The grammarian Kātyāyana knew of the Cōḍas.[14] The earliest records which mention the Cōḷas and which can be dated with certainty are the Aśokan inscriptions,[15] where they are mentioned among kingdoms which, though not subject to Aśoka, were on friendly terms with him. The Cōḷas, like the Pāṇḍyas, are spoken of in the plural in all the versions of the Aśokan edicts, and this has been held to imply that 'in Aśoka's time there were more than one Cōḍa and one Pāṇḍya king.'[16]

Two or three poets of the Śangam make rather enigmatic references to an invasion of the South by the *Mōriyar* (Mauryas) and one of them, Māmūlanār, also speaks of the wealth of the Nandas hidden under the Ganges at Pāṭaliputra. All the three poets agree that, in the course of the invasion, the Mauryas cut for their chariots a new path across some rocky mountain. Māmūlanār alone furnishes some more details. He says that the Vaḍugar formed the vanguard of the invading Mauryas (*Aham* 281); elsewhere he adds that the Kōśar undertook the subjugation of the South and that, as the Mōhūr chieftain continued defiant, the Mauryas came down with

their great forces on a warlike expedition to the South (*Aham* 251). Now, as Aśoka distinctly states that the Tamil kingdoms were not politically subject to him, and as there is little possibility of any Mauryan invasion of the extreme South having taken place after his time, we have necessarily to ascribe the events mentioned by Māmūlanār to a period anterior to Aśoka's accession. In other words, this poet must be taken to provide a much earlier and doubtless more dependable, if somewhat meagre, confirmation of the stories of Bindusāra's conquests in the Deccan and Southern India recorded by the Tibetan historian Tāranāth.[17] The Kōśar, who occupied the Tulu country, perhaps agreed to serve as wardens of the marches for the Mauryan Empire in the South; when they found the chieftain of Mōhūr troublesome and themselves unequal to subjugating him, they were assisted in their task by the advent of Mauryan troops with a Vaḍuga vanguard. Mōhūr is probably represented to-day by its modern namesake in the South Arcot district, not far from the famous Āttūr pass through which, in recent times, Haidar Ali came down so often on the southern plains.[18]

Relation to Mauryan Empire.

If this view of the relation of the Mauryas to the South Indian states is accepted as correct, it would follow that there was a slight set-back to the Mauryan power in the south sometime late in Bindusāra's reign or early in Aśoka's, as these states, especially Satiyaputa, seem to have improved their political status in regard to the Mauryan Empire before the date of the Rock Edicts II and XIII.

Periplus.

The part taken from the sixth century B.C. by southern India in the growing commerce between the Western countries and those in the East as far as China is sufficiently known.[19] Of the direction and nature of this trade and of its economic importance, something will be said further on. Here we may note that to this commerce we owe, in the main, two valuable notices of Southern India and the Cōḷa country separated by about half a century. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* is the interesting handbook of an Alexandrian merchant, 'which was written in the time of Domitian A.D. 81-96, and by the evidence furnished by Pliny the Elder.'[20] The anonymous author of this short treatise tells us a little about the Cōḷa country in particular which,

considering the paucity of early notices of the Coromandel coast, is of uncommon interest to the student of Cōḷa history. He says: 'Beyond Colchi there follows another district called the coast country, which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru.' This statement is best understood as pointing to the division of the Cōḷa country into two parts, a coastal district and an inland district. There is, as we shall see, evidence of Cōḷa rule from two centres at this period—Puhār or Kāvērippaṭṭinam on the coast and Uṟaiyūr inland. *Paṭṭinam*, meaning a port-town, was the name of the Cōḷa capital on the coast, and the phrase in the *Periplus*, 'the coast country, which lies on a bay', unmistakably recalls the *Paṭṭinam* of the *Paṭṭinappālai*,[21] specially as it is placed in contrast with 'a region inland called Argaru,' which doubtless is the same as *Uṟaiyūr*. The author has named each of the districts after its chief town. It is remarkable that, while he knows the name 'Cerobothra' and 'Pandian,' he does not mention 'Cōḷa.' His information on the east coast of India is meagre and apparently based on hearsay.[22] He mentions also three market towns and harbours 'where the ships put in from Damirica and from the north', which 'in order as they lie' are 'first Camara, then Produca, then Sopatma'—names now not easily identified,[23] though Sopatma may be the same as Śō-paṭṭinam of Tamil literature, now called Markāṇam.

Ptolemy.

Writing about half a century later, the geographer Ptolemy has rather more to tell us about the Cōḷa country and its ports and inland cities.[24] Leaving aside all doubtful names which cannot be properly identified, we find that he gives particulars sufficiently precise of the positions of Kāvērippaṭṭinam (Khaberis) at the mouth of the Kāvēri and of Negapatam (Nikama); and as Cunningham has said: 'Cōḷa is noticed by Ptolemy, whose *Orthura regia Sornati* must be Uṟaiyūr, the capital of Soranatha, or the king of the Soringae, that is the Soras, Choras or Cholas.'[25] Ptolemy also makes mention of the 'Sorai nomads' with 'Sora the capital of Arkatos.' 'One is strongly tempted to suppose that here,' as Caldwell remarks, 'the names given by the natives of the country to his informants had got transposed,' and that, consequently, we have to consider Arkatos as the capital of the Sorai nomads. Arcot is not so modern a name as it is often imagined to be.[26] A Cōḷa

princeling by name Aḷiśi is said to have had for his residence 'Ārkkāḍu surrounded by paddy fields'[27] and very likely Ārkkāḍ means 'forest of Ār' (*Bauhinea Racemosa*) *ār* or *ātti* being a Cōḷa emblem. This Ārkkāḍu may or may not be identical with the Arcot celebrated in later days as the seat of the Nawabs of the Carnatic; but it is probably the same as Ptolemy's Arkatos.[28] From the statement of Ptolemy on the 'Sorai nomads' and 'Arkatos,' the inference has been made[29] that there were two different Cōḷa countries or kingdoms at the same time; it is quite possible, however, that the 'Sorai nomads' were some nomadic tribe or tribes in the Cōḷa country itself. That such tribes were in existence, and that some of the early Cōḷa kings, especially Karikāla, made an effort to civilise them and train them to more settled ways of life, is borne out by Tamil literature.

Pali books.

The early chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* contain testimony, sufficiently authentic and precise, to the early intercourse between the Cōḷa country and the island of Ceylon; and generally, the early literature of Pali Buddhism makes very valuable, though scanty, allusions to the land of the Cōḷas and Kāvērippaṭṭinam, its most celebrated emporium. Some of these references must be as old as the *Periplus*, if not earlier. *The Questions of King Milinda*, a Buddhist work of the beginning of the Christian era, mentions Kolapattana among the best-known sea-port towns of the time, and Kolapattana must be, says Rhys Davids, some place on the Coromandel coast.[30] Most probably this is a reference to Kāvērippaṭṭinam, the Pattana *par excellence* on the Coromandel coast, which figures elsewhere in Pali Buddhist literature as well. M. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out that Puhār, the great centre of traffic between Southern India and the islands of the Archipelago, was the original abode of the somewhat obscure sea-goddess *Maṇimekhalā*—'girdle of gems'—after whom Mādhavi's celebrated daughter and the poem of Śāttan narrating the story of her spiritual life came to be called.[31] In the Jātaka story, Akitti, in order to escape the attentions of his admirers, left the neighbourhood of Benares for the Tamil country where he spent some time in a garden near Kāvēripaṭṭana.

According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the island of Ceylon began to fall under powerful Cōḷa influences very early in its his-

tory. The relations between the Damiḷas and the natives of the island form one of the main strands in the narrative of this valuable chronicle, and the synchronisms furnished by it are among the more important sources of our knowledge of Tamil history and chronology. Though on several occasions the chronicle speaks only of Damiḷas in general, still the distinction between the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa divisions of the Tamil country is well known and clearly observed in the *Mahāvamsa*. Towards the middle of the second century B.C., a Damiḷa of noble descent, Eḷāra by name, came to Ceylon from the Cōḷa country (Cōḷaraṭṭha), overpowered Asela who was then ruling in the island, and himself reigned as king for forty-four years, 'with even justice towards friend and foe on occasions of disputes at law.'[32] Many stories are told in illustration of the justice of his rule, and among them is that of the king sentencing his only son to death for having unwittingly caused the death of a young calf by driving the wheel of his chariot over its neck. Though not a follower of the Buddha's creed, this king lived on friendly terms with the Buddhist *bhikkus*[33] of his realm, and his rule, so long as it lasted, was in every way acceptable to his subjects. His rule was confined to the northernmost section of the island and the Mahāganga, now Mahawaeliganga, was its southern limit.[34] Then began a war between Eḷāra and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, so called because he was wroth with his father who stood in the way of his fighting the Damiḷas; the object of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in undertaking this war was twofold: to restore the political unity of Ceylon and to bring glory to the doctrine of the Buddha by driving out the Damiḷas addicted to false beliefs. The details of the campaign that followed are very clearly recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*;[35] success attended the arms of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and his conquered foe was pursued up to the vicinity of Anurādhapura, and Eḷāra met his death in a heroic combat with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi beneath the walls of that city. Then Duṭṭhagāmaṇi marched into the city, 'and when he had summoned the people from a *yōjana* around, he celebrated the funeral rites of king Eḷāra. On the spot where his body had fallen, he burned it with the catafalque, and there did he build a monument and ordain worship.' And even in the days of Mahānāman, the author of this part of the *Mahāvamsa*, in the sixth century A.D., the princes of Lanka, when they drew near to that place, were wont to silence their music,

because of this worship. Of these transactions that loom so large in the early history of Ceylon, there is no trace in Tamil literature [36] apart from the legend of the prince and the calf which is placed in the reign of Manu. We therefore lack all means of judging the extent to which the fortunes of the Cōḷa monarchs of the mainland were involved in the establishment and the overthrow of Eḷāra's power in Ceylon.

1. kaḍal kiḻakkut-teṟkuk-karai puraḷ Veḷḷāṟu
kuḍa-tiśaiyil kōṭṭiakkaraiyum—vaḍa tiśaiyil
ēṇāṭṭu Veḷḷāṟirupattu nāṟkādam
Śōṇāṭṭuk-kellaiyenac-col.

Though ascribed by some to Kamban (see e.g. p. 56 of the *Śōḻamaṇḍala śatakam*) the veṇbā seems to be more ancient in origin; others ascribe it to Auvaiyār (Taylor III 42). Kōṭṭaik-karai 'means "fortbank" and tradition says that it refers to the great embankment of which traces still stand in the Kuḻittalai taluk of Trichinopoly'—*Gazetteer of the Tanjore Dt.* I p. 15.

2. *Tanjore Manual,* pp.4-5; *Trichinopoly Manual,* pp. 2-3.

3. *Maṇimēkalai* I, 9-12; 23-4.

4. 'According to some it is the Chabaris Emporium mentioned by Ptolemy in the 1st cent. A.D. The inscriptions secured from the modern Kāvērippaṭṭaṇam and its vicinity leave no doubt as to its identity with Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam *alias* Puhār, though the monuments of Pallavanīccaram and Śāyāvaneśvara are not of such early date as could be expected'—*ARE.* 1919 II 2.

5. See *Kural* No. 955 and his gloss on it.

6. Caldwell, *Tinnevelly,* p. 12.

7. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, to whom I referred the question, wrote to me as follows: 'Tam. *Cōḷa* does not appear to be *directly* connected with any extant Tamil or Dravidian base. This fact of course need not necessarily lead us to postulate a foreign origin for the word. * * * * * If the postulate that—*ū*—may have in some circumstances (for which we have parallels in Dravidian) changed to—*ō*— is justified, then one might conceivably connect *Cōḷa* with *Cūḻ* — with the meanings "to whirl," "to hover", and explain "Cōḷa" as "hoverer."'

8. See *Gerini-Researches,* pp. 85 ff and 101-3. There appears to be some other evidence, however, in support of Gerini's view that a stream of dark emigrants of the negrito race, the descendants of the so-called Rākṣasas of old, came to Malaya from Southern India and were followed by their early successors, the Dravidians, who constituted the pre-Aryan population of India. cf. Elliot Smith, *Human History* pp. 69-71. But Gerini exaggerates the cultural importance of these prehistoric movements of population. He confounds them with later ones that took place in historical times after Southern India was more or less

aryanised in its culture, and he goes on to suggest that the Indian culture of Siam, Kambhoja and other places had its origin in the earliest pre-historic movements (p. 101). For Cōḷa' < cōra, thief, see Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures,* 1918, pp. 8-9.

9. Dr. Pope suggested the fanciful equation *Kiḷḷi = Paḷḷavan* (*IA.* xxix p. 250). Even if Paḷḷava is accepted as the correct form of the word, rather than Pallava (Skt. 'sprout'), it would mean more properly 'people dwelling in low lands' (*paḷḷam*), and not 'diggers.' It may be doubted if the Pallavas were indigenous to Southern India; and unless they were, it would be vain to look for a Dravidian origin for their name. In any case, they were by no means the same as the Cōḷas.

10. See e.g. the *Vīraśōḻīyam,* comment on Tattita, v. 3.
11. Yazdani—*Ajanta* I pp. 4-7. Krom—*Boro Budur* vol. i, pp. 275-7.
12. *EI.* xi, p. 338.
13. *EI.* iii 231-2.
14. *Mahābhāṣya,* ed. Kielhorn, II p. 270.
15. Vide Hultzsch—*Asoka Inscriptions*—Index s. v. Cōḷa.
16. D. R. Bhandarkar—*Asoka* p. 38.

17. Smith, *EHI*[4] p. 147. See M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism,* pp. 127 ff, for a succinct summary of the evidence on the subject; also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Beginnings,* pp. 88 ff. Following Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, M. S. R. lays (p. 134 ff. *op. cit.*) undue stress on *vamba* in the phrase *vamba mōriyar* (*Aham* 251), quotes late and obscure Gutta legends of the tenth century A.D. in support of his notion that the Imperial Guptas were confounded by Māmūlanār with the more ancient Mauryas, and seeks to establish a fifth century date for Māmūlanār and his contemporaries of the Śangam. The fact that Pandit Raghava Aiyangar does not now see much force in these arguments as he once did, and has suppressed them in the second edition of his *Śēran Śenguṭṭuvan,* perhaps renders otiose any detailed discussion of these views. The phrase *'vamba mōriyar'* is used by Māmūlanār only once; he himself, elsewhere, talks only of the *'mōriyar'* and so do the two other poets, Parankoṟṟanār (*Aham* 69) and Ātiraiyanār (*Puṟam* 175). The expression cannot therefore be made much of, especially because *'vamba'* is an adjective with several meanings of which 'unsteady', 'restless,' is admittedly one. And supposing for a moment that Māmūlanār was thinking of the Imperial Mauryas, he knows of the Nandas and their wealth, nothing could have struck him more than the 'restlessness' of these Mauryas, eager to annex all the kingdoms of India to their empire. Even accepting the other meaning suggested for the word *'vamba,'* 'new,' we are not aware of any insuperable difficulty in supposing that, at the time when Māmūlanār was writing the Mauryan expansion to the South was a fact of recent history. One fails to see moreover how some confusion between the Mauryas and the Guptas that marks the legendary genealogy of an obscure clan of rulers in North India can furnish an analogue for a similar confusion in the mind of a South Indian Tamil poet of unknown age; much less, how such inferential confusion can be made the basis for suggesting a date for the poet and his compositions. M. S. R. was strongly influenced by Smith's

view of Samudragupta the Indian Napoleon's campaign in the South based on his early identification of 'Palakka' of the Allahabad pillar inscription with Palghat, which is no longer considered sound. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar says of *Aham* 281: 'The Kōśar are called here Vaḍugar.' It may be so; in which case *Vaḍugar munnuṟa* of this verse should be a brief allusion to the failure of the Kōśar to subdue Mōhūr, narrated at greater length in *Aham* 251. But Mr. Aiyangar's assertion that the Konkan Mauryas 'were the only possible Mōriyar who, in conjunction with the Kōśar, could have attempted a raid into the Tamil country' is hardly convincing. See his *Tamils* pp. 522-3.

18. *Studies in South Indian Jainism* p. 140. Many other places also bear the name Mōhūr and the identification of the place must be considered tentative.

19. See Kennedy *JRAS.* 1898 pp. 248-87 for a full discussion of this subject. Prof. Jules Bloch in his paper "*Nom du Riz*" (*Etudes Asiatiques* Vol. I, pp. 37-47) denies that the Greek term for rice is derived from Tam. *Ariśi;* and he holds that there is not much evidence, philological or other, in proof of the part of South India in this trade, which might after all have been confined, at any rate until a very late stage, to Northern India and to the land routes. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar *IA.* Vol. lix pp. 178 ff., after a careful examination of Bloch's position on the etymology of the Gk. *Oruzon,* comes to the conclusion: '*Varigi* or *Varizi* may be postulated for Dravidian from which, with characteristic modifications, the Greeks could have borrowed that word'. Kennedy's conclusion that maritime trade between South India and the West dates from the sixth or even the seventh century B.C. still seems good.

20. Rostovtzeff—*Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* p. 91.

21. The quotations are from Schoff: *Periplus.* Schoff says: 'Coast country is from the native name, Cōḷa coast Cōḷamaṇḍalam.' (p. 241). This is hardly satisfactory as Cōḷa-maṇḍalam only means Cōḷa country, not 'coast.'

22. See Rawlinson—*Intercourse between India and the Western World* pp. 121-2.

23. Schoff—p. 242. Kanakasabhai p. 29. Also *IA.* viii, p. 149 n. *QJMS.* xxi. pp. 413-4.

24. See Ch. I, sections 12, 13, 68, and 91 in Mc. Crindle's edn. of Bk. VII in *IA.* xiii. Also Caldwell—*Comp. Grammar.* pp. 92 ff. Kanakasabhai (p. 29) makes many shrewd suggestions on the identification of Ptolemy's names.

25. *Ancient Geography* p. 631. See also Caldwell—*Comp. Grammar* p. 93.

26. Caldwell says: 'General Cunningham objects to this identification that Arcot is quite a modern name; but it must, as Col. Yule has pointed out, be at least as old as A.D. 1340, for it is mentioned by Ibn Batuta. The name is properly *ār—kāḍ,* Tam. the six forests, and the Hindus of the place regard it as an ancient city, though not mentioned by the name in the Purāṇas, and point out the 'six forests' in which six

of the *ṛiṣis* of the ancient period had their hermitage.' (*op. cit.* pp. 93-4) Such local legends are not of much value in the face of the much stronger and earlier evidence cited. Ptolemy places Arkatos in the country between Mt. Bettigo and Adeisathros (VII, 1. 68); but on account of the inextricable confusion into which he falls over the second of these names (*IA.* xiii. p. 337), this does not help us much in the location of Arkatos on a modern map. The references in the early Tamil literature are valuable in this respect. Cunningham was doubtless influenced by Yuan-chwang's data about Chu-lien when he proposed to identify Ptolemy's Sora, the capital of Arkatos, with Zora or Jora (the Jorampun of the maps), an old town lying immediately under the walls of Karnul (*Anc. Geogr.* p. 626).

27. Poem No. 190 (anonymous) of the *Narriṇai* has the following:—
tēngamaḻ viritār—iyarēraḻiśi
vaṇḍumūśu neyda—nelliḍai malaru
mariyalangaḻani—yārkkāḍanna.

There is also a stray veṇbā (*Perundogai* No. 988) which mentions *Aḻiśi-kāḍu*, the *kāḍu* (forest) of Aḻiśi. This princeling had a son Śēndan, who is sometimes connected with the Cōḻa capital Uṟaiyūr (*Kuṟundogai* No. 258). Ārkkāḍu is said to be in the Cōḻa country by the editor of the *Narriṇai*.

28. See Yule and Burnell-*Hobson-Jobson* s. v. Arcot, where it is pointed out that of several places of this name in the Southern districts besides the town of Arcot near Vellore, one in Tanjore would correspond best with Harkatu of Ibn Batuta.

29. D. R. Bhandarkar-*Asoka* p. 39.

30. Rhys Davids—*The Questions of King Milinda* (*SBE.*) i, p. xliv and ii. p. 269.

31. *IHQ.* vi 597 ff. Without stopping to argue the matter fully, M. Sylvain Lévi finds an easy explanation in 'Tamil nationalism' (p. 607) for the view which ascribes an early date to the poem. The relation between the *Nyāyapravéśa* of Diṅnāga and the *Maṇimēkalai* xxix is not simple, as readers of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Maṇimēkhalai in its Historical Setting* must see. And a careful examination of the other systems of philosophy propounded in that canto shows that there are many truly ancient doctrines in it which would not be easy to explain on the basis of a late date such as the sixth century A.D. See S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, *JIH*, viii and ix.

I have my own doubts if Canto xxix does not bear signs of a remodelling.

32. See Geiger's *Mahāvamsa* chh. xxi-xxv for the narrative. Geiger thinks that 'Cōḻa-country' means 'Southern India.' (Trans. p. 143 n. 4). This is unnecessary and seems to go against the precise expressions in the original, like *Cōḻa-raṭṭha* (xxi 13) and *dakhiṇam Madhuram puram Pāṇḍu-rājassa* (vii, 50), besides the common form Damiḻa employed of both countries. Further, the story of the justice done by the king to the cow that lost its calf narrated of Eḷāra in the *MV.* is localised at

Tiruvārūr on the continent, and there is a stone monument in that place representing the central incident of the story. See *Epigr. Zeylanica* iii pp. 1-47 for the chronology of the *MV*. 'The length of Elāra's reign may be accepted as correct.' *ibid* p. 5 n. 1.

33. *MV*. xxi, 21-6.

34. *MV*. xxii 86 and xxiv 4.

35. Geiger-transl. pp. 290-1 gives a lucid account of the details of the war. On one occasion seven Damiḷa princes were defeated in one day (xxv 10), and altogether thirty-two princes are said to have been thus overpowered in the war (*ibid*. 75). They were probably all commanders of Eḷāra's forces which garrisoned many fortresses on the frontier and elsewhere.

36. See *JRAS*. 1913, pp. 529-31. Some vague popular legends connect the poet of the *Kuṟaḷ*, Tiruvaḷḷuvar, with a merchant prince, Elela Singa, (V.R.R. Dikshitar-*Studies in Tamil Literature and History*-pp. 129 ff.), but no one knows where these come from, and they lack all claim to credence and can furnish no basis for a date for Tiruvaḷḷuvar. For other instances of Tamil influence in Ceylon, not specially known to be Cōḷa, see *MV*. xxi 10, Sena and Guttaka; xxxiii 56, Puḷattha and others; xxxiv, 19 ff. for the infamous career or Anulā-dēvi who made over the country to a succession of her Tamil paramours.

Chapter III

CŌḶAS IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

Nature of the Early Literature.

The earliest Cōḷa kings of whom we have tangible evidence are those mentioned in the Śangam literature. Scholars are now generally agreed that this literature belongs to the first few centuries of the Christian era.[1] The internal chronology of this literature is still far from settled, and this remains at present an insuperable obstacle in the way of giving a connected account of the history of the period. We gather the names of kings and princes, and of the poets who extolled them; we also learn much of uncommon interest about the life and work of the people. Some of the kings, we can see, were men of real distinction with a good title to fame; and the poets were often great artists who could add beauty to truth in the manner of their expression. In this body of early Tamil literature, the individuals depicted stand out in bold relief and their characteristic traits are most unmistakably revealed to us; it is thus all the greater pity, that we cannot work it into a connected history. We shall see that when the chronology becomes firm, with the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line, literature loses its early qualities of realism and strength, and lapses, particularly in the delineation of persons, into the easy devices of court poetry.

Two great kings.

Two names stand out prominently from among those of the Cōḷa kings known to the Śangam literature; and their memory is cherished in song and legend by a loving posterity; they are those of Karikāla and Kōccengaṇān. There is no sure means of settling the order of their succession, of fixing their relations with one another and with many other princes and princelings of about the same period. If Puhār or Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam rose in importance only in the time of Karikāla,[2] then the civil strife between the two branches of the Cōḷas, one of them apparently stationed at Uṟaiyūr and the other at Puhār, may be taken to fall in the period subsequent to the rule of Karikāla. In any event, this strife between the rival branches of the royal

family appears to have been a constant factor in the annals of the Cōḷas of the Śangam age. Even Karikāla, the most illustrious among them, had his own troubles in the beginning.[3]

Myths.

Before we proceed to discuss the kings of the Śangam Age, some attention may be given to the legends about the mythical Cōḷa kings known to this literature. The Cōḷas were even then looked upon as descended from the sun[4]—a fact that received elaborate emphasis in later times in the long mythical genealogies incorporated in copperplate charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in the Kanyākumāri stone inscription of Vīrarājendra, and in literary works like the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikramaśōḷan Ulā*. Coeval with Agastya and Paraśurāma was king Kāntan, whose devotion to the former brought the river Kāvēri into existence,[5] and who at the bidding of Pārvati (Kanni) entrusted his kingdom for a time to his illegitimate son Kakandan, in order to escape the fury of Paraśurāma, who waged relentless war against all Kṣatriyas.[6] He ruled from Campā, later called Kākandi, Puhār and Kāviripppūmpaṭṭinam. Another legendary hero was Tūngeyilerinda-toḍittōṭcembiyan, who destroyed some mysterious flying fortress of the Asuras[7] and also instituted in Puhār, at the instance of Agastya, an annual festival to Indra of the duration of twenty-eight days.[8] The story of the king who sentenced his son to death for having killed a calf by rash driving[9] and that of another who rescued the dove from the hawk, but not the names of Manu and Śibi, are known[10] to this early literature. The king of the bird-story is, however, once called Śembiyan.[11] Some of these legends, like the story of the calf and the prince,[12] the origin of the Kāvēri, and the institution of the festival to Indra, are not found in the anthologies of the Śangam, and make their appearance for the first time in the twin epics of the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*.

Karikāla.

Karikāla, the greatest among the Cōḷas of the Śangam age, was the son of Iḷañjēṭcenni distinguished for the beauty of his numerous war-chariots.[13] Karikālan means 'the man with the charred leg,' and the name perpetuated the memory of a fire-accident in the early years of the prince's life,[14] in later times, under Sanskritic influences, the name was explained as Death (*Kāla*)

to *'Kali'* or 'Death to (enemies') elephants.' Karikāla was deprived of his birth-right and confined in a prison by his enemies for some years. The plucky manner in which he effected his escape and established himself in power is a favourite theme with the poets.[15]

Accession.

> 'Like the tiger cub with its sharp claws and its curved stripes growing (strong) within the cage, his strength came to maturity (like wood in grain) while he was in the bondage of his enemies. As the large-trunked elephant pulls down the banks of the pit (in which it has been caught) and effects its escape by filling in the pit, and joins its mate, even so after deep and careful consideration, he drew his sword, effected his escape by overpowering the strong guard (of his prison), and attained his glorious heritage in due course.'

Again,

> 'This lord, dreaded by his enemies like Murugan's anger, inherited the throne from his mother's womb;[16] he forced his enemies to do his behests, and filled with uneasiness the lands of those that did not submit; like the young sun spreading the rays of dawn on the ocean before rising in the sky, so from the day he began to crawl as a baby, he bore on his shoulders his excellent country, and daily increased its prosperity. As the fierce whelp of the lion, proud of its strength greater than that of Death, while it has not yet given up sucking the breast of its dam, quickly kills the elephant in its first hunt for food,'

so 'Karikāla-Cōḷa with the garland of *ār* pleasing to the eyes' fought a great battle at Veṇṇi in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra both suffered a crushing defeat.[17] Veṇṇi has been identified with Kōvil Veṇṇi, a village fifteen miles to the east of Tanjore. Though we know very little of the circumstances that led to this battle, there can be no doubt that it marked the turning point in Karikāla's career; for in this battle he seems to have broken the back of a widespread confederacy formed against him. Besides the two crowned kings of the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries, eleven minor chieftains took their side in the campaign and shared the defeat at the hands of Karikāla.[18] Much sym-

Battle of Veṇṇi.

pathy was felt for the Cēra king, who was wounded at his back, the last disgrace that could befall a soldier on the battle-field, and who expiated his cowardice by committing suicide;[19] this is how one of Karikāla's own friends, the poet Veṇṇikkuyattiyār, possibly a resident of Veṇṇi and an eye-witness to the battle, addresses the monarch:[20]

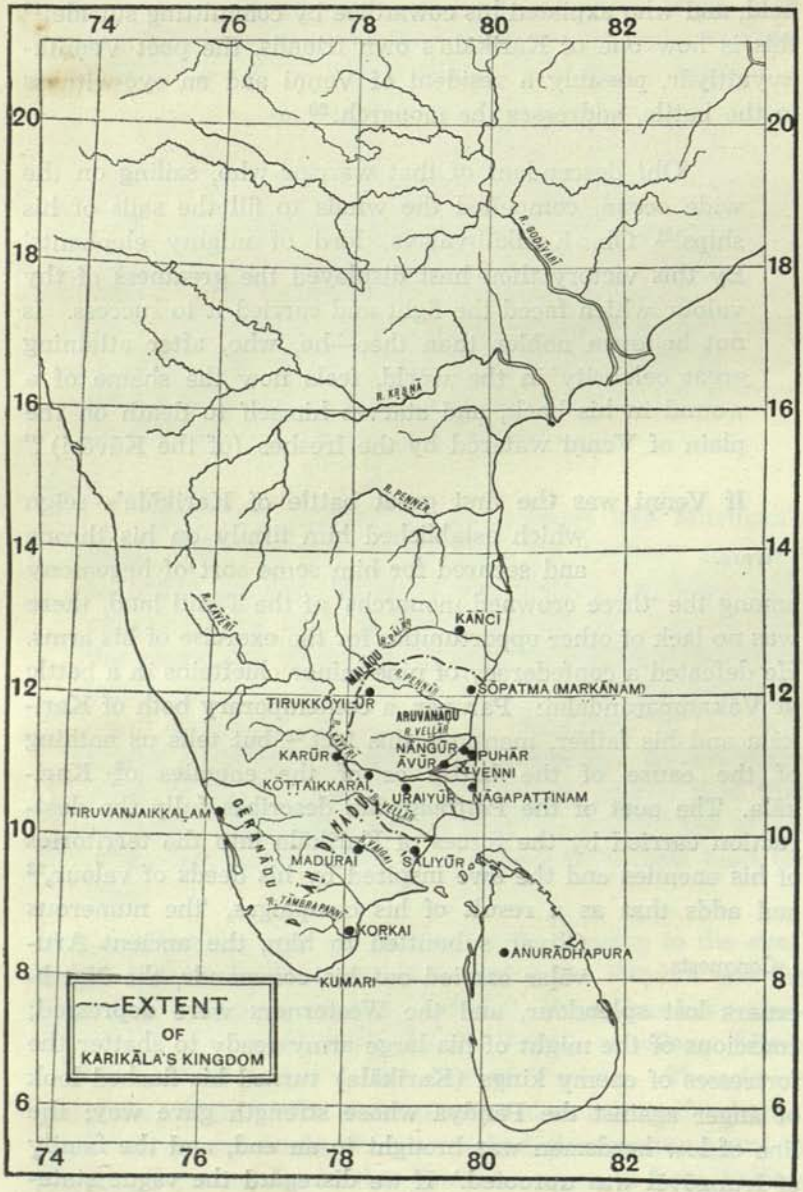
> 'Oh! descendant of that warrior who, sailing on the wide ocean, compelled the winds to fill the sails of his ships![21] Oh, Karikāl-vaḷava, lord of mighty elephants! By this victory thou hast displayed the greatness of thy valour which faced the fight and carried it to success. Is not he even nobler than thee—he, who, after attaining great celebrity in the world, feels now the shame of a wound in his back, and starves himself to death on the plain of Veṇṇi watered by the freshes (of the Kāvēri)?'

Wars.

If Veṇṇi was the first great battle of Karikāla's reign which established him firmly on his throne and secured for him some sort of hegemony among the 'three crowned monarchs' of the Tamil land, there was no lack of other opportunities for the exercise of his arms. He defeated a confederacy of nine minor chieftains in a battle at Vākaipparandalai: Paraṇar, a contemporary both of Karikāla and his father, mentions this fact,[22] but tells us nothing of the cause of the battle or of the enemies of Karikāla. The poet of the *Paṭṭinappālai* describes fully the destruction carried by the forces of Karikāla into the territories of his enemies and the awe inspired by his deeds of valour,[23] and adds that as a result of his campaigns, 'the numerous

Conquests.

Oḷiyar submitted to him, the ancient Aruvāḷar carried out his commands, the Northerners lost splendour, and the Westerners were depressed; conscious of the might of his large army ready to shatter the fortresses of enemy kings (Karikāla) turned his flushed look of anger against the Pāṇḍya whose strength gave way; the line of low herdsmen was brought to an end, and the family of Irungōvēḷ was uprooted.' If we disregard the vague statements about Northerners and Westerners in these lines from the *Paṭṭinappālai*, we see that for all his heroism on the battle-field Karikāla's permanent conquests did not extend much beyond the land of the Kāvēri. The Aruvāḷar were the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R. GODĀVARI
R. KRSNĀ
R. PENNĀR
R. KĀVERĪ
KĀÑCĪ
MALAIYĀLAM
R. PALĀR
R. PONNAI
SŌPATMA (MARKĀNAM)
TIRUKKŌYILŪR
ARUVĀNĀDU
R. VELLĀR
KARŪR
NĀNGŪR
ĀVŪR
PUHĀR
VENNI
KŌTTAIKKARAI
URAIYŪR
NĀGAPATTINAM
TIRUVANJAIKKALAM
CERANĀDU
PĀNDIMĀDU
R. VAIGAI
MADURAI
SALIYŪR
R. TĀMIRAPARNI
KORKAI
ANURĀDHAPURA
KUMARI
EXTENT
OF
KARIKĀLA'S KINGDOM

inhabitants of the Aruvānād which comprised the lower valley of the Peṇṇār, just north of the Kāvēri delta country. The Oḷiyar were perhaps some nomadic tribe of *nāga* extraction, whom Karikāla converted to a settled life.[24] The description of Kāvirip-pūmpaṭṭinam and its foreshore, which takes up so much of the *Paṭṭinappālai,* gives a vivid idea of the state of industry and commerce under Karikāla who is said to have promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land and added to the prosperity of the country by multiplying irrigation tanks.[25]

Personal Life.

Of Karikāla's personal life we hear next to nothing. While Uruttiranganṇanār, the author of the *Paṭṭinappālai,* tells us vaguely that he enjoyed the society of women and children,[26] the late annotator Naccinārkkiniyar, possibly reproducing a correct tradition, states that Karikāla took to wife a Vēḷir girl from Nāngūr,[27] a place celebrated in the poems of Tirumangai Āḻvār for the heroism of its warriors. A daughter of Karikāla, Ādimandi by name, is the subject of many poems. She lost her husband, a Cēra prince, by name Āṭṭan Atti, who was drowned in the Kāvēri, but subsequently, by the power of her chastity, she is said to have brought him back to life.[28]

Religion. Death.

Karikāla's faith in the Vedic religion and the poignancy of the grief caused by his death find moving expression in the following lines of Karunguḷal-Ādanār:[29]

> 'He who stormed his enemies' forts dauntlessly; who feasted his minstrels and their families and treated them to endless draughts of toddy; who, in the assembly of Brahmans noted for knowledge of dharma and purity of life, guided by priests learned in their duties and attended by his noble and virtuous queen, performed the vedic sacrifice in which the tall sacrificial post stood on a bird-like platform (*garuḍacayana*), within the sacrificial court surrounded by a high wall with round bastions; he, the great and wise king alas! is no more! Poor indeed is this world which has lost him. Like the branches of the *vēngai* tree, which stand bare, when their bright foliage has been cut down by shepherds eager to feed their cattle in the fierce summer, are his fair queens, who have cast off their jewels.'

Legends.

From very early times Karikāla became the centre of many myths which, in modern times, have often been accepted as serious history. The *Śilappadikāram* which, with studied fairness attributes to each of the three Tamil monarchies some conspicuous success against northern Aryan kings, gives a glorious account of the northern expedition of Karikāla[30] which took him as far as the Himalayas and gained for him the alliance or subjection of the kings of the Vajra, Magadha and Avanti countries. The raising of the flood-banks of the Kāvēri by Karikāla seems to be first mentioned by the Malēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra,[31] a Telugu-Cōḍa king of the seventh or eighth century. Nothing can be more typical of the manner in which legends grow than the way in which this story mingles with another stream of legend centring round Triṇētra Pallava, and culminates in the celebrated jingle of the late Telugu-Cōḍa plates: *caraṇa-sarōruha vihata-vilōcana-pallava-trilōcana-pramukhākhila-prithivīśvara-kārita-kāvērī-tīra*,[32] which has been made the basis of conclusions of the highest importance to the chronology of Early South Indian History. The choice of Karikāla to the Cōḷa throne by a state elephant which was let loose for the purpose from Kaḷumalam and which discovered him at Karūr, and his conquest of Kāñcī and settlement of agrarian colonies in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam are other elements in the Karikāla legends that can find no support from the earliest authorities on his reign. It would seem that the Toṇḍai-nāḍ was ruled by Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan in the days of Karikāla; and there is no satisfactory evidence in support of the suggestion that has been made that this chieftain was the grandson of Karikāla, or, at least, a viceroy appointed by him after his conquest of Kāñcī.[33]

Civil War.

We now pass on to Nalangiḷḷi and his rival Neḍungiḷḷi who, judging from the civil war between them which lasted till the death of Neḍungiḷḷi[34] at the Kāriyāṟu, must have belonged to rival branches of the Cōḷa family which ruled with Puhār and Uraiyūr for their respective centres. Nalangiḷḷi had a younger brother, Māvaḷattān; and his memory is preserved to us by the poet Tāmappal-kaṇṇanār who, when Māvaḷattān lost his temper in a game of dice and hit him with a die, so rebuked him that later he felt the need for an apology and composed a short

poem,[35] which is the only relic of this inflammable princeling and his boon-companion, the Brahman poet of Dāmal.[36]

The *Maṇimēkalai*[37] mentions a great battle at the Kāriyāṟu in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra were defeated by a junior prince (Iḷangōn) of the Cōḷa family in the reign of Māvaṇkiḷḷi, also called Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi and Kiḷḷivaḷavan in this poem. This battle has been identified with the one in which Neḍungiḷḷi met his fate and the civil strife came to an end;[38] from this the inference has been drawn that the Iḷangōn of the *Maṇimēkalai* was no other than Nalangiḷḷi, and that Nalangiḷḷi was the younger brother of Neḍumuḍik-kiḷḷi; some writers go further and argue that because Nalangiḷḷi is called Śēṭcenni-Nalangiḷḷi,[39] he may be a grandson of Iḷañjēṭcenni, the father of Karikāla, with the result that Neḍumuḍik-kiḷḷi, Nalangiḷḷi, and Māvaḷattān turn out to be three sons of Karikāla. But there is nothing except the name in favour of identifying the two references to the Kāriyāṟu in the *Puṟanānūṟu* and the *Maṇimēkalai;* nothing is known of the circumstances of Neḍungiḷḷi's death at the Kāriyāṟu, a fact which finds only the most casual mention in the colophon to *Puṟam* 47; we are to infer from this that as there was a civil war between Nalangiḷḷi and Neḍungiḷḷi, a fight at the Kāriyāṟu might, by proving fatal to the latter, have closed the strife. On the contrary, the battle of the Kāriyāṟu described, though briefly, yet with considerable vividness, in the *Maṇimēkalai,* appears as a first-class event in the foreign relations of the Cōḷa kingdom, and not as a petty fight incidental to a quarrel among blood relations; and there is no suggestion in the context that the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya were, on that occasion, engaged in aiding one Cōḷa prince against another. The last argument adduced from the name Śēṭcenni-Nalangiḷḷi is not without force, and it appears quite likely that he and Māvaḷattān were the sons of Karikāla.

Nalangiḷḷi.

Nalangiḷḷi forms the subject of no fewer than fourteen pieces in the *Puṟanānūṟu,* and Kōvūr-Kiḻār, who contributes half the number implies that the king enjoyed, like Karikāla himself, a sort of vague hegemony among the Tamil states, and sings with intelligible exaggeration;[40]

'As true wealth and happiness are seen to follow in the wake of virtue, so the two umbrellas (of the rivals Pāṇḍya and Cēra) follow thy peerless umbrella which is raised aloft, resplendent in the sky, like the full-moon. Ambitious of fair fame thou wouldst stay nowhere but in thy victorious camp. Thy elephants chafe, whose tusks are blunt with battering the walls of thy enemies' forts. Eager for fight, thy soldiers who wear anklets, make nothing of marching through wide stretches of forests to reach the enemy country. Thy war steeds starting from the Eastern sea stay not till the waves of the Western ocean wash their hoofs; in fine, the kings of the North keep watch with sleepless eyes as they dread the possibility of thy marching against them.'

The poet who praised his lord with such strident notes was no base sycophant. In striking contrast with the foregoing, is the moving exhortation to peace addressed to the king when he was besieging Uṟaiyūr in order to reduce Neḍungiḷḷi to submission:[41]

'He does not wear the white flower of the palm. He does not wear the garland of the dark-boughed margosa. Thy garland is a wreath of the *ār*, and so is that of him who wages war with thee. If either of you loses the battle, it is your house that loses; in the nature of things, it is impossible that both of you win. Your action, therefore, forebodes no good to your race; this strife will rejoice other kings who, like you, ride on pennoned chariots.'

This noble advice of the poet would seem to have fallen on deaf ears; for, as we have seen, the epithet *Kāriyāṟṟut-tuñjiya* applied to Neḍungiḷḷi seems to imply that the war came to an end only with his death.

Nalangiḷḷi, like several other princes of the age, cultivated literature himself, and of the two poems preserved from among his compositions, one takes the form of an uncanny oath in the following terms:[42]

'If gently approaching my feet, one prays for a favour, I shall grant him with pleasure my ancient kingdom, nay, I shall give my life for his sake. If, like a

blind man who stumbles on a tiger sleeping in the open, one is so foolish as to slight my strength and oppose my will, he shall hardly escape with his life. If I do not advance to the fight and cause (my foes) to suffer like the long-stemmed bamboo trampled under foot by a huge elephant, may my garland be crumpled in the wanton embraces of dark-haired harlots, who can never love with a pure heart.'

That Kāvirip-pūmpaṭṭinam with its extensive trade was in Nalangiḷḷi's possession,[43] and that Vedic sacrifices were common in his reign[44] are facts well attested by our sources. There is a poignant note of melancholy in some of the poems on Nalangiḷḷi[45] composed by Uṟaiyūr Mudukaṇṇan Śāttanār, and it is not easy to decide if this is due to the poet's own temperament or to the incidents of the civil strife. It would appear that Nalangiḷḷi died at a place called Ilavandigaippaḷḷi.[46]

Neḍungiḷḷi.

Neḍungiḷḷi, the opponent of Nalangiḷḷi in the civil war, is addressed in two poems by Kōvūr-Kiḻār, the author of the exhortation addressed to both of them to cease from their strife. These poems add a little to our knowledge of the occurrences in the war. One of them mentions that Neḍungiḷḷi was once shut up in Āvūr which, like Uṟaiyūr, was beset by the forces of Nalangiḷḷi. The poem gives a graphic description of the effects of the siege:[47]

'The male elephants, not led out to bathe with the female herd in the large tanks (outside the fort), nor fed with balls of rice mixed with ghee, chafe at the posts to which they are chained, heave long sighs, and with their trunks rolling on the ground, trumpet loudly like thunder. Children cry for want of milk, the women plait their hair without flowers, the mansions of the city resound with the cries of people wailing for want of water. It is not possible to hold out any more here, thou, master of fleet steeds! If thou wouldst be kind, open the gates (to the enemy) saying, "This is yours;" if thou wouldst be heroic, open the gates and lead thy soldiers out to victory; to be neither the one nor the other, to close the strong gates of the fort, and to shut yourself up in a corner behind the high walls, this, when one thinks of it, is shameful indeed!'

Neḍungiḷḷi, then, had ambition without courage, and brought much suffering on himself and his subjects by his pusillanimity. Like all cowards, he seems to have lived in constant dread of treachery and foul play. When he was besieged at Uṟaiyūr, a minstrel, Iḷandattan by name, who had entered Uṟaiyūr from the camp of Nalangiḷḷi, was taken to be a spy, and was about to be killed when Kōvūr-Kiḷār put in a successful plea for his life being spared. The short poem is a fine picture of bardic life in the Śangam age.[48]

> 'They fly like birds and traverse many a long and arid route in search of patrons, and with untutored tongue, sing their praise; pleased with what they get they feast their train, eat without saving, give without stinting, and pine only for honour. Such is their living which depends on the free gifts (of patrons). Does this ever hurt others? No, to be sure. Only, they exult in their triumphs over rival bards, and when their rivals' faces are cast down, then do they walk proudly, and are well pleased; they have thus a primacy of their own, not less than persons who, like you, have attained to the rulership of the earth.'

Kiḷḷivaḷavan.

Close to Nalangiḷḷi and Neḍungiḷḷi in time, because the same poets are found composing poems in their praise, was Kiḷḷivaḷavan who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam. Another Kiḷḷivaḷavan, the subject of a single poem of Kōvūr-Kiḷār,[49] is said to have died at Kurāp-paḷḷi. It has been suggested that these two kings are identical,[50] and if that be so, this poem of Kōvūr-Kiḷār composed after the king had captured Karuvūr, depicts a later stage in his Cēra war than another[51] poem by Ālattur Kiḷār, which describes Karuvūr still in a state of siege. Kiḷḷivaḷavan is celebrated in eighteen songs by ten different minstrels, and himself figures as the author of a poem in praise of his friend Paṇṇan,[52] the lord of Śiṟukuḍi. He ruled with Uṟaiyūr as his capital.[53] 'This king, who (we may infer) possessed considerable ability, was both brave and generous, but somewhat headstrong. Hence a great deal of good advice is, in a very tactful way, offered to him by the minstrels; and he seems to have been all the better for it.' The following lines are by Veḷḷaikkuḍi-nākanar,[54] who was rewarded on the spot by a remission of the arrears due on his lands.

The pleasant Tamil lands possess
For boundary the ocean wide.
The heaven, where tempests loud sway not,
Upon their brow rests as a crown.
Fertile the soil they till, and wide.
Three kings with mighty hosts this land
Divide; but of the three; whose drums
Sound for the battle's angry strife,
Thou art the chief, O mighty one!
Though the resplendent sun in diverse quarters rise;
And though the silvery planet to the south decline;
Thy land shall flourish, where through channels deep,
Kāvēri flows with bright refreshing stream,
Along whose banks the sweet cane's white flowers wave
Like pennon'd spears uprising from the plain.
Let me speak out to this rich country's king!
Be easy of access at fitting time, as though
The lord of justice sat to hear, and right decree.
Such kings have rain on their dominions at their will!
The clouds thick gather round the sun, and rest
In vault of heaven:—So let thy canopy
Of state challenge the sky, and spread around
Not gloom, but peaceful shade. Let all thy victories
Be the toiling ploughman's gain.
Kings get the blame, whether rains fail, or copious flow,
And lack the praise: such is the usage of the world.
If thou hast marked and known this well,
Reject the wily counsels of malicious men.
Lighten the load of those who till the soil.
The dwellers in the land protect. If thou do this
Thy stubborn foes shall lowly bend beneath thy feet.

The siege and capture of Karūr, the Cēra capital, was, doubtless, the greatest military achievement of this king, and has called forth a number of poems. Thus Ālattūr Kiḻār made an effort to divert the king's attention from his enterprise and save Karūr from destruction, by gently reproaching him with pitting himself against a foe unworthy of his mettle[55]:—

Whether thou wilt destroy or wilt release,
'Tis thine to ponder which befits thy name!—
The axe, bright-edged, long-handled, sharp by file
Of smith black-handed, smites the fragrant boughs

Of guardian trees in every park around;
They crashing fall and scatter the white sands
Of *Ān-poruntham's* river cool, where sport
The damsels with their golden bracelets gay;
Thro' town, and all the guarded hall are echoes heard,
And yet their king in pleasure slumbers on!
With bow-armed host, thy war-drum sounding loud,
'Twill shame thee to have fought such feeble foes.

'The intercession was unsuccessful; the fair city fell'; and a poetess, Māṟōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār, gave expression to her grief as follows:[56]

Thou scion of the Cōḷa Lord who saved
The dove from woe,—Chief of the wrathful hosts,
Armed with the gleaming darts that work havoc,
As when a fiery dragon, angry, fierce,—
Bearing five heads, with gleaming poisonous tooth,
Has enter'd the vast mountain-cavern, where
The golden creepers twine;—and from the sky
Fire issues forth and loudest thunderbolt;—
Thou saw'st the lordly city old, whose king
Was circled round by girded elephants.
There in dark deep moat alligators congregate.
In the wide waters of the guarded lake
Are crocodiles that fierce in fight
Dart forth to catch the shadows cast
By gleam of watchman's torch at midnight hour.
Its walls like burnish'd copper shone.
This seemed not fair to thine eyes; for thou didst
Work destruction mightily, glorious king!

'The delicate lyric warning against arrogance' addressed to the proud conqueror by Mūlam-kiḻār of Āvūr must have been composed soon after the capitulation of Karuvūr:[57]

'Thou art the mighty one, who sparing not the guarded fort broke thro' and slew its king and made the yellow gold, erewhile his crown, anklets to grace, O! hero! thy conquering foot.

Thy land is so fertile that a tiny piece thereof, where a she-elephant might rest, can nourish seven lordly elephants,

That we may ever see, as now, the necks of thy traducers bend, and those who laud thee raise their heads, be thou, great king! pleasant of speech, and easy of access.'

Kōvūr-Kiḷār also described this event at some length in a poem that has not been preserved in its entirety.[58]

The poems of the *Puṟanānuṟu* are silent on the relations between Kiḷḷivaḷavan and his southern neighbour the Pāṇḍya; but a poem of Nakkīrar[59] in the *Ahanānūṟu* makes pointed reference to a defeat sustained by the forces of a Kiḷḷivaḷavan under the walls of Madura at the hands of the Pāṇḍya commander-in-chief, Paḷaiyan Māṟan. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, we may assume that the king whose defeat is alluded to by Nakkīrar was the one that died at Kuḷamuṟṟam.[60] Kiḷḷivaḷavan evidently waged war in another direction against the Malaiyamān chieftain of Malāḍu, a district on the banks of the Peṇṇār which had Tirukkōyilūr for its centre. Though we cannot be quite certain of it, the Malaiyamān against whom this expedition was directed seems to have been Malaiyamān Tiṟumuḍik-kāri who is celebrated in several poems of the *Puṟam* by Kapilar and Māṟōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār for the liberal patronage he extended to the minstrels, a trait which is emphasised also by Kōvūr-Kiḷār in the following poem by which he succeeded in releasing the children of the Malaiyamān from a cruel death to which the victorious Cōḷa monarch had condemned them:[61]

'Thou art of the royal line of him who saved the dove from affliction and many another sufferer;

These are children of the race that, in their concern for the learned, share their food with them and save them from want, and under whose fostering care men lead happy lives;

See these little innocents, how first they stood fearing the sight of thine elephants; then, forgetting that, were daunted by the aspect of thy hall; and now stand trembling with troubles ever new!

Hear me, and then follow the promptings of thine own desire!'

A panegyric by Maṟōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār applauds in equal measure and with much art the generosity, justice and heroism of this king.[62]

'Descendant of him who to save a dove from grief entered the balance whose beam was tipped with the carved white tusk of the heavy-footed elephant! Giving in grace was born with thee, and is not thy peculiar praise.

And, when one ponders how thy sires of old destroyed the mighty fort suspended in the sky which foes dreaded to approach,—to slay thy foes is not thy peculiar praise!

And since the council of Uṟaiyūr, impregnable city of the valiant Śōḷar, is the home of Equity,—Justice is not thy peculiar praise!

O Vaḷavan, swift horseman, whose stout arms are like fortress-bars, whose wreath attracts every eye, how then shall I sing thy praises?

How shall I tell of thy glorious prowess that withered the fadeless Vañji, destroying the Cēran king with his mighty chariot cunningly wrought, who planted his guarded bow-banner on the immeasurably lofty gold-tipped peaks of Himalaya.'

Two short odes on the death of the king, though they reveal nothing of the identity of Kuḷamuṟṟam where he died or of the circumstances attending his death, are noteworthy for the quaintness of their conceits. One of them is by the gifted poetess, Māṟōkkattu Nappaśalai:[63]

If in his mind against thee he were wroth,
Or if in outward act he showed his rage,
Or if he touched thee with afflictive hand,
Thou couldst not have escaped, O Death!
Thou took'st great Vaḷavan, entreating him,
Like minstrels, bowing low, with suppliant hand,
Praising, thou didst bear off his life,
Leader of hosts that crowd the glorious field,
Crowned with gold wreath, Lord of the mighty car!

The other, by Māśāttanār of Āḍuturai, though somewhat commonplace, as observed by Dr. Pope, still does not lack power:[64]

Death! Right silly art thou, ruthless one:
Through lack of sense thou eat'st thine own seed-corn!
Thou yet shalt see the truth of what I say.
Warriors with gleaming swords, and elephant and horse
Fell on the battle-plain that flowed with blood;
Daily he was insatiate, slew his foes,
And fed thine hunger! Like thyself a strength
He had that knew no ruth nor vengeance feared.
This Vaḷavan who wore great golden ornaments,
Whose flowery garland swarmed with humming bees,
Since thou hast borne away,—who shall appease thine hunger now?

Kopperuñjōḷan.

Another renowned Cōḷa king of the time was Kōpperuñjōḷan who also ruled from Uṟaiyūr. Himself a poet,[65] he was an intimate friend of two poets—Āndaiyār of (Irum) Piśir and Pottiyār. Āndai (owl) sounds more like a nickname than a name proper[66]; but the poet is not known by any other name. He was a native of the Pāṇḍya country and gave some good counsel[67] to the king of that country, Aṟivuḍai Nambi. Pottiyār was a native of the Cōḷa country and resided at Uṟaiyūr. The intimate friendship between these and Kōpperuñjōḷan became a classic example in later literature[68] like that between Damon and Pythias. Āndai was a jolly good fellow and his poems ring with the true enjoyment of life. Asked once why, though old, his hair had not turned grey, he gave the answer:[69]

My years are many, yet my locks not grey:
You ask the reason why, 'tis simply this
I have a worthy wife, and children too;
My servants move obedient to my will;
My king does me no evil, aye protects;
To crown the whole, around me dwell good men
And true, of chastened souls with knowledge filled.

Here is another poem evincing the attachment felt by him to Kōpperuñjōḷan, in preference to the king of his native land:[70]

If you ask us 'who is your king?' Our king is he who
To the labourers gives strong palm-wine strained and
[mellow,
And with the fat of turtle satiates their desire,
And fills their mouths with lampreys' rich roast flesh.
They leave short toil for feast; the feast prolong!
In that good fertile land the minstrels with their kin
Find our king the foe of want and hunger's pangs.
He is the lord of Kōḷi, the mighty Cōḷa king.
He loves converse with Potti, whose friendship knows
[no flaw.[71]
All the day long he laughs with heart right glad!

A beautiful poem[72] by Pullāṟṟūr Eyiṟṟiyanār which deprecates civil strife by a fine appeal to the simple parental emotions of the king is the sole relic left to us of what was possibly a serious quarrel between Kōpperuñjōḷan and his two sons. By a strange irony of fate, this winsome monarch, who engaged the deepest affection of two poets for life and in death, was unable to compose his differences with his own children. His agnostic utterance on suicide is perhaps sufficient proof that he found in it his last refuge from the troubles of life:[73]

They who have not assured their minds
By the doubt-free vision pure, that aye endures,
Say not, 'shall we do good deeds or shall we not.'
Who hunts an elephant may gain an elephant;
Who hunts a quail, may come back with empty hand
Therefore if men have lofty aspirations,
They must carry them out in successful deeds, and so gain
Enjoyment of the world beyond the reach of sense.
Should this not be theirs, in some future birth they may
[win release.
And if there be no future birth,—yet to found
Their fame on earth like Himalaya's lofty peak,
And to pass away with body unstained by evil,
Is surely asceticism's highest gain.

Two other short poems[74] express the king's eagerness to meet Āndai before the end came, as also his quiet confidence that his friend would not fail him. When Āndai turned up in good time and joined the king in his resolve to quit the wicked world, Pottiyār evinced[75] great admiration for the nobility of

the king and the wisdom of Āndai, and the deepest concern for the country which was losing a monarch whose great qualities captivated the mind of Āndai, though he owed him no allegiance. Two short pieces[76] commemorate the suicide of Āndai in the king's company. One of them records that Āndai starved himself to death under the shade of a tree in the river-bed. When Pottiyār wanted to follow, the king forbade him asking him to postpone his suicide till after his son had been born,[77] and Pottiyār had to go back. In the following lines the poet gave vent to his feelings as he returned to Uṟaiyūr:[78]

The keeper who has lost the huge elephant which he [daily supplied
With its ample meal, and tended for many a year,
Is sad as he surveys the vacant pillar where it stood,
And weeps. Even so, did I not grieve when I beheld
The courtyard in the ancient town where Kiḷḷi lived and [died;
Kiḷḷi, with wealth of chariots, o'er which waves the [conqueror's wreath?

When, a little later, he visited the spot of the king's death, marked by a stone (*naḍukal*), he was greatly moved by the recollection of his noble traits.[79]

He had the praises manifold of minstrels whose wants he [relieved;
He was most loving to the dancers who resorted to his [court;
He swayed his sceptre in accordance with the teaching [of the sages;
His friendship had the firmness honoured of the wise;
He was gentle to women, brave in the face of the strong;
He was the refuge of the spotless learned ones.
Such an one death did not spare, but carried off his [sweet soul.
Therefore, my afflicted kinsfolk, let us
Embracing one another join in reviling death.
Come, all ye bards, whose words are true!
He hath become a pillar planted in the wild,
Crowned with imperishable praise!
While the wide world in sorrow mourns.
Such is the lot of him who was our protector!

Perunaṟkiḷḷi.

Perunaṟkiḷḷi must have been a powerful monarch, as he is the only one among the Tamil sovereigns of the Śangam age who performed the *Rājasūya*: it is likely that the Cēra Māri Veṇkō and the Pāṇḍya Ugrapperuvaḻudi both attended this great inauguration of Perunaṟkiḷḷi's rule, and that the fine benediction of Auvaiyār in which she includes all the three was, as suggested by Kanakasabhai, pronounced on this occasion:[80]

> 'This heavenlike country with its divisions, whether it is yours or is owned by others who do not go with you but are against you, belongs in truth to the saintly; may you, in your lifetime, pour out with water flowers and gold into the outstretched hands of the Brahmans; drink of the sweet liquor which your servant maids glittering with jewels hold before you in golden cups, and in your exultation, bestow costly gifts without limit on the needy; only the good deeds that you do now will stand by you at the time of your death. Ye monarchs! (lords) of the white umbrella and the pennoned chariot! Seated together, you appear like the three sacred fires which the twice-born preserve day and night with ceaseless vigilance. Only this can I say: may your days be as many as the stars in the sky or the rain-drops in heavy showers.'

Nothing is known of the events of this king's reign. That he had his share of fighting, we may, however, infer from a poem which gives a rather conventional description of the havoc wrought on enemy countries by his forces,[81] and from the colophon to another poem which mentions a fight between this king and a Cēra Māndaraṅ-jēral-irumporai, in which the chieftain Tērvaṇmalaiyan fought on the side of the Cōḷa king. Neither the friend nor the foe[82] of the Cōḷa on this occasion could now be ascertained.

Minor Cōḷa Princes.

Before giving an account of Kōccengaṇān who was doubtless among the latest, if not the last, of the Cōḷas mentioned in Śangam literature, the minor celebrities of the Cōḷa line may be briefly noticed. It is certain that many of them were petty princelings, members of the ruling family rather than kings themselves. There are two princes of the name Iḷañjēṭcenni,

distinguished by the epithets Neydalangānal and Śeruppāḷiyerinda, both of them celebrated by Ūn-podipaśunguḍaiyār, a poet otherwise unknown. The first is said to have distinguished himself by the capture of Pāmuḷūr, a Cēra fortress;[83] how he earned the prefix to his name, Neydalangānal, is not known. Śeruppāḷi, overthrown by the second prince, is also only a name. The Cōḷa Muḍittalaik-kōpperunarkiḷḷi (the great good Kiḷḷi, the king with the crowned head) is remembered by a single poem of Muḍamōśiyār (Mōśi, the Lame), who lived in the part of Uṟaiyūr known as Ēṇiccēri. The poem[84] is a fine piece giving expression to the poet's grave concern for the safety of the Cōḷa who was riding an elephant, which, having suddenly turned mad, was carrying him past Karuvūr. The poet was then in the company of a Cēra prince, and explained to him what was happening before their eyes. The rushing elephant is picturesquely compared to a ship sailing on the high sea.

Perum Tirumāvaḷavan,[85] who died at Kurāppaḷḷi, was the contemporary and ally of the Pāṇḍya Peruvaḷudi who died at Veḷḷi-yambalam. Kārik-kaṇṇanār of Kāvirip-pūm-paṭṭinam while applauding their alliance, warns them against evil counsellors ever intent on dividing them:[86]

> "Thou art the Lord of the Kāviri and its cool waters; this king is the lion of the warlike race of Pañcavas, who, not disheartened by the death of his elders, valiantly protects his good subjects, like the long shoots of the shady banyan tree, which strike root in the ground and keep the tree alive though the parent trunk is withered; and who, though young, has speedily scattered his enemies like the thunderbolt which smites whole broods of serpents. Thou art the warrior of Uṟandai, where virtue abides; this king, thinking that paddy and water are cheap, has made himself Lord of the mountain sandal and the sea pearl together with the thundering drums, and rules with mercy Kūḍal, the seat of Tamil (learning). Majestic like the two gods standing together, one of whom is white (in complexion) and holds the palm-flag and the other of dark hue carries the wheel, you are now both terrible to your enemies. Is there anything pleasanter than this? Listen, yet, (to my words). May your fame last for ever! May you stand by each other, and if you

do not break your friendship, you would not fail to conquer the whole of this sea-girt earth. Therefore, without giving heed to the specious words of thoughtless people which, though they appear good and wise and in keeping with ancient tradition, are intended to break the love that binds your hearts, may your friendship continue exactly as it is to-day! May your lances rise victorious on the bloody field of battle! May the lands of your enemies bear on the peaks of their mountains the crests of the striped tiger and the water carp.'

Tiru-māvaḷavan had the misfortune of being pilloried in song by an irate poet who was kept waiting too long for a gift. In a song of great power and beauty,[87] the angry bard proudly declares that his race has a greater regard for the poverty of small discerning chieftains than for the vain pomp of heartless monarchs.

Vēr-pahṛaḍakkaip-peru-viṛar (naṛ) k-kiḷḷi is the name of another Cōḷa prince celebrated by Paraṇar and Kaḷāttalaiyār, of the age of Karikāla and his father. Three poems[88] in the *Puṛanānūṛu* describe the sad fate of this prince and his Cēra opponent Kuḍakkō Neḍuñjēral-Ādan, both of whom fell on the field of battle. Another prince with a strongly marked individuality was Pōrvaik-kōpperunaṛk-kiḷḷi who figures in half a dozen compositions, three of which are short lyrics composed by Nakkaṇṇai,[89] a lady who appears to have loved this erratic prince with a real passion. Śāttandaiyār, the poet of the remaining three pieces,[90] celebrates the prince's power as a pugilist and his quickness in taking cities. He also suggests that no love was lost between him and Tittan, who is said to have been his father, and who figures in several poems[91] in the anthologies as a celebrated king of Uṛaiyūr. Tittan once forced the chieftain Kaṭṭi and his companion Pāṇan to fall back in disorder after a hasty advance on Uṛaiyūr.[92] As this incident is recorded by Paraṇar, Tittan and his eccentric son must have preceded Karikāla. Tittan had also a daughter Aiyai.[93] Śōḻan Nalluruttiran and Nambi Neḍuñjeḻiyan are represented each by a single poem. The former was a poet himself, and in fact we have no knowledge of him except as an author. A whole section on *Mullai*, comprising seventeen songs in the anthology called *Kalittogai*, is said to be his work, and in a

short poem in the *Puṟanānūṟu*[94] he sings his ideal of a felicitous life: to shun misers and seek the company of strong and noble friends. Nambi Neḍuñjeḻiyan forms the subject of a fine eulogium[95] from Pēreyil Muṟuvalār (the Laughing Man of the Big Fortress), a poem, remarkable for its fine array of short sentences and its vivid portraits.

Kōccengaṇān.

The life of Kōccengaṇān, like that of Karikāla, came to gather a haze of legend round itself; and it is necessary to avoid mixing up facts drawn from contemporary sources with the beliefs of later times. A song in the *Puṟanānūṟu*[96] and the forty verses that constitute the poem *Kaḷavaḻi* by Poygaiyār form the earliest evidence on this king's life. The references to him in the hymns of Tiruñāṉasambandar and Tirumangai Āḻvār as well as Sundaramūrti take us to the next stage in which the emphasis falls on the religious side of the king's life. He figures also in the legendary genealogy of the Cōḷa copper-plates of the tenth and eleventh centuries though his place in the list is not the same in all.[97] It is worth noting that the story which, after the manner of the Jātaka tales of Buddhism, makes a spider of this king in his previous birth is first noticed by Appar and repeated by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates[98] of the reign of Rājēndra Cōḷa. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā* more or less agree with the copper-plates, but the main stream of legend flows through the *Andādi* of Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi to the *Periya Purāṇam* of Śēkkiḻār, the ocean in which all the streams of Śaivite legend mingle in the Tamil country.

The *Kaḷavaḻi*[99] is a poem of moderate length, giving a somewhat conventional, though occasionally gruesome, description of the battle of Kaḷumalam, near Karuvūr in the Kongu country,[100] in which Śengaṇān defeated and made captive the Cēra king Kaṇaikkāl Irumpoṟai. The poet Poygai, a friend of the Cēra, placated the Cōḷa conqueror by singing of his valour in the battle-field and thereby secured the release of the Cēra from captivity. The verse in the *Puṟanānūṟu* to which reference has already been made purports to have been composed by the Cēra, while still in captivity in the Cōḷa prison at Kuḍavāyiṟkōṭṭam (West Gate Prison), and forms a sad confession of his cowardice in surviving the disgrace that had befallen him:

4293

'Even a babe that dies, and a mole that is born though they are not men, are still put to the sword.[101] Can it be, that such a race gives birth to one who, subjected to misery like a dog held in leash, yet begs for water from his unkindly jailors, and drinks it, in his weakness, to allay the fire in his stomach?'

The story is that he declined to drink the water he had so obtained, and slept away his thirst.[102] Poygai's successful intercession must have taken place soon after. So far the evidence of contemporary literature. There seems to be nothing incredible in the situation thus depicted. No deep-seated grounds of public policy governed the actions of kings and chieftains in those days, and the relations among them were more or less personal. Nothing seems more natural in such a state of things than for a prince, who fell short of the heroic ideal cherished by his age and who pined in captivity, to obtain his release owing to the intercession of a clever bard who made a subtle appeal to the vanity of the victor by celebrating his success in very glowing terms.[103]

Though we have no contemporary evidence bearing on Kōccengaṇān's religious persuasion, there seems to be little reason to doubt that Tirumangai and Sambandar represent a correct tradition about him in their allusions to his religious zeal. And the probable identity of Poygaiyār of the *Kaḷavaḷi* with the Āḻvār of the same name strengthens this supposition.[104] Tirumangai-Āḻvār in one of his hymns on Tirunaṟaiyūr[105] makes the achievements of Kōccengaṇān and his worship at Tirunaṟaiyūr the refrain of his song. Here is no room for doubting that the Āḻvār was thinking of the great Cōḷa king distinguished for heroism on the field of battle as the Śaiva devotee who was reputed to have constructed seventy beautiful shrines to Śiva, besides offering worship to Viṣṇu in Tirunaṟaiyūr. His pointed mention of the elephant corps of Śengaṇān's enemy, the cavalry of Śengaṇān himself and the part it played in his wars[106] is an important link which establishes a connection with the *Kaḷavaḷi*, which in like manner states repeatedly that the success of the Cōḷa king against the Cēra elephants was primarily due to the infantry and cavalry in his army. Tirumangai also implies that Śengaṇān's sway extended far outside the Cōḷa country,[107] that he fought at Aḷunda, and Veṇṇi, and that he killed in fight a chieftain

Viḷandai Vēḷ. In the hymns of Ñānasambandar and Sundaramūrti the great temples to Śiva at Ambar, Vaigal, and Ṇannilam are definitely said to have been founded by Śengaṇān. The Anbil plates[108] of Sundara Cōḷā state generally that Kōcceganāṇ built temples to Gaurīśa all over the country, while the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, as we have seen, hint at the spider story. The Anbil plates give the name of Śengaṇān's son, Nallaḍikkōn. It is not till we get to the *Periya Purāṇam* that the king gets transformed out of recognition and figures as the son of Śubhadēva and Kamalavati, and the founder of Jambukēśvara. That Śēkkiḷār's account includes the absurd story of the birth of Śengaṇān being delayed by artificial means in order to ensure its taking place at an auspicious moment, is clear proof that we have here a highly embellished account of things long since forgotten. The name Śengaṇān, his birth in the Cōḷa family and the foundation of numerous Śiva temples besides the Jambukēśvara are the only elements in Śēkkiḷār's narration which indicate the ultimate identity of the Nāyanār.

Chronology.

Before this straggling notice the early Cōḷas is brought to a close, some attempt must be made to fix their age a little more precisely than has been done up to this point. One thing is clear, that these kings are anterior to the earliest time to which we are taken by the existing monuments of the historical period. Though the names of Uṟaiyūr and Kāvēṟippaṭṭinam still survive, nothing has been discovered yet in these places that furnishes even a trace of their former greatness.[109] We are left only with the evidence of literature and synchronisms with the history of neighbouring lands. When the suggestion was first made that Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon, who was the contemporary of the Cēra Śenguṭṭuvan, was no other than Gajabāhu I of the *Mahāvamsa*, who ruled from A.D. 113 to 135, Dr. Hultzsch entered a caveat, saying:[110] 'With due respect to Mr. Kumaraswami's sagacity, I am not prepared to accept this view, unless the identity of the two Gajābāhus is not only supported by the mere identity of name, but proved by internal reasons, and until the chronology of the earlier history of Ceylon has been subjected to a critical examination.' Now, the chronology of Ceylonese history has been the subject of considerable discussion, and as a result,[111] the dates of the early kings

of Ceylon are as well established as can be desired. There is only one Gajabāhu in the Ceylon list before the twelfth century, and he ruled from A.D. 173 to 195.[112] The only question, therefore, is whether the synchronism suggested by the *Śilappadikāram* between Śenguṭṭuvan and Gajabāhu is to be taken into account, or whether, in view of the romantic and the supernatural elements in that poem, this synchronism must be rejected as untrustworthy. If there were no other factors to be considered, our answer to such a question must remain inconclusive. But there are several important factors which render it difficult, not to say impossible, for anyone to reject the synchronism, and with it the scheme of chronology arising from it.

There is perfect concord between the Śangam anthologies, the notices of South India in classical works of the early centuries of the Christian era, like the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's geography, and the numerous finds of Roman coins of the early Roman Empire in several places in Southern India. This would lead any unbiassed student to the conclusion that the Tamil anthologies were contemporary with the classical works and the Roman coins.[113]

Attention has been drawn already to the occurrence, in the *Mahāvamsa* account of the early relations between Ceylon and the Tamil country, of names of Tamil chieftains which, with variations natural in the circumstances, are repeated in the poems of the *Puṟanānūṟu, Pattuppāṭṭu* and so on. The story of Eḷāra in the *Mahāvamsa* is doubtless the Ceylonese version of the Tamil Cōḷa story of the king who condemned his son to death for calf-slaughter. The *Mahāvamsa* places Eḷāra in the second half of the second century B.C. and the other Tamil princes mentioned in the later half of the first. If we remember that the early chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* were composed in the fifth century A.D. from earlier chronicles,[114] we shall see that the somewhat confused account of the Tamil invasions of the island in this early part of its history are not bottomless fabrications, but preserve for us the faded memory of real events, and the dates assigned to these events cease to be altogether valueless for Tamil chronology.[115]

Again, the dates of the three Dēvāram hymnists and of Tirumangai Āḻvār have been fixed on proper grounds in the

seventh century and after; Appar, the oldest of them all, must have lived in the early part of that century. The most superficial student of Tamil literature can hardly fail to notice striking differences in vocabulary, diction, and metre between the compositions of these holy men and the entire body of Śangam literature, which surely indicate a growth through some centuries. The fact that Appar knows of Śenganān as a spider transformed into a Cōḷa king, by showing that Śenganān had already become a legendary figure, points in the same direction; and Śenganān was apparently among the latest of the early Cōḷas of whom we have spoken in this chapter.

With these considerations before us, it is no longer true that one has to depend on the mere identity of the name to accept the Gajabāhu synchronism. Once that is accepted, it follows that, as Śenguṭṭuvan and his contemporaries had some generations of predecessors and successors, the best working hypothesis is to assign the Śangam Age to the first three or four centuries of the Christian era.

Manimēkalai and Diṅnāga.

Recent discussions centering round the twenty-ninth canto of the *Manimēkalai* and its relation to Diṅnāga's *Nyāyapraveśa* have turned out to be less conclusive than they appeared at first. The resemblance between the *Nyāyapraveśa* and this canto of the *Maṇimēkalai* is, doubtless, 'so complete that the *Nyāyapraveśa* must be supposed to be either inserted in or extracted out of the *Maṇimēkalai*.'[116] We may go further and assert with some confidence that the *Nyāyapraveśa* has been inserted in the *Maṇimēkalai*.[117] But one can hardly fail to notice that a different and a simpler exposition of logical principles has already been given earlier in the canto,[118] and that the exposition of fallacies in accordance with the *Nyāyapraveśa* has come in as a clumsy afterthought, introduced by the impossible statement[119] that *upanaya* and *nigamana* may be subsumed under *dṛṣṭānta*. This statement gives, in our view, the clue to the real history of the chapter. In its original form it contained only the exposition which takes the first place in the chapter, was pre-Diṅnāga in its content, and stood for a syllogism of five members. Some pious student of Diṅnāga, in his anxiety to glorify his master, by giving a rendering of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to the Tamil world, hit on the idea

of putting it into the standard romance of Tamil Buddhism, and when he was up against the five-member syllogism in the original work, he solved the difficulty in a crude manner and annexed to the chapter a discussion of fallacies based on the three-member syllogism. This conclusion gains in force from a study of the other systems of philosophy, like the Sāṅkhya, which are reflected in the *Maṇimēkalai* in their earlier phases.[120]

1. There are still some who do not accept this view. See, however, *PK.* pp. 16 ff. and *Studies,* pp. 1-18 and 70-2.

2. This is how the obscure line *piṟangu-nilai-māḍattu-uṟandai-pōkki* (l. 285) of the *Paṭṭinappālai* has been generally understood by modern writers. But under the name of Kākandi (*Maṇimēkalai*-xxii, l. 37) the city seems to have had great celebrity from very early times. Cf. n 2 at p. 561 of *Pattuppāṭṭu*[3] (1931). A nun Sōmā from this place seems to be mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions of the second century B.C. (Lüders, No. 817). The *Śilappadikāram* gives a legend of the foundation of Uṟaiyūr (Kōḻi) being due to a cock (kōḻi) winning in a fight against an elephant on the spot, x ll. 247-8.

3. Kanakasabhai's work *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (1904) remains still invaluable in many respects. But working solely upon mss. of works little understood at the time, he succumbed to a natural temptation to formulate conclusions on material that had not been subjected to any proper criticism. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar *Śēran-Śenguṭṭuvan,* (ed. 2, pp. 106-7 n) raises several valid objections to Kanakasabhai's scheme of genealogy of the Cēras and the Cōḻas. But the Pandit's own scheme of Cōḻa genealogy (*ibid.* p. 103) is not altogether free from uncertainties, though it must be admitted that it is the best among those put forward so far. That Karikāla had two sons Maṇakkiḷḷi and Peru-Viṟaṟ-Kiḷḷi; that Neḍungiḷḷi was the brother of Naṟcōṇai, and that these were the children of Maṇakkiḷḷi, and that Perunaṟkkiḷḷi of Rājasūyam fame (*Puṟam* 16) was the son of Neḍungiḷḷi and identical with the prince who sought refuge with Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikkāri (*Puṟam* 174), that Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan (of the *Maṇimēkalai*) and Nalangiḷḷi (the foe of Neḍungiḷḷi) were the sons of Viṟaṟ-Kiḷḷi, all these statements are based on assumptions which, however plausible, seem to lack positive evidence. Again, it appears unlikely that the same prince, Irāyasūyam-Vēṭṭa Perunaṟkkiḷḷi, was aided on the same occasion both by Śenguṭṭuva and Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikkāri; there is nothing in the language of *Śilapp.* xxvii ll. 118-23 and *Puṟam* 174 to suggest such an identification; on the other hand there is something to differentiate the two.

4. *Maṇimēkalai:* śengadiṟc-celvan tirukkulam, Padigam, I. 9, śil. vii-27; xxix ll. 1-2.

5. *Maṇi,* Padigam, ll. 10-2.

6. *Maṇi.* xxii ll. 25-37.

7. *Puṟam* 39 and the reference quoted thereunder. This recalls the Tripura-samhāra of Śiva.

8. *Maṇi.* i, ll. 1-9.

9. *Maṇi* xxii l. 210 and n. It should be observed that this story does not occur in the earlier anthologies.

10. *Puṟam* 37 ll. 5-6 and *n*

11. Ibid l. 6.

12. This story is localised at Tiruvārūr by the *Priyapurāṇam,* a work of the twelfth century A.D.

13. 'Uruvappahrēr.' Paraṇar (*Puṟam* 4) and Perungunṟūr Kiḷār (*Puṟam* 266) celebrated him. Line 130 of the *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai* gives his relationship with Karikāla.

14. Verse 3, end of *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai.*

15. *Paṭṭinappālai* ll. 220-228 and *Porunar.* ll. 131 ff.—translated below. A veṇba in the *Paḷamoḷi* says that a certain Piḍarttalai rendered much help to Karikāla.

16. Naccinārkkiniyar explains this by an absurd story. This means, apparently, that he did not come of the direct male line of the Cōḷas, a fact which may account both for his early troubles and for his father's name—Iḷaiyōn, 'prince.' *Contra* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India* p. 92.

17. The text has: *iru-peru vēndarum oru kaḷat-taviya* (146, *Porunar*). Naccinārkkiniyar takes this to mean that they died (*paḍumpaḍi*); but the Cēra, we know, sustained a wound in his back, and committed suicide by the process of slow starvation - *Vaḍakkiruttal,* on which see *Puṟam* 65 ll. 9-11 and Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar's *n.* thereunder. Also *Studies* p. 20 and *n.*

18. *Aham* 55, 246; also *Puṟam* 65, 66.

19. *'Vāḷ-vaḍakkirundanan'* (*Puṟam* 65, l. 11) does not seem to mean that the king cut his throat with a sword (P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamils* p. 336) but that he held a sword while starving, to indicate the cause of his action-vāḷoḍu vaḍakkirundān (comm.)

20. I may say once for all that in the translations that follow, I have made use of all existing translations—Kanakasabhai, Pope, P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar.

21. A reference to another legendary Cōḷa king.

22. *Aham* 125.

23. ll. 228-73; the following lines 274-82 are translated here.

24. *Aham* 141-śelkuḍi niṟutta perumbeyark-Karikāl. This poem has been misunderstood as containing a reference to the Kuṟumbar.

25. Kāḍu konṟu nāḍākki kuḷandoṭṭu vaḷam-berukki-*i.e.* destroying forests to extend the inhabited country, and digging tanks to improve fertility. *Paṭṭinappālai* ll. 283-4.

26. *ibid* ll. 295-9.

27. *Tolkāppiyam.* Poruḷ. Aha. 30.

28. *Śil.* xxi ll. 11 ff. and n.
29. *Puṟam* 224.
30. *Śil.* v. ll. 89-110.

31. Kavēra — tanayā — vēlōllanghana — praśamana — pramukhā —dyanēkātiśayakāriṇaḥ * * * * Karikālasya, *EI.* xi—No. 35, ll. 3-5.

32. 'He who caused the banks of the Kāvēri to be constructed by all the (subordinate) kings led by the Pallava Triṇētra whose third eye was blinded by his lotus foot.'

33. See *Studies,* essay II, for a full discussion of these points.

34. Though Neḍungiḷḷi figures without any attribute in some colophons, there is nothing to prevent his being identified with the king who died at the Kāriyāṟu.

35. *Puṟam* 43.
36. *Puṟanānūṟu* Introdn. pp. 39-40.
37. xix, ll. 125-7.
38. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar *op. cit.* pp. 101-2.
39. *Puṟam* 27. l. 10.
40. *Puṟam* 31; Kanak. p. 73.

41. *Puṟam* 45; Kanak. p. 73. The palm and the margosa were respectively the Cēra and Pāṇḍya emblems.

42. *Puṟam* 73; Kanak. pp. 74-5.
43. *Puṟam* 30 ll. 10-12.
44. *ibid* 400, l. 19.
45. *ibid* 27, 29.
46. Col. to *Puṟam* 61 where he is called Nalangiḷḷi Śēṭcenni.
47. *Puṟam* 44. Kanak. pp. 73-4.
48. *Puṟam* 47. Kanakasabhai, 73.
49. *Puṟam* 373.

50. *IA.* xxix p. 250 n 2. Dr. Pope says that Kurāp-pāḷḷi is the same as Kuḷamuṟṟam, 'Pavilion by the tank.'

51. *Puṟam* 36.
52. *Puṟam* 173.
53. *Puṟam* 69, l. 12.
54. *IA.* xxix pp. 251-2. *Puṟam* 35; I have reproduced Pope's translation.
55. *Puṟam* 36. *IA.* ibid p. 252.
56. *Puṟam* 37; *IA.* ibid.
57. *Puṟam* 40; *IA.* ibid, 254.
58. *Puṟam* 373.
59. *Aham* 345.

60. This identification was first suggested by Kanakasabhai, p. 76. But I am unable to follow him in identifying this king further with: (*a*) Vaḷavankiḷḷi who was 'maittunan' to the Cēra king Śenguṭṭuvan, and was established on the Cōḷa throne by the latter after suppressing, in the battle of Nērivāyil, a rebellion in which nine princes of the blood royal had taken part (p. 75); and (*b*) the Cōḷa king of the *Manimēkalai* and the father of Udayakumaran (p. 77). It is not certain that the

twin Epics of the Anklet and the Jewel-belt relate to the same period of time as the poems of the *Puranānūru* and the other anthologies, and it is not clear how far the incidents mentioned in the epics may be treated as historical, and not simply meant to furnish a familiar background to a romantic story; there is, above all, a total lack of correspondence in the facts relating to the different kings whom Kanakasabhai proposes to identify. The phrase *'maittuna-vaḷavankiḷḷi'* of the *Śilappadikāram* (xxvii-l. 118) is not the same as 'Kiḷḷivaḷavan,' and as there is nothing in the numerous poems of the *Puram* to suggest that the latter's succession to the throne was disputed, we must be slow to accept the identification in this case. It must also be observed that, as Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, (*op. cit.* p. 33) points out, the Cōḷa contemporary of Śenguṭṭavan was according to the *Śilappadikāram*, Perungiḷḷi, whom Aḍiyārkkunallār calls Perunaṟkiḷḷi; and the Pandit himself identifies him with Rājāsūyam-vēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi and this, in itself, is really more plausible than the suggestion of Kanakasabhai. The absence of all mention of a fight at the Kāriyāṟu or a combination of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra against Kuḷamuṟṟattu-tuñjiya Kiḷḷivaḷavan taken along with the positive references to his siege and capture of Vañji and his defeat at Madura, all of which are admitted by Kanakasabhai, is fatal to his other proposition. See also P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *History of the Tamils* pp. 430-31.

61. *Puṟam* 46; *IA.* xxix p. 256.
62. *Puṟam* 39; *IA.* xxix pp. 253-4.
63. *Puṟam* 226; *IA.* xxix 283.
64. *Puṟam* 227; *IA.* xxix 284.
65. Author of *Kuṟundogai* Nos. 20, 53, 129, 147.

66. The grammarians explain it, however, as Ādan tandai (Ādan's father).

67. *Puṟam* 184.

68. Parimēlaḻagar on *Kuṟaḷ* 785; and Naccikārkkiniyar on *Tol. Karpu-Su.* 52.

69. *Puṟam* 191; *IA.* xxviii, p. 30.
70. *Puṟam* 212; *IA. ibid.*

71. A play on words: *potti* means 'hollow'; but there is no hollowness in this Potti.

72. *Puṟam* 213; *IA, ibid.* p. 29.
73. *Puṟam* 214; *IA.* xxviii pp. 29-30.
74. *Puṟam* 215, 216.
75. *Puṟam* 217.
76. *Puṟam* 218, 219.

77. *Puṟam* 222. Apparently this means that persons with *enceinte* wives were ineligible for *vaḍakkiruttal.*

78. *Puṟam* 220. *IA.* xxviii p. 32.
79. *Puṟam* 221; *IA.* ibid.
80. *Puṟam* 367; Kanakasabhai, p. 78.

81. *Puṟam* 16. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar assumes that this poem is an account of a war in which the king 'had to defeat recalcitrant Śōḻa

princes before bringing the whole of the Śōḷa country under his sway'. *Tamils* p. 432. The other poem mentioned above is *Puṟam* 125.

82. Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar has 'indeed suggested (*Aiṅguṟunūṟu*-introd. p. 15.) that the Cēra enemy was the same as Yānaikkaṭcēymāndaraṅ-jēraliṟumporai who was defeated and captured by Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjeḻiyan, the victor of Talaiyālangānam. Great as is the weight of his authority, I hesitate to follow him here. See, however, Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekkhan* p. 202.

83. *Puṟam* 203.

84. *Puṟam* 13.

85. This king was wrongly identified with Karikāla by Kanakasabhai.—See P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamils*, p. 367. *n*.

86. *Puṟam* 58. Kanakasabhai, 68-9.

87. *Puṟam* 197.

88. *Puṟam* 62, 63, 368.

89. *Puṟam* 83, 84, 85.

90. *Puṟam* 80-2.

91. *Puṟam* 80, 352, 395; *Aham* 6, 122, 152 188, 226.

92. *Aham* 226.

93. *Aham* 6-Paraṇar.

94. *Puṟam* 190.

95. *Puṟam* 239.

96. *Puṟam* 74.

97. See Hultzsch's discussion of this point—*SII.* ii. pp. 152-3; 253, 377-9.

98. Appar-Kuṟukkai v. 4; Tiruppāśūr- (Tiruttāṇḍakam) v. 6. Also Sundarar Tiruvāḍuturai v. 2. Tiruvālangāḍu plates-v. 43: *lūna-lūtāṅgabandhah.*

99. See *IA.* xviii pp. 259-65 for a translation and critique of the poem by V. Kanakasabhai.

100. See *Śēran Śenguṭṭuvan* p. 183. *Aham* 44 seems to give some details of the events which preceded the battle.

101. The allusion is to a custom by which kings who died a natural death were supposed to secure the *vīrasvarga* if their corpses were cut with a sword before their final disposal; cf. *Maṇimēkalai*, xxiii, ll. 11-14.

102. *'Tuñjiya'* in the colophon to this *Puṟam* verse must be taken to mean 'slept,' not 'died', as this is the only way in which it can be reconciled with the colophon to the *Kaḷavaḻi*. See *Studies* pp. 14-16.

103. By understanding 'Kaṇaiyan' in *Aham* 44 as the abbreviation of Kaṇaikkālirumporai, it is possible to avoid much unnecessary confusion. *Contra* Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, *Kaḷavaḻi*-introdn. pp. 6-7.

104. It must, however, be noted here that several scholars of repute are opposed to the identification of the two Poygais, and Pandit E. V. Anantarama Aiyar who is among them proposes to postulate two Śenganāns as well (see his edn. of the *Kaḷavaḻi*-introdn. p. 9). The debate has not been altogether academic, as religion, always an explosive subject, seems somehow to have got mixed up in it. On the strength of data drawn from the *Yāpparuṅgala-virutti*, a work of the tenth cen-

tury A.D. or the eleventh at the latest, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar first proposed the identification of Poygai of Śangam fame with the Āḻvār (The *Śen-Tamiḻ* Vol. i p. 6; also his *Āḻvārkaḷ Kālanilai* 2nd edn. pp. 23 ff). The author of the *Virutti* quotes a number of verses as those of Poygaiyār, and some of them are from the first *Tiruvandādi* of the Āḻvār (see the *Virutti* pp. 220 where the text seems to be defective, 350 and 459-60); he also counts the poet among the sages whose vision comprised eternity (350). Among the verses quoted in the whole work, however, there is not one from the *Kaḷavaḻi*. And Tirumangai's pāśuram is silent about Kaḻumalam and the *Kaḷavaḻi*. But considering that the religious hymns of Poygai-Āḻvār are all, like the *Kaḷavaḻi*, in the Veṇbā metre, the presumption arises (especially as there seems to be no essential difference in style between the two) that they are compositions of the same writer. One argument that has been urged against this view is worth serious consideration, and that is the argument that a bhakta like Poygai-Āḻvār would not have stooped to the base flattery of an earthly monarch; the Āḻvār himself declares this expressly in his hymns. A complete answer to this position is furnished by the fact that some of the verses quoted in the *Yāpparungala-virutti* and ascribed to the Āḻvār are on secular subjects and include the praise of kings. We may suppose the Āḻvār's statements about his exclusive devotion to Viṣṇu to have been made in the later stages of his life when he had found his true self. So that, unless we put the late traditions of the *Guruparamparai* regarding his age against the categorical evidence of Guṇasāgara, the author of the *Yapparungala-virutti*, it seems necessary to accept the correctness of Pandit Raghava Aiyangar's position. See, on the other side, K. S. Srinivasa Pillai-*Tamiḻ Varalāṟu* pp. 176-7, *Śentamiḻccelvi* Vol. ii, article on Poygaiyār by Pandit N. M. Venkatasami Nattar, and *Kaḷavaḻi*, ed. Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, introduction. The novel suggestion of Pandit Anantarama Aiyar that Śengaṇān, the Śaiva nāyanār, was different from Kōccengaṇān of the *Kaḷavaḻi* is based entirely on the silence of the *Periyapurāṇam* on the *Kaḷavaḻi*. The Pandit naively discovers another reason in that, according to him, Śēkkiḻār has marked off the nāyanār from the other person by calling the former Śengaṇān I!

105. *Periya Tirumoḻi* VI, 6.

106. Verse 3 line 3 of the hymn looks almost a copy of the *Kaḷavaḻi*, of course allowing for the difference in metre: *Kavvai-mākaḷiṟundi veṇṇi-yēṟṟakaḷal-mannar maṇimuḍimēl kākamēṟa;* also verse 4, l. 3.

107. *Ten - Tamiḻan Vaḍapulakkōn Śōḻan* (5); *Tennāḍan Kuḍakongan Śōḻan* (6); see vv. 4, 6, 9 of the hymn. Also Pandit Raghava Aiyangar *Āḻvārkaḷ Kālanilai* pp. 157ff. The Vēḷ of Viḷandai might have been a commander on the Cēra side.

108. *Akhila-janapadā-klpta-gaurīśa-dhāmā* (v. 13), *EI.* xv p. 60.

109. *ARA.* 1909-10, pp. 16-17.

110. *SII.* ii, p. 378.

111. See *EZ.* iii pp. 1-47.

112. *ibid* p. 9, No. 43.

113. *Periplus* and Ptolemy have been noticed above p. 28. Sewell's discussion of the Roman finds in the South in the *JRAS.* (1904) is still the most comprehensive. See also *Ancient India* No. 2 pp. 116-21. Recent studies of the nature and direction of the foreign trade of the Roman Empire tend, as will be seen later, to confirm the soundness of our position.

114. Geiger. Eng. Tr. pp. x-xv.

115. See *Ante* pp. 33ff. Notice also the names Paṇaya māraka and Piḷayamāraka in the Ceylon list recalling Paḷaiyan Māṟan of Tamil literature.

116. *Nyāyapraveśa* ed. A. B. Dhruva p. xv.

117. The grounds for this view may be briefly indicated here. The publication of the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyapraveśa* makes the *Maṇimēkalai* account much more intelligible than it was when Dr. S. K. Aiyangar wrote his *'Maṇimēkalai in its Historical Setting.'* In reproducing almost word for word the treatment of fallacies in the *Nyāyapraveśa*, the *Maṇimēkalai* (xxix ll. 111-468) differs from it in some remarkable ways. It compresses the N. in parts and expands it sometimes as in the treatment of Ubhayavyāvṛtti in Vaidharmya Dṛṣṭāntābhāsa, (two lines and a half of the Sanskrit text being renderd into ll. 424-49). Again some refinements are introduced by the Tamil author, which, though not found in the *Nyāyapraveśa*, are clearly suggested by it. The instance cited above is a good example of this also: and in discussing the example ākāśavat as an instance of avidyamāna-ubhayāsiddha-sādharmya-dṛṣṭāntābhāsa, the N. explains the example only as referring to the asattva-vādi; but the M. (ll. 383-4) applies it to the sattva-vādi as well. Again there are differences in terminology which can only be noted, without criticism, as some at least of them may be merely textual errors in the Tamil work: (a) In the enumeration of pakṣābhāsas the M. has aprasiddha-sambandha, the ninth category, in the place of prasiddhasambandha of the N.; (b) for anyatarasiddha and sandighdā-siddha of the N. among hetvābhāsas, the M. substitutes anyathāsiddha and siddhāsiddha; (c) for viruddhāvyabhicāri of the N. we have viruddha-vyabhicāri in M; (d) in naming dṛṣṭāntābhāsas where the N. has sādhanadharma asiddha etc., the M. gives sādhana-dharmavikala etc. It may be noted that Dharmakīrti too uses 'vikala' for 'asiddha.' See *JIH.* x pt. ii. for a review of the *Nyāyapraveśa* (ed. Dhruva) by S.S.S.

118. ll. 45-108.

119. ll. 109-110. On this Mr. Dhruva remarks: 'The author of the *Maṇimēkalai* does not perceive that the last two *avayavas* can never be included in the *dṛṣṭānta* as he ignorantly imagines.' (p. xv).

120. Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, has studied the Sānkhya in the *Maṇimēkalai* and proved its early character. Vide *JIH.* Vol. viii (1929) pt. iii. See also ix pt. iii for his paper on *Buddhist Logic in the Maṇimēkalai.*

Chapter IV

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ŚANGAM AGE

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible for us to view the political events of the Śangam age as a connected whole and study them in their sequence. They pass before us in kaleidoscopic confusion, more or less the same accidental results of the ambitions and fears, the hopes and blunders of kings and chieftains that they must have appeared to their contemporaries. We totally miss the mutual connection and the perspective in which it is the task of history to set the events of the past. What we lack in this direction seems, however, to be more than made good in another. There is no age without its peculiar background of social and cultural ideas and ideals, a kind of communal psychology which possesses men's minds and to a large extent supports their institutions and determines their actions. Of this psychological background, the literature of the Śangam gives us an unusually complete and true picture.

A composite culture.

The most striking feature of the culture of the age is its composite quality. It is the unmistakable result of the blend of two originally distinct cultures, best described as Tamilian[1] and Aryan. There is no task more fascinating, and none less easy, in the study of the pre-history of Southern India than that of disentangling the primitive elements of these disparate cultures, the stages by which they mingled and the consequences of their mixture.[2] Our task is the simpler one of studying the resultant culture as it is reflected in the extant literature of the Śangam. In the absence of a settled internal chronology, and of reliable data bearing on the growth of the Tamil language in this period, the relative dates of individual poems can hardly be fixed with any confidence. Attempts to base inferences on a fifth century date for Karikāla, or on subjective tests like the assumption that kings began to loom large only after Karikāla's time,[3] or the assumption that minor chieftains gained power after the eclipse of the three

dynasties in the Kaḷabhra interregnum,[4] cannot be received with too much suspicion. Our course must be to treat the entire corpus of the Śangam works, (including also the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* in this description but making more cautious use of them than of the other poems), as depicting the culture of a definite epoch extending over a period of three centuries; and thus to gain some knowledge of the background against which must be set the wars and disputes, the friendships and jealousies that have been sketched in the last chapter.

Method.

To trace fully the elements of pre-Aryan Tamil culture that survived into historical times would involve an extensive application of comparative methods to the literature of the Śangam age, such as cannot be undertaken here. These survivals are seen sometimes to exist by the side of the newer practices; just as the electric train and the country cart are both seen in use today, so in the *Maṇimēkalai* we see the prevalence side by side of no fewer than five modes of disposing of the dead which included cremation, exposure, and burial with and without urns.[5] Other instances show evidence of a conscious effort to blend the new with the old, and dovetail into one another modes originally distinct and self-contained. It is well-known that the earliest Dharmasūtras[6] mention eight forms of marriage as part of the Aryan code ; these eight forms are mentioned in the Sūtras of the *Tolkāppiyam*[7] and the *Iṟaiyanār Kaḷaviyal,* and much ingenuity is spent in accommodating them to Tamil forms. The Tamils had a relatively simple conception of marriage; they recognised the natural coming together of man and woman (*kāmakkūṭṭam*), and the slight differences in the manifestation of love, perhaps ultimately traceable to differences in the physical conditions of the different parts of the country. These they recognised as the five *tiṇais.* They had also names for unilateral love, *kaikkiḷai,* and abnormal love—*perundiṇai.* Into this scheme the eight Aryan forms are squeezed with results not altogether happy.[8] The five *tiṇais* are treated as varieties of Gāndharva, and the Āsura, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca forms are grouped under *kaikkiḷai*—courses not very satisfactory in themselves. But the attempt to impound the remaining Aryan forms, Brāhma,

Blend of cultures.

Prājāpatya, Ārṣa and Daiva under *perundiṇai* is even less happy, and shows that the synthesis was not easy or natural. But the most tangible result of the meeting of the Tamil and the Aryan is the tremendous richness and fecundity that was imparted to the Tamil idiom thereby, and the rise of a literature which combined a good deal of classic grace with vernacular energy and strength. This is the literature of the Śangam Age.

Rural Life.

In a few broad sweeps of his pen, the poet of the *Paṭṭinappālai*[9] conveys to us the general aspect of rural life in the ancient Cōḷa country studded with numberless small villages. The unfailing Kāvēri spread its fertilising waters on the wide fields yielding golden harvests. The white water-lilies growing in wet fields withered under wreaths of smoke issuing from hot ovens boiling the sweet juice of the dark cane. The buffalo crammed its maw with well-grown ears of corn, while its young ones slept in the shadow of the tall barns. Cocoanut palms and plantains with bunches of fruit, the areca-palm and the fragrant turmeric, the mango in its variety and the palmyra with clusters of palm-fruit, the broad based *śēmbu* (Colocasia antiquorum), and the tender ginger grew in abundance around each village. Bright-faced maidens, wearing tasteful jewels and innocent looks, keeping watch over the paddy drying in the open, flung their curved ear-ornaments of gold at the fowl that came to eat the grain. Little children, with anklets on their feet, played about on the thresholds of houses, with their toy-carts having three wheels and no horses, and shouted out to people to get out of their way. Such were the many villages in which lived the rich families of the extensive Cōḷa country. The wonderful fertility of the soil is a favourite theme with the poets, and making all allowance for the license of poets, especially of court-poets, one can hardly deny the reality of the substance behind such utterances as that of Kōvūr-Kiḷār :[10]

> Glory be thine, O giver, whose brow knows no sweat
> From labour done, but only that from eager feasting !
> [—Like drops of rain
> That fall in the full lake, drips down the fat
> From the meats they serve up; roasted flesh is

Carved and eaten; from their emptied porringers they
Quaff large draughts of milk!—
Thy fields of rice,—wide are their borders, where
The sweet cane flowers! Thy pasture lands,—with stalls
For herds,—there cattle graze!
Archers with fortified camps guard the flocks, and from
[tree-tops
On the wooded shore count the ships that cover thy sea!—
In the bay they load the abounding salt with which thy
[craggy mountains teem!

Āvūr Mūlam-kiḻār affirms[11] that the small space in which an elephant can lie down produced enough to feed seven; another poet[12] states that a *vēli* of land produced a round thousand *kalams* of paddy.

Monarchy.

The government of the land was in form a hereditary monarchy. Disputed successions and civil wars were, as we have seen, not uncommon; and if the accounts we possess of the ravages that followed a conquest contain any truth, war was not, as so often made out, the pleasant diversion of a few professionals which left the normal course of life in the country untouched. The Sanskritic conception of the state (*rājya*) as an organism with seven limbs (*angas*) was known and accepted, and the *Kuṟaḷ*,[13] introducing a slight but significant change, makes the remaining six elements subject to the king. In other respects as well, the concepts of polity gain a certain clarity and precision in the hands of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, unknown to their sources. The ten verses[14] in which he deals with the essentials of *nāḍu* (*rāṣṭra*) are far more clear-cut in their analysis of the physical basis of the life of the state than the corresponding statements in the Arthaśāstras known to us, and the concluding declaration:[15]

The Polity

> 'Though blest in every other way, it avails nothing to a *nāḍu* if there be no peace between the people and the king'

shows a firm grasp on the part of the author of the fundamentally moral foundations of political independence. Again, the same combination of shrewd practical wisdom and high political principle characterises his discussion of the place of

treasure in state life,[16] and in this section we have the remarkable statement that the king's treasury is replenished from three sources[17]—land-tax, customs and tolls, conquest. And in striking contrast to Kauṭilya's maxims on *praṇaya* ('benevolences'), is the sound rule of Tiruvaḷḷuvar:[18]

> 'A sceptered king imploring a gift is like a robber with lance in hand crying "give"'

It may be noted in passing that a verse in *Ahanānūṟu*[19] states that the Cōḷas had a strongly guarded treasury at Kumbakōṇam.

Nature of Monarchy.

The king was in all essential respects an autocrat, whose autocracy was tempered by the maxims of the wise and the occasional intercession of the minister. The sphere of the state's activity was, however, very limited, and in a society where respect for ancestral custom was very deep-rooted, even the most perverse of autocrats could not have done much harm; and it must be owned that the general impression left on the mind by the literature of the age is one of contentment on the part of the people who were proud of their kings and loyal to them. The great author of the *Kuṟaḷ*, much of whose work is devoted to a systematic treatment of the affairs of state, may be accepted as a safe guide to the prevailing theory of the time; and theory is never so completely divorced from practice that we can make no inferences from the one regarding the other. No better method can be availed of to understand the nature of Tamil monarchy in this period than to discuss some of the salient statements of Tiruvaḷḷuvar on the subject. He warns kings, for instance, against the corrupting influence of unlimited power, saying:[20]

> The king with none to censure him, bereft of safe-[guards all
> Though none his ruin work, shall surely ruined fall.

The possibility of oppression and its consequence to the tyrant form the subject of some verses which seem to imply that even in the face of intolerable misrule there were no formal remedies open to the people:[21]

His people's tears of sorrow past endurance, are not they
sharp instruments, to wear the monarch's wealth away?

.. ..

'Ah! cruel is our king' where subjects sadly say,
His age shall dwindle, swift his joy of life decay.

The importance attached to espionage would likewise imply that the king had little direct means of ascertaining popular opinion :[22]

These two: the code renowned, and spies,
In these let the king confide as eyes.

And the duty is cast on the minister of even braving the anger of a worthless king and speaking out to him when the occasion demanded it:[23]

'Though, himself unwise, the king might cast his wise words away, it is the duty of the minister to speak the very truth.'

Lastly, the important place of learned men in the polity of the land and the potency of their influence in the country and on the court is neatly brought out in the *Kuṛaḷ*:[24]

Although you hate incur of those whose ploughs are bows,
Make not the men whose ploughs are words your foes!

Nothing can furnish more striking evidence of the great gulf that separated royalty from common humanity than the awe with which the power of the king for good and for ill was contemplated. In theory, he was not merely, nor even primarily, the guardian of the people from physical danger, internal and external, but he was the custodian of the Universal Order. On his right rule rested the penance of the sage, the purity of the wife,[25] nay the very course of the seasons. The *Kuṛaḷ* affirms:[26]

The learning and virtue of the sages spring from the
[sceptre of the King;

again,

Where King, who righteous laws regards, the sceptre
[wields,
There fall the showers, there rich abundance crowns the
[fields.

Not lance gives kings the victory,
But sceptre swayed with equity.

The result of misrule then is not rebellion, but famine. Some of these ideas, though not in so clear-cut a form, are also the common stock of Sanskrit treatises on polity. These statements, doubtless, are by no means to be understood literally; they are only meant to emphasise the importance and the glory of a just rule: and are part of the armoury of maxims and exhortations intended for the guidance of kings and for the good of their subjects. But from this mystic conception of kingship, it is a far cry to the control of the royal power by popular representation and the power of the purse. The early Sanskritic political thinkers, like some Roman Catholic writers of the sixteenth century, justified tyrannicide under conditions. Tamil literature does not seem ever to sanction resistance to the king's will.

The *kuḻus* and *āyams*.

Mention is made in the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* of groups called *aimperunguḻu* and *eṇpērāyam*. Another group of five categories of persons is sometimes added to these to make up the 'eighteen *kiḻaippālōr*' as the early lexicon *Divākaram* calls them, or the 'eighteen *śuṟṟam*' as they are more commonly known. There are noticeable divergences among the earliest authorities on the content of *aimperunguḻu* and *eṇpērāyam*:[27] this, taken along with the contexts in which these phrases occur outside the lexicons, is enough to convince a student of Tamil Literature that these various groups are part of the royal paraphernalia which accompanied kings on ceremonial occasions. The *Kuṟaḷ* knows nothing of them. Kanakasabhai,[28] who recognised that the '*eṇpērāyam*' were the eight groups of attendants who contributed to the 'pomp and dignity' with which the king was surrounded, somehow convinced himself that the '*aimperunguḻu*' was of another order, and has made a number of statements not one of which is warranted by his sources. 'The council of representatives safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people; the priests directed all religious ceremonies; the physicians attended to all matters affecting the health of the king and his subjects; the astrologers fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events; the ministers attended to the collection and expenditure of the revenue and the administration of justice.

Separate places were assigned in the capital town, for each of these assemblies, for their meetings and transaction of business. ...The power of government was entirely vested in the king and in the "Five Great Assemblies." It is most remarkable that this system of government was followed in the three kingdoms of the Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Cēra, although they were independent of each other. There is reason to believe therefore that they followed this system of government which obtained in the country from which the founders of the "three kingdoms" had originally migrated, namely, the Magadha Empire.' Of this string of astonishing assertions, we can only observe that everything in them except the names of the groups is pure imagination, and the reader will search the texts in vain for support for these statements. What is here called 'the council of representatives' is described by the vague term '*māśanam*' which at best may mean 'elders'.[29]

Assembly.

For the germ of a popular assembly, not organised on any scientific basis of representation, but still virtually representing such public opinion as there was, we must turn really to the institution called '*manṟam*' (hall) and '*podiyil*' (common place) in this early literature. The two sections on '*avai*' (*sabhā*) in the *Kuṟaḷ* are quite general, and some verses in them may raise a doubt whether anything more than meetings for purposes of learned disputation is contemplated by them; but the term '*avai*' is also applied in other works to the '*manṟam*' and in the *Kuṟaḷ* itself, the *avai* is clearly part of the mechanism of politics. We may therefore hold with Parimēlaḻagar that these sections have reference to the king's *sabhā*. Frequent as are the allusions to the '*sabhā*' or '*manṟam*' in the works of the period, few specific details of its nature and working are forthcoming. Its place in the administration of justice, especially in the capital city of the king, is well attested. The sons of Malaiyamān were tried and sentenced, and later released by the intercession of Kōvūr-Kiḻār, in the *manṟam* of Uṟaiyūr;[30] and Pottiyār, after the death of his friend Kōpperuñjōḻan, could not bear the sight of the same *manṟam* bereft of him. The *Porunar-ārṟuppaḍai*[31] makes a pithy statement about adults setting aside their feuds while they entered the *sabhā*, which might

Urban.

mean either that they got their disputes adjudicated or laid their private quarrels aside for the discharge of common duties. We can infer naturally that the *sabhā* or *maṉṟam* was also availed of by the king for purposes of general consultation; Tiruvaḷḷuvar lays stress on the importance of ready speech in the assembly by saying that the learning of a man who is afraid to speak out in the assembly is like a bright sword in the hands of a eunuch on the field of battle.[32]

Rural.

Even less specialised and more entangled in the social and religious complex of village life was the *maṉṟam* of the rural areas. Each village had its common place of meeting, generally under the shade of a big tree where men, women and children met for all the common activities of the village; there were held the folk dances in which the women took part and which were suspended in the midst of a war or siege.[33] Lacking evidence on the place occupied by the *maṉṟam* in the politics of rural life, we may still trace to these primitive folk-gatherings, at least in part, the beginnings of the highly developed system of village-government which came into existence and functioned so admirably in later Cōḷa times.[34]

Taxation.

The chief sources of royal revenue appear to have been land and trade. The *mā* and the *vēli* as measures of land were already known;[35] but we have no means of determining precisely the king's share of the produce of agriculture. The peasant was the backbone of the country's prosperity and was held in great esteem. The author of the *Kuraḷ* affirms that his was the only life worth the name, the life of all the rest being one of servitude and sycophancy.[36] The importance of foreign trade in the period, and the vivid account of the activity of customs officials given in the *Paṭṭiṉappālai*[37] must go a long way to convince us of the high place occupied by customs duties as a source of revenue.

> 'In the broad street near the sea beach where are seen (to grow) white long-petalled clusters of *tāḻai* (Pandanus), officials of established renown guarding the property of the good king, collect customs from day to day, untiring like the horses yoked to the chariot of the hot-rayed sun; yet, without abating, in the manner of

showers in the rainy (season) when the water absorbed by the clouds is poured on the hill, and the water poured on the hill is despatched to the sea, immeasurable quantities of various articles are being brought ashore from the sea and sent to the sea from land; in heavy bales, precious articles come crowding in endlessly into the strongly guarded enclosure, and are sent to the stack after being stamped with the (seal of the) mighty and fierce tiger.'

Prisons.

The prison formed part of the system of administration.[38] The Cēra Kaṇaikkāl-Irumporai was detained by Śenganān in a prison, which, from its name Kuḍavāyir-kōṭṭam, is sometimes taken to have been in Kumbakōṇam or a smaller place, also near it, now called Koḍavāśal.[39]

Army.

An army of well-equipped professional soldiers was regularly maintained and no doubt found frequent employment in those bellicose times. The captains of the army were distinguished by the title of *ēnādi* conferred on them in a ceremony of formal investiture at which the king presented his chosen commander with a ring and other insignia of high military rank.[40] The *Puṟanānūṟu* contains two poems[41] on such military leaders who served the Cōḷa monarchs; of these, one gives a very clear notion of the ideals cherished by a good soldier in those days:

'You, when you see a fight, you rush to the front, divide your enemy's forces, stand before them, and get your body scarred by the deep cuts of their swords; thus are you (your fame is) pleasant to the ear, not so your body to the eye. As for them (your enemies), when they see you, they turn their backs, and with bodies whole and unscarred, they are pleasant to the eye not so (their infamy) to the ear. Hence, you are pleasant in one way, they in another; what is there else in which they do not equal you? Yet, what wonder is it, tell us, noble one! that this world cherishes you, O! Kiḷḷi, of the fleet steed and of the victorious anklet-adorned foot.'

Hero stones.

Even the common soldier when he fell fighting was cherished by his compatriots. The spot was usually marked by a stone bearing on it the name and the fame of the fallen hero. Such hero stones also sometimes became objects of worship.[42] This custom survived till at least the tenth century in the Tamil and Kannaḍa country where several inscribed hero stones bearing dates in the ninth and tenth centuries and answering to the description given of them in Śangam literature have been brought to light. The setting up of memorial stones for this and other purposes was so common that, at an early date, literary convention came to standardise the procedure adopted on such occasions.[43]

War.

Kings often took the field in person and delighted to rejoice with the common soldiers in their successes; on the other hand, if a king was killed or even seriously wounded in the midst of the fight, his army gave up the struggle and accepted defeat.[44] Yet only a warrior's death was held worthy of kings; one Cēra monarch, as we have seen, having been wounded in his back, decided to starve himself to death; another, less heroic, mourned his captivity in pitiful terms. It was a common practice to lay on a bed of *kuśa* grass the corpses of kings who died otherwise than in a fight, and cleave them with a sword before burial or cremation in order to ensure for them a place in the Valhalla of the Tamils.[45] The vanity of the victor often inflicted deep personal humiliations on his vanquished foe, the memories of which rankled and brought on further strife. The crowns of defeated kings furnished the gold for the anklets of the victor.[46] The horse, the elephant and war chariot, the sword, lance and bow, and the war-drum are among the paraphernalia of war most frequently described in the literature of the age. Elephants are often said to have carried flags in the battle-field, no doubt, the distinctive standards of each side which had, besides, other less prominent emblems like flowers and garlands of a particular variety. The *Kaḷavaḷi* is one of the most detailed descriptions we possess of the battle-field in the Tamil country, and the poem supplies in a casual way much interesting information on military affairs.[47] The soldiers,

infantry and cavalry alike, wore leather sandals for the protection of their feet.[48] The nobles and princes rode on elephants, and the commanders drove in pennoned chariots. Poygaiyār mentions that women who had lost their husbands bewailed their loss on the field of Kaḷumalam;[49] unless this is mere rhetoric, we may suppose that women, at least of the higher orders, sometimes accompanied their husbands to the field.

Bards.

Besides being the head of the government and leader in war, the king also held the first rank in social life. He patronised poetry and the arts, and kept an open house. War and women were, in fact, the universal preoccupations of the leisured classes, besides wine and song. The king and his *ēnādis* with their retinues must have formed a gay boisterous crew at the top of society with a huge capacity for enjoying the simple pleasures of life such as eating and drinking. No occasion was lost for holding a feast and the poets are most eloquent in their praise of the sumptuous fare to which they were so often asked. One poet declares to his patron:[50]

Feasts.

> 'I came to see you that we may eat together the unctuous chops of meat, cooled after boiling and soft like the carded cotton of the spinning woman, alternating with large pots of toddy.'

Another records in grateful detail his exhilarating reception at the hands of the great Cōḷa king Karikāla:[51]

> 'In his palace, beautiful women decked in fine jewels and sweet smiles, often poured out and filled the ever-ready goblet of gold with intoxicating liquor, unstinting like the rain; thus drinking my fill, and chasing out my fatigue and my great distress, I experienced a new elation. * * * In good time, he plied me with the soft boiled legs of sheep fed on sweet grass, and hot meat, cooked at the points of spits, in large chops which were cooled by being turned in the mouth from one side to another; when I said I would have no more of these, he kept me on, and gave me to eat sweets made in varied shapes and of excellent taste. In this wise, entertained by the music of the sweet drum and the well tuned lute of the

bright faced *viṟaliyar*, I spent many pleasant days. On occasions, he entreated me to eat food prepared from rice; then I ate fine cooked rice which, with unbroken edges and erect like fingers, resembled the buds of the *mullai* (flower), together with curries sweetened with milk, in such quantity that they filled me up to the neck. So I stayed happily with him, and by eating flesh day and night, the edges of my teeth became blunt like the ploughshare (after) ploughing dry land. Getting no time to rest, I began to dislike food; and one day I said: O! prosperous (king)! expert in collecting tribute from your angry foes, let me go hence, back to my old city.'

Betel.

The habit of eating betel leaves after food was well-known. Women are said to have given up eating betel leaves and bathing in cold water when their husbands fell in battle.[52] Kōvalan's wife Kaṇṇaki gave him, after his last meal, betel leaves and arecanuts to eat, before he went out on his fatal mission for the sale of the anklet in Madura.[53]

Literature.

Easily the most cultured among the amusements open to the upper classes in those days were poetry, song and dance. The poets were men and women drawn from all classes; they composed verses to suit the immediate occasion and were often rewarded very well for their literary exertions. How much we owe to these occasional songs, gathered subsequently and arranged in 'the eight anthologies', must be clear from the numerous examples quoted already. The profits of poetry in this age were believed, at any rate by people of later times to be absurdly high; and the author of the *Kalingattupparaṇi* tells us that Kaḍiyalūr Rudranganṇanār got for his *Paṭṭinappālai* over a million and a half gold pieces from Karikāla.[54] If legend says true, only a small part of early Tamil poetry has come down to us; but what we possess of this literature bears evidence of its great qualities. The poems, specially the shorter ones, are full of colour and true to life. They abound in fine phrases giving compact and eloquent expression to the physical and spiritual experiences of the poet,

They are generally free from the monotony and the artificiality that mar much of later Tamil poetry. And they do not lack width of range. The short poem, the long ode, the dramatic epic and the religious lyric were all known; and in the *Kuṛaḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar we have a work that transcends the limitations of time and place.

Minstrels.

Besides these poets, some of whom were resident companions of kings and chiefs, while others, the humbler ones, moved from one court to another in search of patronage, there were also roving bands of musicians followed by women who danced to the accompaniment of music. They were the *pāṇar* and *viṛaliyar* who moved about the country in companies carrying with them all sorts of quaint musical instruments. They seem to have been the representatives of primitive tribal groups[55] who preserved the folk-songs and dances of an earlier age. Their numbers and their poverty form a frequent theme of the poetry of the age, and, from all accounts, they seem to have lived from hand to mouth and seldom known where their next meal was to be had. Here is a very humorous account[56] of their experiences after meeting a generous patron:

> 'The Cōḷa king showered great quantities of wealth in (the form of) fine and costly jewels not suited to us; on seeing this, some among the large group of my kinsfolk, used (only) to abject poverty, put on their ears ornaments meant for the fingers; others wore on their fingers things meant for the ear; others put on their necks jewels meant for the waist; yet others adorned their waists with ornaments properly worn on the neck; in this wise, as on the day when the mighty *rākṣasa* carried off Sītā, the wife of Rāma of the swift chariot, the great group of red-faced monkeys shone in the fine jewels (of Sītā) that they discovered on the ground, we were the cause of endless laughter.'

Of the class of poems called *āṟṟuppaḍai*, in which a poet narrates his experiences of a patron and invites others to bring themselves to his notice, some are addressed to the *pāṇar* and one of these poems, a relatively short piece, may be reproduced here.[57]

Minstrel, with little lute of sweetest strain!
Suppliant with words of ancient wisdom full!

Importunate thou askest me to rest and listen to the pleasant sounds of thy tambourine.

But hear what I shall say!

The modest home of Paṇṇan, whose hands are full of gifts, is near the wide city.

There food inexhaustible is found like the waters of the cool tank under January's moon, and the humming bees explore the sweets of the fragrant water-lily.

There he meditates the praise and glory of Kiḷḷi-vaḷavan, king of the good land that yields in abundance rice and sweet water, and that knows the fire that cooks, but not the fire that consumes.

If thither,—together with thy songstress, whose hair diffuses fragrance of the 'trumpet-flower,' the bright-browed, sweetly smiling—you softly advance, you shall prosper well.

His gifts are not mere chance, like gold found by the woodman in the forest.

Hesitate not.

Long may he flourish!

Music and dancing.

That the arts of music and dancing were highly developed becomes clear from the celebrated third canto, the *Arangēṟṟukādai* of the *Śilappadikāram* which gives a full account of the technique of the theatre and the dance, and of the music and musical instruments accompanying the dance. If we may trust the earliest glossator to whom we have access on this highly abstruse section of the *Śilappadikāram*, the dancing and music, of which hetaerae like Mādhavi were the exponents in high society, comprised at least two strains which had come together to form a complex scheme. These were the *dēśi* and *mārga*, the former doubtless as its name implies the strain indigenous to the country, and the latter an exotic Aryan mode. We may also infer the existence of

an extensive literature on these arts most of which has been lost to us. Eleven scenes[58] from Aryan mythology seem to have been selected for standardised presentation and formed the classics of the arts. The *Maṇimēkalai*,[59] like Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, indicates that the *nāḍaka magaḷir*, the hetaerae, underwent a regular course of instruction extending over a number of years and comprising royal dances, popular dances, singing, lute-playing, flute-playing, cookery, perfumery, painting, flowerwork and so on. Several varieties of the *vīṇai* and *yāḻ* are mentioned; it is not easy to understand their exact forms now, though it is clear that a high stage of development had then been reached in these arts, apparently after a long evolution.

Houses and high life.

The richer classes dwelt in houses built of brick and mortar,[60] of which the walls were often covered with painting of divine figures and pictures of animal life,[61] and surrounded by tastefully laid out pleasure gardens.[62] Such gardens possessed shallow wells or tanks with mechanical fittings, artificial hillocks, rivulets and waterfalls, bowers of flower plants and glass houses, for the amusement of the inmates of the mansions that stood in their midst. Mirrors were also known and used.[63] The opening canto of the *Śilappadikāram* gives an account of a wedding in high society which, though no doubt slightly idealised, may perhaps be accepted as based upon reality. The bride, Kaṇṇaki, was twelve years of age; the bridegroom, Kōvalan, was sixteen. Their marriage was arranged by their parents, who were wealthy merchants, and announced to the citizens of Puhār by ladies riding on an elephant.

Marriage.

> 'On the day when the moon was in conjunction with Rōhiṇi, in a *maṇḍapa* adorned with pearls and flowers and supported on jewelled pillars with flower-festooned capitals, underneath an azure canopy, Kōvalan, led in the Vedic rituals by an aged Brahman (priest), went round the fire in the company of her who rivalled Arundhati—blessed are the eyes of those who saw the sight.'

The ceremonial over, the women strewed flowers and prayed for the life-long happiness of the couple, and the prosperity of the Emperor, and then followed the consummation.[64]

The common folk.

Of the life of the common folk, literature furnishes fewer details. The *Paṭṭinappālai* gives a vivid account of the life[65] of the *Paradavar*, the deep-sea fishermen of Puhār, including some of their holiday amusements. On the wide dune of black sand, the large clan of rough working *Paradavar* were seen eating the cooked flesh of the sea-fish and the boiled field-turtle. Wearing flowers of the *aḍumbu* (*Ipomaea bilboa*) and the water-lily, they gathered in the spacious *manṟam* like the stars and planets revolving in the blue sky. The stronger ones among them entered the wide arena and, without turning back, they fought fierce duels hurting one another with their fists and their weapons. Birds flew from the mottled palms, frightened by stones shot from slings. In the outer streets, pigs were wallowing in puddles with their young ones, together with many kinds of fowl, and rams and quails were seen fighting. Their huts with low thatched roofs in which were stuck the long handles of fishing rods resembled the little enclosures round hero stones made of rows of shields and spears. In the midst of these huts, fishing nets were drying on sandy thresholds, like patches of darkness in bright moonlight. Wearing the garlands of the cool white convolvulus growing at the foot of the screw pine (with aerial roots) they planted a branching jaw-bone of the sword fish and invoked a mighty god to dwell in it. Decked in the long-petalled *tāḻai* (pandanus) flowers, the big red-haired fishermen drank the toddy of the rustling palm in the company of their dark women clad in garments of green leaves. Refraining from going afishing on the wide blue water, they ate and sported on the sandy beach reeking of the smell of fish. Like the ruddy cloud embracing the high mountain, like the baby clinging to its mother's breast, the red waters of the Kāviri mingled with the clear sea water roaring at its mouth; there, the *Paradavar* washed their sins in the sea and the salt of the sea in the water of the river. They played with the crabs and, amidst the spreading waves of the sea, made dolls of sand and, feasting their senses in other ways, they spent the

whole day in games. In the night, they heard music and witnessed the play acted in pillared mansions; lovers, changing silks for lighter robes and drinking wine without limit, slept on the sands in the last watch of night.

Puhār.

Puhār or Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam was one of the few great cities of the time, and, being on the sea coast, was also the great emporium of the kingdom. The city, its port and trade are fully described in the poems. The author of the *Śilappadikāram* says that the wise considered the prosperity of Puhār as stable as the Himalaya and the Podiya mountains;[66] again,

> 'This celebrated city, full of riches coveted by kings and teeming with sailors, is so well stocked that it will not fail in its hospitality even if the whole world encircled by the roaring sea become its guest; indeed in the hoards of (merchandise) brought in ships and carts, (the city) resembles a congregation of (all) the alien tracts producing precious goods.'

A poet,[67] addressing the Cōḷa king, says that big ships entered the port of Puhār without slacking sail, and poured out on the beach, inhabited by the common people, precious merchandise brought from overseas. In the extensive bazaar of Puhār,[68] says the author of *Paṭṭinappālai*, were seen many tall mansions surrounded by platforms reached by high ladders. These mansions had many apartments and were provided with door-ways, great and small, and wide verandahs and corridors. Well-dressed damsels glittering in jewels were looking out from the windows of the upper floors, and their palms joined in their front in salutation to Muruga resembled bunches of *śengāndaḷ* (*gloriosa superba*) flowers seen high on the slopes of mountains. When Muruga was taken out in procession in the bazaar, which was done quite often, music and dancing parties accompanied him, and the sound of the flute, lute and drum mingled with the noises in the street. In all parts of the town there were flags of various kinds and shapes[69] flying in the air; some were flags that were worshipped by many as a high divinity, and the entrances to their precincts were decorated with flowers.

Its bazaar.

Flags.

Others were white flags raised on frames supported by posts, below which were made offerings of rice and sugar to precious boxes of merchandise. Yet others were flags that announced the challenge of great and renowned teachers who had mastered many sciences.[70] There were also flags waving on the masts of ships heaving in the port of Puhār like huge elephants chafing at their posts. Yet others, flying over shops where fish and flesh were being sliced and fried and whose thresholds were strewn with fresh sand and flowers, announced the sale of high-class liquor to their numberless customers.

Merchants.

In the same poem which so vividly describes the external appearance of the city, there occurs the following idealised description of its merchants and traders and their morale:[71]

> 'They shunned murder, and puts aside theft; pleased the gods by fire offerings; raised good cows and bulls; spread the glory of the Brahmans; gave (their guests) sweets to eat and (sometimes) foodstuffs raw; in these ways was their kindly life filled with endless good deeds. Holding to the golden mean, like the peg of the loving farmer's yoke, they feared the untrue and ever spoke the truth; they regarded others' rights as scrupulously as their own; they took nothing more than was due to them and never gave less than was due from them; trading thus in many articles of merchandise, they enjoyed an ancient heritage of prosperity and lived in close proximity to one another.'

Divisions of the city.

The general plan of the town of Puhār is described in considerable detail in canto V of the *Śilappadikāram*. The town built on the northern bank of the Kāvēri near its mouth comprised two parts, Maruvūr-pākkam near the sea and Paṭṭinap-pākkam to its west. These were separated by a stretch of open ground taken up by a garden of trees under the shade of which was held the daily market of the city. Near the beach, in Maruvūr-pākkam were terraced mansions and warehouses with windows shaped like the eyes of the deer.

Maruvūr.

There was the abode of the prosperous *yavanas* whose pleasant features arrested the eyes of spectators, and of other foreigners who, for the gains from their maritime trade, lived close to one another on quite friendly terms. Vendors of fragrant pastes and powders, of flowers and incense, weavers who worked silk, wool or cotton, traders in sandal, *agil*, coral, pearls, gold and precious stones, grain-merchants, washermen, dealers in fish and salt, sellers of betel-leaves and spices, butchers, sailors, braziers and copper-smiths, carpenters and blacksmiths, painters and sculptors (stucco-workers), goldsmiths, tailors and cobblers, makers of toys in pith and cloth, and the numerous *pāṇar* who were experts in the music of the lute and flute—these and others had their residence in Maruvūr-pākkam. In the Paṭṭiṇap-pākkam were the broad royal street, the car street and the bazaar street. Rich merchants, brahmans, farmers, physicians, astrologers lived in their respective quarters. 'Surrounding the palace were the houses of charioteers, horse and elephant riders and the soldiers who formed the body-guard of the king. Bards, minstrels and panegyrists, actors, musicians and buffoons, chank-cutters and those skilled in making flower garlands and strings of pearls, time-keepers whose duty it was to cry out the *nāḻikais* or divisions of time, as each passed, and other servants of the palace also resided within the limits of Paṭṭinap-pākkam."[72]

Paṭṭinam.

Foreign trade.

Of the overseas trade of the Cōḷa kingdom in the Śangam Age again we get an excellent idea from a few lines of the *Paṭṭinappālai*. The city of Puhār had a large colony of foreign merchants from different parts of the world.

> 'Like the large crowd gathered in a city of ancient renown on a festival day when people from many different places betake themselves to it with their relatives, persons from many good countries speaking different tongues had left their homes and come to reside (in Puhār) on terms of mutual friendship'.[73]

Of the articles of foreign trade we have the following description from the same source:[74]

'Under the guardianship of the gods of enduring glory, horses with a noble gait had come by the sea; bag-fuls of black pepper had been brought in carts; gems and gold born of the northern mountain, the sandal and *agil* from the western mountain, the pearl of the southern sea, the coral of the western sea, the products of the Ganges (valley), the yield of the Kāvēri, foodstuffs from Ceylon, and goods from Kāḷagam,[75] all these materials, precious and bulky alike, were heaped together in the broad streets overflowing with their riches.'

Of the ports in other parts of the Tamil country we have similar descriptions in the literature of the Śangam.[76] Even inland cities like Madura had guards of 'dumb *mlecchas*' and '*yavanas*' in complete armour keeping watch in the king's palaces. The *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*,[77] a poem of the same period, speaks of tall lighthouses on the coast summoning ships to harbour by the night.

Classical writers.

If we compare this evidence with that of the classical writers of the early centuries of the Christian era, we shall see that the data drawn from these two disparate sources work into one another so closely that it becomes quite obvious that they relate to the same period of history. The author of the *Periplus* says positively that the Roman merchants raised every year beautiful maidens for the harems of Indian kings and the fact is confirmed by what passes in some dramas of India.[78] The chart of Peutinger, prepared at a time when the Roman Empire was flourishing in all its power, carries on the sheet devoted to India, by the side of the names of Tyndis and Musiris, the words 'Temple of Augustus.'[79] Large quantities of Roman coins found in the interior of the Tamil land[80] attest the extent of trade, the presence of Roman settlers in the Tamil country and the periods of the rise, zenith and decay of this active commerce. Casual statements made by the classical authors and, more decidedly, the evidence of the early Chinese annals, prove that along the sea-route from the Far-East to the West, India acted as an intermediary for many generations. The maritime trade of the Indian ocean in the early centuries of the Christian era is in itself a subject too vast, and authentic evidence on it is too extensive,[81] for us

to attempt anything more than to draw attention to a few of its aspects that should interest students of Cōḷa history.

History of overseas trade.

The feeble beginnings of the trade between the Roman Empire and India, confined at first to articles of luxury, may be traced to the reign of Augustus, if not to an earlier time. Trade with the East was one of the chief factors that brought about the extension and consolidation of the Roman Empire in that direction, and the Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus, though not a complete success, secured good harbours in the south of Arabia for the Roman traders on their way from Egypt to India. In the reign of Augustus, despite the 'embassies' to him from the Pāṇḍya country, this commerce was by no means extensive or economically important; the notices of some contemporary writers, whose imagination was struck by such trade, has led modern scholars, on the whole, to exaggerate its significance. But it soon assumed new and unexpected proportions, and ceased to be the negligible branch of Roman trade that it was in the beginning. The growth proceeded steadily through the times of the Julii and Claudii, and though there was a lively trade by land, the maritime commerce of Egypt with Arabia, and through Arabia with India, was the most considerable branch of the commerce with the East. So long as the trade was confined to luxuries and carried on through Arab intermediaries, the Romans paid for it mostly in gold and silver, and the oft-quoted statement of the elder Pliny that not a year passed without the Empire paying out a hundred million sesterces (about £ 1,087,500) to India, China and Arabia[82] has, most likely, reference to this early phase. After Augustus, the trade with India grew naturally in the favourable atmosphere of a great Empire. 'The discovery of the monsoons by Hipparchus of Alexandria in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman times, as well as the natural tendency of a growing trade to become more than a trade in luxuries and a merely passive trade on one side, led to the establishment of a direct route by sea between Egypt and India. The main centre of traffic was now Alexandria. The Arabian harbours lost their importance. ... The new route was fully established at the date of the *Periplus*, that is, under Domitian. The trade with

India gradually developed into a regular exchange of goods of different kinds between Egypt on the one side and Arabia and India on the other. One of the most important articles which came from India was cotton,[83] another probably was silk. Both of these products were worked up in the factories of Alexandria, which sent in exchange glass, metal ware, and probably linen.'[84] Nothing can prove better the increasing volume and regularity of the Indian trade of the Roman Empire than the contrast between the meagre description of the direct trade route to India given by the author of the *Periplus* and the elaborate precision of Ptolemy's descriptions in the first half of the second century A.D. Ptolemy's account shows that the Roman trade now reached beyond India to Indo-China and Sumatra, and that the trade with India and China was highly developed and quite regular. Relatively few Roman merchants visited the lands of the Far-East themselves; Southern India obviously acted as intermediary in the trade between China and the West. The carrying trade between the Malaya Peninsula and Sumatra in the East and the Malabar coast in the West was largely in the hands of the Tamils.[85] The direct trade between Rome and Southern India declined and died out in the period of military anarchy in the Roman Empire of the third century. 'Practically no coins of the third century have been found in India. Business relations were not resumed till order and a stable gold currency had been re-established in the Byzantine period,'[86] and then mostly through intermediaries.

Share of the Cōḷas.

Of the carrying trade of the Indian ocean and the Arabian sea, the Cōḷas had an important share and controlled 'the largest and most extensive Indian shipping' of the Coromandel coast.[87] In the harbours of the Cōḷa country, says the author of the *Periplus*, 'are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica;[88] and other very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called *sangara*; but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called *colandia* and are very large.'[89] Here three kinds of craft are distinguished by the author of the *Periplus*—light coasting boats for local traffic, larger vessels of a more complicated structure and greater carrying capacity, and lastly the big ocean-going vessels that made the

Tamil Shipping.

voyages to Malaya and Sumatra, and the Ganges. Quite obviously, the light coasting craft is what the poet Rudrangaṇṇanār had in mind when he described rows of roomy boats which had returned laden with grain secured in exchange for the white salt they had sold and which were seen in the back-waters of the port of Puhār tied to rows of pegs and looking like so many destriers.[90] The same writer mentions elsewhere larger ships which carried flags at their mastheads and which he compares to big elephants. Navigation in the high seas and the dangers attendant on it in foul weather are picturesquely described in the *Maṇimēkalai* in a forcible simile in which the mad progress of Udayakumara in search of Maṇimēkalai[91] is compared to that of a ship caught in a storm on the high sea :

> 'The captain trembling, the tall mast in the centre broken at its base, the strong knots unloosed and the rope cut asunder by the wind, the hull damaged and the sails rent and noisy, like the ship caught in a great storm and dashed about in all directions by the surging waves of the ocean.'

This coincidence of testimony drawn from the early literature of the Tamil country and the *Periplus* on the conditions of maritime trade in the Indian seas in the early centuries of the Christian era is indeed very remarkable in itself. When one considers this in the light of other evidence from Indo-China and the islands of the archipelago on the permeation of Indian influences in those lands from very early times, one can hardly fail to be struck by the correctness of the conclusion reached by Schoff :[92] 'The numerous migrations from India into Indo-China, both before and after the Christian era, give ample ground for the belief that the ports of South India and Ceylon were in truth, as the *Periplus* states, the centre of an active trade with the Far-East, employing larger ships, and in greater number, than those coming from Egypt.' We shall see that, when after a long eclipse, the power of the Cōḷa kings revived in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the seafaring instincts of the people had not deserted them and that, in the favourable conditions then obtaining, they attempted tasks more venturesome than anything they had achieved in the earlier age.

Silver dish of Lampsacus.

Before turning to a study of the internal trade and industry of the Cōḷa country, mention must be made of a unique example, in the second or third century A.D., of the working of Indian influence on the art and culture of the Roman Empire. The wide sway of Greco-Roman influences in India in Gāndhāran art and the art of Amarāvati is now generally admitted. A silver dish found at Lampsacus, partly inlaid with gold and partly enamelled,[93] 'furnishes a valuable proof of the excellent knowledge which the Romans possessed about India and of the interest which they took in that country.' The dish figures a 'personification of India seated on a peculiar Indian chair, the legs of which are formed by elephant tusks. Her right hand is lifted in the gesture of prayer, in her left she holds a bow. Around her are grouped Indian animals—a parrot, a guinea hen and two pet monkeys. Under her feet are two Indians leading a pet tiger and a pet panther, ready to fight, and making the gesture of adoration.'[94] It is possible that the animals represented on the dish formed the chief objects of trade by the land route from India to the Roman Empire.

Agriculture and Industry.

Among the industries of the Cōḷa country as of South India in general, in this period as always, the chief place was held by agriculture. The high place of agriculture in the national economy and the phenomenal fertility of the soil in the basin of the Kāvēri are, as we know, clearly reflected in the literature of the time. Many agricultural operations were done by women especially of the lower classes, the 'last classes'[95] (*kaḍaiśiyar*) as one of the poets of the *Puṟanānūṟu* calls them. There is no clear evidence of the prevalence of predial slavery, though it is possible that most of the labourers of the 'last classes' did not differ much from slaves in their status. The bulk of the land was owned by *veḷḷāḷar*, the agriculturists *par excellence*, who commanded a high social rank. The late commentator Naccinārkkiniyar distinguishes between the rich and the poor veḷḷālas by describing them[96] as 'those who maintained themselves by causing (land) to be ploughed, and 'those who maintained themselves by ploughing (land).' Of the former he says that

besides owning land, they held official posts under the king in the civil and military administration, and the titles of *Vēḷ* and *Araśu* in the Cōḷa and of *Kāvidi* in the Pāṇḍya country, and enjoyed the *jus connubii* with royal families. These were doubtless the nobles of the land who shared with the king the pleasures of war and chase and the table. The poorer veḷḷāḷas did not shun manual labour and for the most part worked on their own lands, and not as hired day labourers on estates belonging to others. They were in fact the peasantry of the country who worked themselves and sought the assistance of hired labour as necessity arose. A casual simile in the *Puṟanānūṟu*,[97] which mentions the poor farmer who having no income from his fields had to eat up the seed-corn, may lead us to infer that drought and failure of crops were not altogether unknown. We have no information on tenancy-rights or on the taxation of land in this period.

Spinning and weaving of cotton, and perhaps also of silk, had attained a high degree of perfection. Spinning was then, as in later times, the by-occupation of women.[98] The weaving of complex patterns on cloth and silk is often mentioned in literature, and we have the authority of the *Periplus* that Uṟaiyūr was a great centre of the trade in fine cotton stuffs. The *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai* mentions[99] cotton cloth, thin like the slough of the snake, bearing fine floral designs and so finely woven that the eye cannot follow the course of the yarn. The same poem alludes elsewhere[100] to silk cloth with its threads gathered in small knots at its ends. The *Maṇimēkalai* speaks[101] of artistic patterns of cloth giving evidence of the marvellous dexterity of expert weavers. The cotton and silk trades, therefore, must have provided occupation to a considerable part of the population. No detailed or specific information is forthcoming on the other trades of which a general idea may be gathered from the descriptions of city life quoted above. Cots made of leather straps plaited apparently on wooden frames are mentioned; and the leather workers came from the low class of the *pulaiyas*.[102] If the mention, in the *Maṇimēkalai*,[103] of Magadhan artisans, Mahratha smiths, blacksmiths from Avanti and Yavana carpenters working by the side of Tamil craftsmen is not mere rhetoric, we may believe that by the side of foreign

merchants from different countries in India and outside, there were also some industrial workers who had found more or less permanent employment in the Tamil lands by their exceptional skill in particular crafts. Much of the internal trade was carried on by barter, paddy forming the most commonly accepted medium of exchange. Salt, we have seen, was sold for paddy. We learn also[104] that honey and roots were exchanged for fish-oil and toddy, the sweet sugar-cane and *aval*[105] for venison and arrack. The ladies of the prosperous agriculturist families in the Pāṇḍya country poured the white paddy from their barns into the pots in which the hunter from the forest had brought venison, or the shepherdess had fetched curds.[106] Paddy was accepted as the most common measure of value in rural economy in the Cōḷa empire of the tenth century and later; the numerous inscriptions of that time furnish unmistakable evidence of the subordinate role of coin in the transactions of everyday life; the same feature survived until very recently in the rural parts of the Tamil country. It may be inferred, therefore, that in the early centuries of the Christian era paddy was the common measure of value in internal trade; and that metallic currency entered only in transactions of foreign commerce. It must be noted however that some evidence, not quite conclusive, seems to indicate the presence at this period in Madura, and only there, of a body of foreign colonists who appear to have used regularly small copper coins in their day to day transactions.[107]

Barter.

In no sphere is the influence of Aryan ideas on Tamil culture in early historical times more evident than in that of religion and ethics. These ideas embodied in a number of myths, legends and social practices which form the common stock of practically the whole of India, had already become an integral part of the civilisation of the Tamils, and the Śangam literature affords instances without number of the thorough acquaintance of the Tamil poets with the Vedic and epic mythology of Sanskrit, and the ethical concepts of the Dharmaśāstras. An exhaustive study of the history of Indian Mythology, by tracing the stages through which each single legend passes before attaining a final and fixed form which

Religion and Mythology.

it retains ever after, might lead to results of value to the internal chronology of the body of Śangam literature. Even otherwise, one can see that poems like the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* which differ from the other poems of the Śangam, not only in their great length and their literary form, but in the much freer use they make of these northern legends and myths, must be accounted to come rather late in the period if not after its close. In any case, it seems best not to mix up the evidence of the anthologies in these matters with that of the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*, but keep these apart.

The burning of the Three Cities (*tripura*) by Śiva, a feat often attributed also to a mythical Cōḷa king; Śibi saving the dove from the claws of a falcon; perhaps also the excavation of the eastern ocean by the Sagaras, and the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are among the legends known to the poets of the anthologies. In the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* we come across a much larger body of Aryan myth and legend more freely used by the authors in many contexts. The whole cycle of Kṛṣṇa legends including his adventures with shepherdesses, Viśvāmitra eating dog's flesh, Indra's misconduct with Ahalyā and the curse of Gautama, the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a dwarf to bring ruin on Bali, the demon king[108]—these and other stories are used in these epics in so casual a manner that there can be no doubt about their common currency in the Tamil land at the time they were composed.

Some social Customs.

A number of quaint social customs and beliefs, some of which may be of a non-Tamil origin, can be traced in the literature we have been dealing with. The practice of speeding the parting guest known as *saptapadi* in Sanskrit, is clearly mentioned in the *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai*,[109] which says that Karikāla accompanied his guest on foot for a distance of 'seven steps' before requesting him to mount a chariot drawn by four milk-white steeds. Each householder laid out some food, rice mixed with flesh, every day before his meal, for crows to feed on.[110] The slaughter of a cow, the destruction of a foetus, the killing of a brahman were counted among the most heinous offences, but worse than these was ingratitude,

according to the established code.[111] Women of the courtesan class when they were guilty of unprofessional conduct were punished by being compelled to carry seven bricks on their heads round the public theatre (*arangu*) and apparently expelled from the class thereafter.[112] A bath in the sea at Kanyākumāri was held to absolve a woman from the sin of incest; at any rate it was accepted as an act of penance for those who had incurred the sin.[113] After child-birth women bathed at night in tanks on the tenth day.[114] The phenomena of possession and the evil eye were believed in[115] and carefully guarded against by the hair of children being dressed with ghee and white mustard. Divination was practised[116] and faith in omens was common. The author of the *Śilappadikāram* says picturesquely that coming events were foreshadowed by the throbbing of the left eye of Kaṇṇaki and the right one of Mādavi[117] on the day of the festival of Indra.

Disposal of the dead.

There was no single method adopted for the disposal of the dead, and both cremation and inhumation with or without urns are freely mentioned. And there appears to have prevailed considerable latitude in the choice of the method to be followed on each particular occasion in the same family.[118] And the *Maṇimēkalai* mentions the construction of brick tombs of various shapes built by the relatives of the dead whether they were sages or kings or women who had become *Satī*.[119] It would appear that the shapes of these structures varied with the caste and rank of the persons commemorated by them. The funeral drum striking terror into the hearts of listeners is also mentioned in the same poem.[120]

Satī.

Satī is frequently mentioned and was fairly common, but by no means universal. The celebrated utterance of the queen of Bhūta Pāṇḍya[121] shows that it was more or less the general practice to dissuade women who had lost their husbands from immolating themselves and that the practice was by no means encouraged, much less enforced. There can be no manner of doubt, however, that the heroism and devotion of the *Satī* were applauded by public opinion. The true wife was indeed she who, at the death of her husband, entered his burning pyre

as if she were entering the cool water in a tank for bathing.[122] Still, the more human, though less heroic, ideal that women were ordinarily expected to adopt is perhaps best expressed in the lines of the *Maṇimēkalai*,[123] which contrast the daily life of the family woman with that of the hetaera by saying that the former was under guard in her maidenhood as in her married state, and so also when her husband was no more, that she controlled her mind and did not meet strangers and that she offered worship to no god other than her wedded husband. The *Kuṟaḷ* is silent on *Satī*. To lead a life of religious devotion in widowhood was recognised as proper for women of all classes. The *Satī* then was the exception rather than the rule, and we do not hear of a single instance of an unwilling woman being forced to it.

Brahmanism.

That the ritualism of Brahmanical Hinduism had struck root in the Tamil country in this early period must have become clear from the references already cited to the costly sacrifices performed by the Cōḷa monarchs of the time. The regular day to day fire-worship of the Brahmans is mentioned by the *Maṇimēkalai*;[124] and a song of Āvūr Mūlam-kiḷār in the *Puṟanānūṟu* which eulogises the Brahman Viṇṇandāyan of the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra who lived in Pūñjāṟṟūr in the Cōḷa country gives an idea of the high position held in society by prominent Śrōtriya families:[125]

> 'O! Scion of the celebrated race of wise men who laid low the strength of those that opposed Śiva's ancient lore, who saw through the sophistry of the false doctrines, and preferring the truth and shunning error, completed the twenty-one ways of Vedic sacrifice![126] Worn by you on the occasion of the sacrifice, the skin of the grass-eating stag of the forest shines over the sacred cord on your shoulder. Your wives, suited to your station, gentle and of rare virtue, wearing the netlike garment laid down in the *Śāstra* (for such occasions), sparing of speech, with small foreheads, large hips, abundant tresses, are carrying out the duties set for them. From the forest and from the town, having twice seven *paśus* in their proper places, supplying ghee more freely than water, making offerings which numbers cannot reckon and

> spreading your fame to make the whole world jealous, at the rare culmination of the sacrifice your exalted station gains a new splendour. May we ever witness it so! I, for my part, shall go, eat, drink, ride and enjoy myself in my village by the cool Kāviri, which gets its flowery freshes when the thunder cloud roars on the golden peaks of the Western mountains; may you, for your part, stand thus stable without change, like the tall Himalaya which towers above the clouds and whose sides are covered with bamboos.'

This ode shows not only the dominance of Vedic ritualism, but contains an allusion to disputes between the followers of the Veda and other religionists, the latter being stigmatised as followers of false doctrines and sophists who make the false appear true. What these other religions were can only be guessed; most likely they were Buddhism and Jainism which had a vogue in the Tamil country from very early times. The ceremony of *upanayana* is clearly known to the *Maṇimēkalai* which mentions Brahmans who began the study of the Veda soon after they were invested with the sacred cord.[127] The twice-born are mentioned in the *Puṟam*.[128] Even in the houses of merchants marriages were, as has been seen, performed according to Vedic ritual. The *Tolkāppiyam* defines *kaṟpu* in a manner which implies that, in one important respect, the distinction between *kaḷavu* and *kaṟpu* was based on the difference between the indigenous Tamil form of marriage and the exotic Aryan form which had been superposed on it:

> 'Kaṟpu is that (form) in which a bridegroom from a family fit to accept accepts a bride given by persons of a family fit to give her and takes her to wife with the (proper) ritual.'[129]

We learn further that the rites of marriage might be performed even when there happened to be no one to dispose of the marriageable girl, and that the rites primarily meant for the three higher classes, might also be adopted on occasions by the lower.[130] We are told, in fine, that these rituals were ordained by the sages (*aiyar*) after falsehood and sin had made their appearance.[131] This last statement distinctly recalls the legends of the origin of human marriage current among Sanskrit writers and detailed fully in the *Mahābhā-*

rata. As has been rightly pointed out,[132] such 'myths are interesting but of no scientific value. . . . .When men meditated upon the marriage ceremonial and system, they would naturally infer a time when there was not only no rite, but no institution of marriage.'

The Pantheon.

From all accounts, Hinduism was the dominant religion in the Tamil country in this period. Within its spacious fold were worshipped all the gods of an extensive and eclectic pantheon ranging from the Great God with an eye on his forehead to the little demon (*bhūtam*) of the cross-roads.[133] Four divinities seem to have occupied a more distinguished position than the rest,[134] and they were Śiva who is often placed at the head of the pantheon, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa who are frequently described together, and Murugan, apparently the favourite deity of the Tamils. The worship of Murugan embodied some indigenous features like the *vēlanāḍal*. Indra came in also for special worship as on the occasion of the festival held in Puhār in his honour. That music and dance were from early times closely intertwined with religious rites is seen from the descriptions in the *Śilappadikāram* of the more or less primitive worship of *Koṟṟavai* by *vēṭṭuvar*, of Kṛṣṇa (Kaṇṇan) by shepherdesses and of Murugan by *Kuṟavas*. A temple of Saraswati is mentioned in the *Maṇimēkalai*,[135] which also alludes to the presence of *kāpālikas*.[136] If the author of the *Kaḷavaḻi* was the same as the Vaiṣṇava saint Poygaiyār who is counted among the three earliest *aḻvārs*, then we shall have to trace to this period also the beginnings of the *bhakti* cult of the Vaiṣṇavas, and there is nothing improbable in this. The *Maṇimēkalai* appears to mention even the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.[137]

Influence of Buddhism.

Belief in reincarnation, the effects of karma in successive births and the power of Fate was part of the common basis of all religion in India, and this is clearly seen to have been generally accepted in the Tamil country also. The practice of austerities (*tapas*) was held to be meritorious and productive of great good.[138] The joyous faith in good living that breathes through the poems of the Śangam age gradually gives place to the pessimistic outlook on life that is, in the last resort, traceable to the emphasis laid by Buddhism on

the sorrows of life and its doctrine that the only way of escape was the repression of the will to live. This note of sadness, already traceable in Uṟaiyūr Mudukaṇṇan Śāttanār,[139] becomes more pronounced in the setting of the *Maṇimēkalai* which contains a round denunciation of the fools who, not meditating upon the ruthlessness of Death, spend their time in the blind enjoyment of carnal pleasures.[140] In all important centres in the Tamil country there were Jaina temples and Buddhist *caityas* and monasteries in which Buddhist and Jaina monks lived and preached their tenets to those who cared to listen.[141] Aṟavaṇavaḍigaḷ, the celebrated Buddhist monk, whom the *Maṇimēkalai* connects successively with Puhār, Vañji, and Kāñcī, even though he may not be a historical figure,[142] may well be looked upon as a type familiar to town-dwellers in those times. We have no means whatever of estimating with any certainty the numbers professing these religions or the extent of their influence in society.

1. The old term Dravidian, now fallen into much contempt with some writers, does not mean anything essentially different. Inferences from language or culture to race are of course not warranted.

2. Much recent writing on this subject makes one reflect on the justice of the remark made in another context by Wingfield-Stratford: 'This is a field that has hitherto been largely left to free lances, and it is perhaps a pity that a closer liaison has not been maintained between orthodox historians, and imaginative pioneers, the boldness of whose conclusion is apt to take one's breath away, and demands from the reader exercise of the critical faculty not always apparent in the author. The argument from words, of which the free lance is so glibly prolific, is one that ought to be used with the utmost caution, considering how easy it is, with a little ingenuity, to make out a philological case for the wildest absurdity.' (*The History of British Civilisation*, i. p. 14).

3. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamils* p. 485; surely there were heroes before Agamemnon!

4. *ibid* p. 537.

5. vi. ll. 66-7.

6. E.g.,Gautama iv. 6 ff. (Mysore edn.).

7. *Maṟaiyōr-tē-ettu-manṟal eṭṭanuḷ*, Su. 92 in Poruḷ; *Iṟaiyanār*, Su. 1.

8. *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷ*. 104-6.

9. ll. 1—28.

10. *Puṟam* 368, *IA*. xxix pp. 282-3.

11. *Puṟam* 40, ll. 10-11.

12. *Porunar-ārruppaḍai*, ll. 245-6.
13. No. 381.
14. Nos. 731-40.
15. No. 740.
16. Nos. 751-60.
17. No. 756 Parimēlaḻagar has taken *uṟuporuḷ* to mean escheat and treasure-trove; but see *Divākaram*, sec. 9.
18. No. 552.
19. No. 60, ll. 13-5—*Koṟṟac-cōḻar kuḍandai vaitta nāḍu taru nidiyinuṇjēṟiya-vaṟun-gaḍi.*
20. No. 448, Pope's translation.
21. Nos. 555, 564.
22. No. 581.
23. No. 638.
24. No. 872.
25. *Maṇi.* xxii l. 208.
26. Nos. 543; 545—6. cf. also *Maṇi*—vii ll. 8 ff.
27. See PK. pp. 32-3.
28. *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.* pp. 109-10.
29. As may be expected, scholars who are not in a position to control Kanakasabhai's statements by going to his sources have been much intrigued by them. In his thoughtful work on *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, for instance, R. C. Majumdar takes a big leap forward from the point to which Kanakasabhai had taken him, and affirms: 'It appears to me that the so called Five Assemblies were really the five committees of a Great Assembly. The writer has traced them to the Magadha Empire, but they seem to me rather the modifications of the Vedic Samiti which left its reminiscence in every part of India.' And these hoary assemblies also by a miracle anticipated the most modern developments in political organisation! For Majumdar continues: 'In any case the representative character of these bodies, and the effective control which they exercised over the administration is clearly established. It is interesting to note also that the 'ministers' formed one of the assemblies. The assemblies, taken together, may justly be compared with the Privy Council referred to above, the assembly of the ministers corresponding with the Cabinet composed of a selected few.' (Second Edition pp. 130-1). Aho nirankuśatvam utprekṣāyāh!
30. *Puṟam* 46.
31. ll. 187-8—*muḍiyōr-avai-puku-poḻudiṟ-ṟam pakai muraṇṣelavum.* Here '*muḍiyōr*' is to be taken in contrast with the '*iḷaiyōr*' immediately preceding in the sentence *iḷaiyōr vaṇḍal-ayaṟavum.* Naccinārkkiniyar indeed does not do so, and understands '*muḍiyōr*' to mean 'old men', and finds occasion to introduce the legend about Karikāla putting on a wig of grey hair in order to appear older than the old men who came to lay their differences before him.
32. No. 727.
33. *Puṟam* 373.

34. See *Studies* pp. 74ff.
35. *Porunar.* ll. 180. 246.
36. No. 1033.
37. ll. 118-137.
38. *Maṇi* xix ll. 42-3.
39. See *Kaḷavaḻi*-ed. Anantarama Aiyar p. 10. (Introdn.).
40. See Naccinārkkiniyar on *mārāyam-perra-neḍumoḻiyānum* (*Tol. Poruḷ. Puṟattiṇai*, Su. 8).
41. Nos. 167, 394.
42. *Kuṟaḷ* 771; *Aham* 131; *Puṟam* 306, l. 4.
43 *Tol Poruḷ* Su. 63 (end.)
44. *Puṟam* 62, l. 13.
45. *Maṇi.* xxiii ll. 13 ff and n.
46. *Puṟam* 40. Modern warfare is no stranger to such unchivalrous practices. Witness enemy guns cast into memorial shields.
47. Kanakasabhai has edited and translated the poem, *IA.* xviii. p. 258. An old commentary says that the *Kaḷavaḻi* was addressed to Vijayālaya. This, if correct, alters the chronological position of the poem which contains no clear reference to Śenganān.
48. *Kaḷavaḻi* 9.
49. Verse 29.
50. *Puṟam* 125.
51. *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai* ll. 84-9; 102-21; see also *Puṟam* 34 translated by Pope *IA.* xxix p. 251.
52. *Puṟam* 62 l. 14.
53. *Śil* xvi l. 55.
54. v. 185—The figure given is 1600,000; '*Paṭṭoḍāṟunūṟāyiram.*'
55. *Puṟam* 335.
56. *Puṟam* 378, ll. 10-22.
57. *Puṟam* 70; *IA.* xxix p. 281.
58. These are detailed in *Śil.* vi 39 ff
59. *Maṇi* ii ll. 18-32.
60. *Puṟam* 378.
61. *Maṇi.* iii, ll. 127 ff.
62. *Maṇi* xix ll. 102 ff.
63. *Maṇi.* xix 90.
64. See also *Aham* 86, quoted by P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamils* pp. 78-80.
65. ll. 59-117.
66. i, ll. 14-19. ii, ll. 1 ff.
67. *Puṟam* 30 ll. 11-14.
68. *Paṭṭinappālai* ll. 142-158.
69. *Ibid.* ll. 159-183.
70. This method of exhibiting one's learning in public disputations is also mentioned in the *Maṇimēkalai*, i ll. 60-1. It was quite common in Europe till modern times; and in India, it is well-known even now among pandits.
71. ll. 199-212.

72. *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 25. The *Manimēkalai* xxviii ll. 31-67 has a description of Kāñcīpuram which, apparently similar to the description of Puhār reproduced above from the *Śilappadikāram*, strikes one as too conventional to be accepted as having any close relation to facts. The *Śilappadikāram* account is much more convincing.

73. ll. 213-17.

74. ll. 184-193.

75. The annotator makes this Kaḍāram (Kedah) in Malaya.

76. *PK.* p. 35. Kanakasabhai *op. cit.* Chh. ii and iii.

77. ll. 346-50.

78. Reinaud *JA.* 1863. i. pp. 301-2, cf. *Periplus*, sec. 49

79. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

80. Thurston *Coins*, Cat. No. 2. (Madras Museum), Second edition 1894. Sewell *JRAS.* 1904; *Ancient India*, No. 2.

81. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge 1928).

82. Warmington *op. cit.* pp. 274 ff. W. thinks that Pliny's 'Seres' were the Cēras. But see Hudson, *Europe and China* (Arnold, 1931) pp. 100-2. Roman coins need not actually have reached China.

83. *Periplus* Sec. 59.

84. Rostovtzeff—*Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 93 (Oxford 1926); cf. Warmington Pt. I, ch. ii.

85. Warmington *op. cit.* pp. 128-31.

86. Rostovtzeff—*op. cit.* p. 421. Warmington, pp. 139-40.

87. Warmington, p. 65.

88. This means the west coast of India. 'Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica' (Sec. 53).

89. Section 60 and Schoff's notes thereon. For a discussion of this passage in the *Periplus* with reference to Indian boat-designs, see Hornell, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii. pp. 215 ff. He suggests that the *Colandia* of the first century had close kinship with the two-masted Javanese outrigger ships of the Boro-Budur sculptures. But surely the two-masted ships without outriggers on the Andhra and Kurumbar coins seem to be nearer the vessels mentioned by the *Periplus* than Javanese sculptures of the 8th or 9th century A.D.

90. *Paṭṭinappālai* ll. 29-32.

91. iv. ll. 29-34.

92. *Periplus* p. 261.

93. Rostovtzeff *op. cit.* p. 126.

94. See also Warmington *op. cit.* p. 143 for a slightly different interpretation.

95. *Puram* 61. l. 1.

96. *Tol. Porul. Ahattinai Su.* 30.

97. No. 230 ll. 12-3.

98. *Puram* 125, l. 1.

99. ll. 82-3.

100. l. 155.

101. iii. 167-8.
102. *Puṟam* 82.
103. xix ll. 107-9.
104. *Poṟunar.* ll. 214-17.
105. Rice-flakes obtained by pounding fried paddy-corn.
106. *Puṟam* 33, ll. 1-7.
107. Sewell *JRAS.* 1904, pp. 609-15.
108. *Maṇi* xi ll. 84-87, xviii ll. 90 ff., xix ll. 51 ff.
109. ll. 165-7.
110. *Poṟunar.* ll. 182-4.
111. *Puṟam* 34, ll. 1-7.
112. *Maṇi* xviii, ll. 33-4 cf. *Śil.* xiv, l. 146.
113. *Maṇi* v. 37; xiii, 5-7.
114. ibid vii, 75-76 and *n.*
115. ibid vi. l. 127; iii, 134.
116. ibid xxi, 128-9.
117. *Śil.* v, 237-40.
118. *Puṟam* 239, ll. 20-21.
119. *Maṇi* vi. 54-59.
120. *ibid.* l. 71.
121. *Puṟam,* 246.
122. *Puṟam* 246 and *Maṇi.* ii ll. 42-5; xvi 23 ff.; xviii 11-15.
123. xviii, ll. 98-102.
124. v, l. 133.
125. *Puṟam* 166.
126. i.e., performed the twenty-one varieties of Vedic sacrifices.
127. xiii ll. 23-24.
128. No. 367, 1, 12.
129. *Tol. Poruḷ. karpu,* Su. 1.
130. *ibid.* Su. 2, 3.
131. *ibid.,* Su. 4.
132. Crawley-*The Mystic Rose* ii, 259.
133. *Maṇi.* i ll. 54-5.
134. *Śil.* v ll. 169-72, xiv ll. 7-10.
135. xiii, l. 106.
136. vi, 86.
137. xxvii l. 98. See *PK.* pp. 20-21.
138. *Poṟunar.* ll. 91-2.
139. *Puṟam* 27; see *ante* p. 39.
140. vi ll. 97 ff.
141. See s. v. *Arugan* and *Puttan* in the Indexes to the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai;* and *Maduraikāñji* ll. 475-87.
142. He has been identified on rather insufficient grounds with Dharmapāla, *JOR.* 1927, pp. 197 ff.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE ŚANGAM AGE TO VIJAYĀLAYA

After the Śangam Age.

The transition from the Śangam age to that in which the Pāṇḍyas of the line of Kaḍungōn and the Pallavas of the Simhaviṣṇu line divide for three centuries the Tamil land between them is completely hidden from our view. The same darkness shrouds the fortunes of the Cōḷas for three centuries more, until the accession of Vijayālaya in the second quarter of the ninth century. Epigraphy and literature, however, provide a few peep-holes through which we obtain glimpses of the interesting transformations that come over this ancient line of kings in this long interval. One thing seems certain, that when the power of the Cōḷas fell to a low ebb and that of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas rose to the north and south of them, the scions of this ancient royal line found themselves compelled to seek service and patronage under their more successful rivals; this is a feature common to several dynasties of Indian kings in the days of their tribulation. The Western Cāḷukyas in the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, the Eastern Cāḷukyas between Rājarāja's conquest of Vengi and the accession of Kulōttunga I to the Cōḷa throne, the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas themselves, besides the Gangas and the Bāṇas after the expansion of the Cōḷa power under the successors of Vijayālaya, are among the most conspicuous examples of this common feature of Indian history. Ancient memories die hard; and great dynastic names, though borne for a time in obscurity, have often, with a turn in the wheel of fortune, been the cause of a renascence of power and glory. It may be doubted if, for all their troubles in this period, the Cōḷas ever completely lost their hold on Uṟaiyūr. Vijayālaya when he comes into prominence rises from the same neighbourhood, and the remotest claimants to Cōḷa descent in the Telugu country, and even further north, glory in the names of Uṟaiyūr and Kāvēri; contemporary epigraphical evidence may also be cited pointing to the same conclusion. The dispersion of the Cōḷas in the period of their weakness, the poor and dispossessed among them going out in quest of fortune, is attested by the occurrence of names of princes and chieftains claiming Cōḷa connections in

Dispersion of the Cōḷas.

places as far removed from one another as Koḍumbāḷūr (Pudukottah), Śiyyāḷi (Shiyali), and Mālēpāḍu. The Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi, the Mauryas of Konkan, the Guttas of Guttal (Bombay), like the Cōḷas of the Telugu country, are examples of what may be styled dynastic drift in Indian History.[1]

Kaḷabhras.

The Vēḷvikuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍyas and some Pallava charters mention the obscure clan of the Kaḷabhras who were responsible for much political unsettlement in the country, and whose overthrow formed the first step in the resuscitation of the power of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas towards the end of the sixth century. We may assume that the predatory activities of the Kaḷabhras[2] brought the power of the early Cōḷas also to an end. The absence of any allusion to this fact in the Cōḷa inscriptions and copper-plates of the Vijayālaya line is easily accounted for. Unlike the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas who quickly succeeded in wresting from the hands of the Kaḷabhras what they had lost to them sometime before, the Cōḷas were submerged for nearly three centuries under the rising tide of the Pāṇḍya and Pallava powers. They could not find their feet again until these newly risen forces had spent themselves in mutual hostility. In the writings of Buddhadatta[3] we have singularly interesting evidence on the rule of the Kaḷahbras in the Cōḷa country. The date of Buddhadatta is, unfortunately, not as certain as has sometimes been assumed; the tradition that makes him a contemporary of Buddhaghōṣa is late, and not warranted by any statement in the extensive works of either of these divines.[4] Buddhadatta might have been the earlier of the two to visit Ceylon for studying Buddhism. It is quite certain, however, that he lived in the dark period of South Indian history after the light of the Śangam literature fails, and before a fresh dawn commences with the Pāṇḍya and Pallava charters mentioned above; and his evidence is all the more welcome. At the close of his *Abhidhammāvatāra*, he gives a glowing account of Kāvēripaṭṭaṇa, with its concourse of rich merchants, its palaces and pleasure-gardens,[5] and states that, in a great monastery built there by Kaṇhadāsa, he lived for a time and composed that work at the very proper request of Sumati, evidently one of his pupils. Likewise he informs us at the end of his *Vinayaviniccaya* that he composed that

Buddhadatta.

work for the sake of Buddhasīha, while he was residing in the lovely monastery of Veṇhudāsa in a city on the banks of the Kāvēri, by name Bhūtamangalam,[6] described by him as the hub of Cōḷaraṭṭha. He adds also that this work was begun and finished when Accutavikkanta of the Kaḷabhrakula was ruling the earth.[7] This Accuta could have been no other than the king of the same name who is reputed, in literary tradition,[8] to have kept in confinement the three Tamil kings, the Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya. Some songs about him are quoted by Amitasāgarar, the author of the *Yāpparungalak-kārikai*, in the tenth century A.D. Possibly Accuta was himself a Buddhist. At any rate, by calling the Kaḷabhras a tribe of Kali kings and stating that they uprooted many *adhirājar* and meddled with *brahmadēya* rights, the Vēḷvikuḍi grant makes it clear that there was no love lost between these interlopers and the people of the lands overrun by them. In the colophons to his works, Buddhadatta is called an inhabitant of Uragapura which perhaps means that Uṟaiyūr was his native place.

Accuta Kaḷabha.

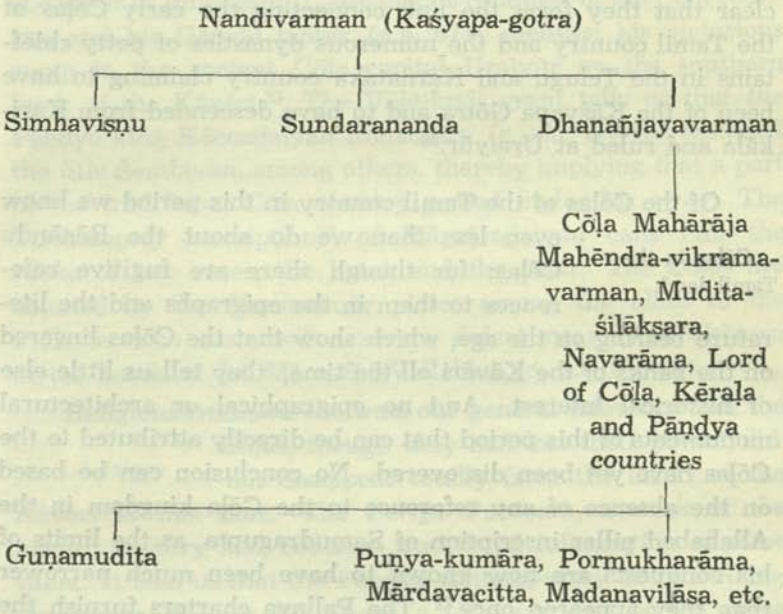
Sometime after Accuta's rule, how long after we cannot say exactly, the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas established their power after overthrowing the Kaḷabhras; and the Cōḷas, though they could not recover their independent status, continued to lead an obscure existence on the banks of the Kāvēri. The newly risen powers in the north and south seem to have left them alone for the most part, though, possibly out of regard for their ancient name, they accepted Cōḷa princesses in marriage, and employed in their service Cōḷa princes who were willing to accept it.

Obscurity of the Cōḷas.

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who spent several months at Amarāvatī and Kāñcīpuram in A.D. 639 and 640, took the kingdom of Culi-ya (Cōlika?) on his way south. The bearings recorded in the pilgrim's itinerary led Cunningham to find its modern representative in the Karnūl district.[9] A number of stone inscriptions from the Cuddapah district[10] and two interesting copper-plate grants which give the names of four generations attest the rule of a dynasty of kings bearing the Cōḷa name, tracing their descent from Karikāla and holding sway in this region. The territory ruled by them was

Cu-li-ya of Yuan Chwang.

called Rēnāṇḍu 7,000, and comprised the tract of land lying along the Kundēru river in the Cuddapah and Karnūl districts.[11] On palaeographical grounds the stone inscriptions have been held to be anterior to the 8th century[12] and very good reason can be shown for assigning them, together with the copper-plates from Mālēpāḍu, to the seventh century A.D.[13] The titles borne by these kings show that they had rather intimate political connections with the Pallavas and the Cāḷukyas. It is possible that though they claimed independent status for themselves and for the most part maintained it with success, policy sometimes dictated to them the need for acknowledging in some vague manner the supremacy of their more powerful neighbours. Their crest, figured in the Mālēpāḍu plates, represents, not a tiger, but a maned lion with its tail twisted in a loop over the back; it resembles that of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Pallavas, and was possibly Buddhist in origin.[14] The genealogy of the Rēnāṇḍu Cōḷas given in the Mālēpāḍu plates is as follows:[15]



Of these Dhanañjaya is represented by a single stone inscription[16] in the Cuddapah district. Though several of the stone inscriptions mentioned above belong to Cōḷa Mahārāja, none of them adds anything to our knowledge of the king's reign, and we have no direct means of explaining his titles,

among which occurs an ambitious claim to the overlordship of the three Tamil kingdoms of the South. The title of Pṛthivīvallabha borne by Puṇyakumāra, and the name of his queen Vasanta-Pōṛi-Cōḷa-Mahādēvi[17] show his connection with the Cāḷukyas. It is difficult to say whether he or his father was ruling at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit; but there can be no doubt that this line of rulers had an important role in the hostilities between the Pallavas and Cāḷukyas of this period. King Cōḷamahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya Satyāditya and his mother Cōḷa Mahādēvi[18] are no doubt other members of the same family who do not figure in the genealogy of the Mālēpāḍu plates. It is to be observed that this king has a higher title than the usual Cōḷa Mahārāja, his territory including Siddhi 1000 (Sidhout country) besides the Rēnāṇḍu 7000. A Cōḷa Māhārāja Kumārānkuśa figures as the *vijñapti* in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of the sixth year of the Pallava king, Nandivarman III.[19] The history of this line cannot be fully understood until fresh discoveries are made. But it is already clear that they form the link connecting the early Cōḷas of the Tamil country and the numerous dynasties of petty chieftains in the Telugu and Karnataka country claiming to have been of the Kāśyapa Gōtra and to have descended from Karikāla and ruled at Uṛaiyūr.[20]

Cōḷas in the Tamil land.

Of the Cōḷas of the Tamil country in this period we know even less than we do about the Rēnāṇḍu Cōḷas; for though there are fugitive references to them in the epigraphs and the literature bearing on the age, which show that the Cōḷas lingered on the banks of the Kāvēri all the time, they tell us little else of historical interest. And no epigraphical or architectural monuments of this period that can be directly attributed to the Cōḷas have yet been discovered. No conclusion can be based on the absence of any reference to the Cōḷa kingdom in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, as the limits of his conquests are now known to have been much narrower than they appeared once.[21] The Pallava charters furnish the bulk of the epigraphical evidence on the Cōḷas during this period, and this is, at times, finely supplemented by the W. Cāḷukya and Pāṇḍya grants. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates describe Buddhavarmā of the late fourth or early fifth century A.D. as 'the submarine fire to the

Epigraphy.

ocean of the Cōḷa army.'[22] Again, Simhaviṣṇu (*c.* A.D. 575-600) is stated to have seized the Cōḷa country watered by the Kāvēri and adorned by groves of areca-palms and rich paddy fields.[23] About the same time the Cāḷukyas claim to have conquered the Cōḷas[24]; either the claim is false, or the Rēnāṇḍu Cōḷas are meant. Mahēndravarman (*c.* A.D. 600-630) was proud of his sway over the Cōḷa country; and in his inscriptions the Trichinopoly rock is called the crown of the Cōḷa country,[25] and Lord Śiva enjoins the king to build a temple for him on the rock as otherwise he would miss the sight of the rich splendour of the land of the Cōḷas[26]. In a grandiose and apparently meaningless enumeration of kings overthrown by Narasimhavarman I (*c.* A.D. 630-660), the Kūram grant (of Paramēśvara-varman I) includes the Cōḷa among the countries conquered by him.[27] The Aihōḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II (A.D. 634) states that he confined the power of the Pallavas inside the four walls of Kāñcīpuram and thus brought prosperity to the Cōḷa, Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya.[28] Vikramāditya I, the successor of Pulakēśin II, also claims conquest of the Cōḷa country, and his Gadvāl plates (A.D. 674) mention his victorious camp in the ancient Cōḷa capital Uṟaiyūr on the southern bank of the Kāvēri.[29] The Vēḷvikuḍi grant tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (*c.* A.D. 710-40) assumed the title Śembiyan, among others, thereby implying that a part of the traditional Cōḷa country passed under his sway. The Trichinopoly inscription[30] of Māṟañjaḍaiyan calls him the *tilaka* of two races, the lunar and the solar. The Cōḷas are counted by the Śinnamanūr plates among the allies of the Pallavas who sustained a severe defeat near Kumbakōṇam at the hands of Śrī Māra Śrī-Vallabha (*c.* A.D. 815-62).

Literature.

Religious tradition confirms our general inference that the Cōḷas, though they had lost their power, did not disappear totally from the banks of the Kāvēri at this time. The *Periya Purāṇam,* a work of the twelfth century A.D., contains traditional information of some value. It tells us that the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Tiru-Ñāna-sambandar had for his queen a Cōḷa princess of the name Mangaiyark-karaśi. Pugaḷccōḷa-Nāyānār was a Cōḷa ruler of Uṟaiyūr who held Karuvūr in subjection, conquered an Adigan[31] and promoted Śaivism. The *Purāṇam* also affirms that when a petty chieftain of Kaḷandai, who became, later, celebrated as Kūṟṟuva-Nāyanar, wanted the Brahmans of

Cidambaram to invest him with the diadem and thus confer the dignity of royalty on him in recognition of his extensive conquests, they declined to do so on the ground that only the ancient family of the Cōḷas was entitled to this high privilege, and, to avoid further trouble, migrated to the Cēra country in a body. The family of another Nāyanār, Ēyarkōn-kalikkāman, was living in a village on the banks of the Kāvēri, and devoting itself to agriculture and military service under the Cōḷa monarchs.[32] Lastly, a Cōḷa prince married a Pāṇḍyan princess and lived at Madura when Sundaramūrti visited the place in the company of Śēramān Perumāḷ.[33] Though Śēkkiḷār, the author of the *Periya Purāṇam,* is our main authority for these statements, many of them are also found in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's brief *andādi* which was the basis of the *Purāṇam,* and the names at least of the kings and chieftains go back to the time of Sundaramūrti, in the eighth century A.D. The *Divyasūri-carita* and the *Guru-paramparā* tell the same tale from the Vaiṣṇava side. Dēvadēvi, the hetaera who captivated āḻvār Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi for a time, met the holy man first when she was returning from the court of the Cōḷa king at Uṟaiyūr. The celebrated Uṟaiyūr-nācciyār, who declined to marry a mortal, and insisted successfully on her union with Lord Ranganātha, was a Cōḷa princess, the daughter of Dharmavarmā of the solar line ruling at Uṟaiyur. Tirumangaiāḻvār started life as a military official appointed by the Cōḷa king. Possibly, some of these literary references to the Cōḷas are due to the mere fact that the works in which they occur were composed in the days of Cōḷa ascendancy; but the unmistakable references to the Pallava contemporaries of the earlier *āḻvārs* and *nāyanārs* in these works are sufficient indication that some old and genuine traditions must have survived at the time and that a few, though not all, of the allusions to the Cōḷas culled from these books may be quite trustworthy.

We see then that in the long historical night that envelops the Cōḷas from the third or fourth to the ninth century A.D., their condition is best described as one of suspended animation. They managed, in some manner hidden from view, to find a second home for themselves in the Rēnāṇḍu country. In their original abode, they bent low before every storm that passed over them and bided their time. For aught we know, they were occupied in finding suitable matches for their

children, often with a view to political influence, with their more successful rivals, and in promoting the religious movements of the time. Buddhism and Jainism seem to have dominated the land for a while; Accuta, the Kaḷabhra king, was a Buddhist; and there were adherents of Jainism among the Pāṇḍya and Pallava rulers; the rich monastery of Negapatam with its large Buddha image of solid gold was, according to the *Guruparampará*, looted by Tirumangai-āḻvār. Buddhadatta gives testimony to the construction, at an earlier period, of two large monasteries in the Cōḷa country. But, thanks to the pious exertions of the *āḻvārs* and *nāyanārs*, who led a great Hindu revival, and gave fervent expression to the cult of *bhakti* in the language of the people, the spread of the protestant faiths was stopped and the orthodox creeds restored to their place of dominance. The Cōḷas, in an unostentatious way, assisted the Hindu revival by lending their support impartially to the apostles of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

1. Venkayya observes: 'It is at present impossible to ascertain how these Telugu chiefs came to claim the relationship with Karikāla.' (*ARE.* 1900, paragraph 45). Strictly, this is quite true. As I understand the matter, however, there was a somewhat live connection between the Cōḷas of the Telugu (Rēnāṇḍu) country and the Tamil Cōḷas; the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra, I think, form an important link in the chain of evidence, and suggest that the Pallava dominion of the Simhaviṣṇu line may have been the medium through which the drift of Cōḷas to the north took place. The attempts to explain the origin of the Telugu-Cōḍas by supposing that the Telugu country formed part of the empire of the early Cōḷa king, Karikāla, appear to be so much wasted effort. We can hardly treat the legends of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the history of the third or fourth. See *Studies* pp. 33-6, 61-6. *Contra* Venkayya-*ASI.* 1905-6. p. 175 n. 8.

2. See *PK.* pp. 47-9.

3. *Buddhadatta's Manuals*—Part I (1915) and Part II (1928)-ed. A. P. Buddhadatta (Pali Text Society).

4. Cf. A. P. Buddhadatta's introduction to Part II of the *Manuals; contra* P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar-*Tamils* p. 528. He makes nonsense of the line '*Ayam sumatinā sādhu yācitena kato tato*' by translating it: "(By me) who am intelligent and good and a beggar, this was composed and propounded extensively."

5. This fine description may raise a doubt whether the story of the destruction of the city by a tidal wave (*Maṇimēkalai* xxv ll. 194-204) is to be accepted as literally true.

6. The identification of this place with Budalūr (P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *op. cit.* p. 531) is doubtful; in fact it is a village on the Koradachery-Mannargudi road.

7. Accut Accutavikkante Kalabbhakulavaddhane |
Mahim samanusāsante āraddhō ca samāpitō | |

A. P. Buddhadatta adopts the reading Kaḷambakula, and holds them to be Kaḍambas.

8. *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai* vv. 154-57.

9. Watters, Vol. ii pp. 225 and 341.

10. Rangachari-Cd. Nos. 309, 318, 350, 405, 409, 435, 453, 550 and also 455, 560.

11. *EI.* xi p. 343; xxvii p. 268.

12. *ARE.* 1905 II, 5-6.

13. *Mad. Chr. Coll. Mag.* Jan 1929. pp. 7-18. cf, *EI,* xxvii p, 248; contra *ibid:* p. 271:

14. *EI.* xi p. 343-4.

15. *EI.* xi p. 345.

16. 380 of 1904 (Rangachari-Cd. 435).

17. 384 of 1904 (Rangachari-Cd. 560);

18. 393 and 400 of 1904 (Rangachari Cd. 453 and 409). Vikramāditya II claims to have conquered the Cōḷas among others. *SII.* i p. 146: *EI.* v. p. 204.

19. *SII.* ii 509 v. 26.

20. 231 of 1908 (Baster) *EI.* xi p. 338. Even the Kākatīyas sometimes connected themselves with Karikāla. See also *EI.* v. p. 123, *n.* and *Cat. of copper plates* (Mad. Mus.) p. 14 for the undated plates of Śrīkaṇṭha.

21. Much less can anything be made of the silence of the Sātavāhana inscription recording Gautamīputra's conquests. *Contra* Venkayya-*ASI.* 1905-6, p. 176 *n.*

22. *SII.* ii p. 508 l. 14.

23. *ibid.* ll. 16-17.

24. Kielhorn's List of *SII.* No. 5 (*EI.* vii).

25. *SII.* i, 33.

26. *"Vibhūtim Cōḷānām katham-aham avekṣeya vipulām—ibid.* 34. Hultzsch understands by *'vibhūtim Cōḷānām'* 'the great power of the Cōḷas.' But as it is not a proper description of the position of the Cōḷas after their conquest by Simhaviṣṇu, and as such a description is hardly likely to be found in a Pallava grant, I take *'Cōḷānām'* to mean the country.

27. *SII.* i, p. 151 ll. 14-5.

28. *EI.* vi. p. 6, verses 29-31.

29. *EI.* x, p. 103. Uragapura is not as Hultzsch thought Negapatam, but Uṟaiyūr near Trichinopoly.

30. *ASI.* 1903-4 p. 275.

31. The dynastic name of the chiefs of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri).

32. The references are easily got in any edition of the *Periya Purā-nam*. See also *ASI*. 1905-6 pp. 176-7. I cannot discover why Venkayya should have included Iḍangaḷi, a *vēḷ* chieftain of Kōnāḍu (Pudukkottah) in his account of the Cōḷas of this period. It must be noted, however, that Iḍangaḷi is said to have been the ancestor of Āditya who covered the Cidambaram temple with gold from Kongu. Even if this is a reference to Āditya I who conquered Kongu and annexed Toṇḍai-nāḍ to the Cōḷa kingdom, Iḍangaḷi might have been connected with the Cōḷas only by giving his daughter in marriage to a Cōḷa prince. At any rate, we have no evidence that the Cōḷas were descended from the Vēḷs in the male line.

33. *Śēramān Perumāḷ-Nāyanār Purāṇam* v. 92.

Chapter VI

THE RISE OF VIJAYĀLAYA. ĀDITYA I

(c. A.D. 850-907)

Śrī Puṟambiyam.

'At the head of the great battle of Śrī Puṟambiya, this hero (Pṛthivīpati I) quickly defeated Varaguṇa, the Lord of the Pāṇḍyas; and having, at the expense of his own life, secured that his friend was Aparājita (unconquered) in fact as in name, he ascended to heaven.'[1] In these terms the Udayēndiram plates of Ganga Pṛthivīpati II record the part of his ancestor and namesake in the decisive battle which proved to be a turning-point in the history of Southern India. For the Pāṇḍyas never recovered from this staggering blow, and the Pallavas, though victory remained with them in the battle, owed it more to their allies than to their own strength. Thoroughly exhausted by incessant warfare on two fronts, against the Cāḷukyas and Pāṇḍyas, they were themselves in no position to pursue the advantage gained. Among the allies of the Pallavas were, besides the Ganga feudatory, the Cōḷa ruler Āditya I who, though he must have taken a subordinate place in the battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam, very soon discovered his advantage, and commanded the strength and energy to pursue it. The latest date known for Pṛthivīpati I is A.D. 879;[2] the battle in which he lost his life must have taken place about that date.

Vijayālaya.

Āditya I was the son of Vijayālaya, the first of the Imperial line of Cōḷas. An inscription from the Trichinopoly district[3] mentions a grant of land made in accordance with an earlier charter issued by Parakēsari Vijayālaya, and this shows that the revival of Cōḷa power at this time begins from the neighbourhood of Uṟaiyūr, their ancient home on the banks of the Kāvēri. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates[4] quaintly affirm that Vijayālaya caught hold of Tanjore for his pleasure as if the city were his lawful spouse, and that he founded a temple to goddess Niṣumbhasūdinī (Durgā). Hultzsch suggested that some Parakēsari inscriptions from such distant places as Kāñcīpuram and Śucīndram may be assigned to Vijayālaya;[5] though naturally one may

Conquest of Tanjore.

doubt if he became so powerful as to leave stone inscriptions over so extensive a territory at such an early stage in the rise of the Cōḷas, evidence is increasing that this king was really powerful, and in a record of his third year from Vīracōḷapuram in Tirukōyilūr taluq of South Arcot he is clearly described as *Tañjai-koṇḍa parakēsari*, Parakēsari the captor of Tanjore[6]. Some of the parakēsari records near about Tanjore are unquestionably his.[7] In a record of the fifth year of Vikrama Cōḷa from Kiḷputtūr in the North Arcot district, there is a specific reference to a stone inscription of the fourth year of Vijayālaya. Possibly Vijayālaya, though a vassal of the Pallava ruler, still dated records in his own regnal years —a privilege exercised by certain vassals at all times and by all of them when the power of their suzerain was on the decline.

His political position.

What was the political position of Vijayālaya and from whom did he capture Tanjore? In order to answer these questions, we must try and establish the probable date of Vijayālaya's rule. This is easily ascertained by calculating backwards from the accession of Parāntaka I, the grandson of Vijayālaya. The accession of Parāntaka has been fixed by Kielhorn between 15 January and 25 July A.D. 907.[8]

Chronology.

This date rests on the copious and unimpeachable testimony of astronomical data drawn from his numberless stone inscriptions, and forms the sheet-anchor of Cōḷa chronology in this period. The duration of the reign of Parāntaka's father, Āditya I, was at least twenty-seven years, possibly more. A very interesting record from Tirukkaḷukkuṇram,[9] dated in the twenty-seventh year of Rājakēsari, may for very good reasons be ascribed to Āditya; palaeographically, it certainly belongs to the time before Parāntaka; the subject-matter of the record is the renewal of the gifts of some lands to the local temple, made originally by Skandaśiṣya and continued by Pādāvikoṇḍa Naraśingapōttaraiyar, both well-known Pallava kings. Such a renewal is normal after a conquest, and as Āditya I is known to have conquered the Pallavas and annexed the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to the Cōḷa country, it is practically certain that this inscription is one of Āditya's. It should also be observed that in the earliest copper-plate grant, so far known, of this line, Āditya I is simply called Rājakēsari,[10] without any other name. How much longer Āditya ruled after

the date of the Tirukkaḷuk-kuṉṟam inscription cannot now be ascertained. But an inscription from Takkōlam dated in the 24th year of Rājakēsari, no doubt Āditya I, mentions a solar eclipse which occurred in A.D. 894 or 895.[11] This would give A.D. 870 or 871 for the accession of Āditya, and a rule of about 36 years for him till A.D. 907. We thus get 870 or thereabouts for the close of the reign of Vijayālaya, which might have begun, therefore, sometime before A.D. 850.[12]

Contemporaries of Vijayālaya.

The date thus obtained for the beginning of Vijayālaya's rule is some years earlier than the date of the accession to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom of Varaguṇavarman, who sustained defeat at Śrī Puṟambiyam, near Kumbakōṇam in the Tanjore district. The power of the Pāṇḍyas was still, at the accession of Varaguṇa, quite considerable in spite of the set-back it suffered after the battle of the Arisil in the reign of his father.[13] At this time, moreover, the enterprising chieftains known to history as the Muttaraiyar were in possession of part of the fertile delta land in the Tanjore district; their inscriptions come from Śendalai[14] and clearly describe them as ruling Tanjore also, though they had their head-quarters at Śendalai or Niyamam. Like the Cōḷas, the Muttaraiyar found it impossible to set up an independent rule, and had to support themselves by clinging to the Pāṇḍyas or the Pallavas.

The Muttaraiyar.

Their inscriptions and their titles show that they played a clever game and were ready to change their allegiance to suit their interests. In Varaguṇa's time, either of their own accord or as a result of temptations offered by Varaguṇa, they appear to have thrown in their lot with the Pāṇḍyas. The result was that they lost Tanjore, which was captured by Vijayālaya acting in the interest of the Pallavas. Little could the Pallava ruler have suspected that in thus employing his Cōḷa subordinate, he was, as the Indian saying has it, training his tiger-cub to a taste for blood. Nor could Vijayālaya have dreamt that his vicarious victory was to be the beginning of one of the most splendid empires known to Indian History.

The success of Vijayālaya meant the weakening of the Muttaraiya allies of the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇavarman, who undertook an expedition calculated to redress the balance. This began well enough, and Iḍavai, on the north bank of the

Kāvēri in the Cōḷa country, was reached.[15] But the Pallava ruler Aparājita who succeeded Nṛpatungavarman, just before this Pāṇḍya invasion, made a great effort. He got all his allies together, most prominent among them being the Ganga king Pṛthivīpati I. The alliance between the Gangas and the Pallavas was of ancient standing, and though there is no definite evidence to prove it, we may assume that the Cōḷa Āditya, who had succeeded his father in the meanwhile, also fought on the side of Aparājita[16] in the great battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam. More lucky than the Ganga monarch, Āditya lived to share the spoils of victory. Possibly, in his gratitude to his Cōḷa ally, Aparājita not only allowed Āditya to keep what his father had taken from the Muttaraiyar, but added some new territory in the neighbourhood to the sphere of his rule.

Āditya I.

Of Āditya (c. A.D. 871-907) the Anbil plates state only that on both the banks of the Kāvēri he built in honour of Śiva rows of tall stone temples which stood, the monuments of his success, from the Sahyādri mountain to the wide ocean.[17] The Tiruvālangāḍu plates state that he overthrew the strong Pallava ruler Aparājita,[18] and deprived him of his territory. The Kanyākumāri inscription gives him the surname Kōdaṇḍarāma, and states that in a battle he pounced upon and slew the Pallava king who was seated on the back of a tall elephant.[19] A record from Tillaisthānam[20] confirms this evidence by clearly stating that Rājakēsari extended his power to the Toṇḍaināḍ. Āditya must be taken, therefore, to have put an end to the Pallava power by annexing Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and to have extended the Cōḷa dominions, till they bordered on those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Aparājita's inscriptions mention his eighteenth regnal year; and no record from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam that can be attributed to Āditya bears a date earlier than his twenty-third regnal year. But as a gift, a *dēvadāna*, was made in the 21st year,[21] the conquest and annexation of the Pallava territory may be dated roughly about A.D. 890.

Aparājita overthrown.

But the settlement of the newly conquered territory in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam apparently took some years and may have involved fresh campaigns. The Karandai plates include the Pallava among the kings overthrown by Parāntaka I, the son

and successor of Āditya I. It is not easy to decide if Parāntaka's war with the Pallava was undertaken by him as *yuvarāja* in his father's reign or if vestiges of Pallava independence survived into Parāntaka's own reign. A record of Ś. 826 (A.D. 904) from Kāppalūr (North Arcot)[21a] omits all mention of a ruling sovereign and registers a gift to a local temple by a chieftain—some indication of conditions being still unsettled at this time.

Relation to the Gangas.

The Ganga king may have assisted Āditya in this conquest; at any rate we find him soon after acknowledging Āditya's suzerainty; Pritipatiyār, son of Māramaraiyar, no other than the well-known Pṛthivīpati II, son of Mārasimha, of the Udayēndiram grant, presented a silver vessel (*keṇḍi*) to the temple of Takkōlam in the twenty-fourth year of Rājakēsari[22] (Āditya). The Cōḷa overlordship, which is elaborately acknowledged in the reign of Parāntaka in the Udayēndiram plates, is in this stone inscription briefly recognised by the record being dated in the regnal year of Rājakēsarivarman. Attention has been drawn already to the Tirukkaḷukkunṟam inscription recording the renewal of an ancient Pallava grant to the local temple. Āditya married a Pallava princess, as may be inferred from an inscription of his twenty-third year which says that the mother of the Cōḷa queen was a Kāḍupaṭṭigaḷ.[23] Iḷangōn Picci, a daughter of Vallavaraiyar (Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛṣṇa II) is described as Āditya's senior queen in a record of his twenty-seventh year.[23a] Another record from Niyamam mentions that Aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍan Māṟambāvai, queen of Nandipōttaraiyar of the Pallavatilaka race, granted to the local temple some money for certain specified purposes.[24] In the eighteenth year of Rājakēsari (Āditya I), the same lady had made another gift to the Piḍāri temple in the same place.[25] Despite her regal titles, the identity of this lady and her Pallava lord must remain somewhat doubtful.[26]

Conquest of Kongu.

The *Kongudēśa-rājākkaḷ* affirms that Āditya, after being crowned at Taṉjāvūr-paṭṇam, came to Kongudēśa, conquered the country and governed it in addition to his own; it also says that he took the town of Taḷakāḍ. Despite the lateness and the general untrustworthiness of this chronicle, this statement looks very plausible. For one thing, Parāntaka's records are found

in the Kongudēśa, and he does not claim to have conquered it. Early in his reign is mentioned an officer of his supervising temple affairs in Kongu.[27] So it is quite reasonable to suppose that Āditya conquered the Kongu country. The mention of Taḷakāḍ implies that Āditya took the country from the Western Gangas; there is again nothing improbable in this, and we have seen Pṛthivīpati II acknowledging the overlordship of Āditya. About the same time the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa claims to have fought in Kongu; Āditya might have taken part of the Kongu country from him. The Anbil plates, which say that Āditya built temples along the entire course of the Kāvēri from the Sahyādri to the sea, also seem to lend support to the statement in the chronicle of Kongu kings.

Relation to Cēra.

An undated inscription[28] from Tillaisthānam shows that Āditya was on very friendly terms with his Cēra contemporary Sthāṇu-Ravi. This records a gift by Kaḍamba-mādēvi, on whose husband, Vikki-Aṇṇan, the two monarchs jointly, conferred the personal privileges, of 'throne, chauri, palanquin, drum, a palace, *pōnakam* (?), bugle, elephant-corps' and the hereditary title Śembiyan Tamiḻa-vēḷ. Here is clear indication that Vikki-Aṇṇan who was so honoured must have distinguished himself in some manner that greatly pleased these two kings. Can it be that he was a Cēra general whom Sthāṇu-Ravi employed to co-operate with Āditya in his Kongu campaign against the Pāṇḍya? We know that Āditya's son Parāntaka married a daughter of the Cēra king. It is natural to assume that this friendship between the two ancient lines of rulers began with the extension of Cōḻa rule to Kongu.[29] There is mention of a Vikkiyaṇṇa, son of Pṛthivīpati, in a Ganga inscription[30] of this period.

Temples.

It is not possible to point with certainty to the temples erected by Āditya. We know of several stone temples whose consecration took place in the reign of Āditya's son and successor; some of these might have been commenced in the time of Āditya.[31]

Death.

Āditya died at Toṇḍaimānāḍ, near Kāḷahasti, in the Chittoor district. A temple was erected over his remains by his pious son Parāntaka and called by the names Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara and Ādityēśvara;[32] he

also provided for the feeding of a thousand people on certain festival days. Āditya had besides Parāntaka another son, Kannaradēva by name.[33]

Śaivism.

It is remarkable that the kings of the Vijayālaya line were ardent Śaivites. Vijayālaya himself established a Durgā temple in Tañjāvūr after he captured it; Āditya built temples to Śiva. His son raised a shrine over his sepulchre, establishing a linga on it—a Śaivite adaptation of the Buddhist practice of erecting memorial stupas.

Dynastic Myths.

The Cōḷa rulers of this time were not slow to acquire for themselves a pedigree; and a mythical ancestry tracing their descent from the sun was soon provided, though some kings of lunar genesis were also mixed up in it. The earliest version of it is in the Anbil plates which give fifteen names before Vijayālaya including the genuinely historical ones of Karikāla, Kiḷḷi and Kōccengaṇān. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates swell the list to forty-four, and the Kanyākumāri list runs up to fifty-two, while the Leyden grant is satisfied with a dozen. There are others of varying lengths to be gathered from literary works like the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, the *ulās* of Oṭṭakkūttan and so on. No two of these lists agree, though some names and details are common to all. An eponymous Cōḷa finds a place in all the copper-plates, and the Kanyākumāri inscription dresses up a pretty story[34] about his advent to the south. He was drawn in that direction in pursuit of a Rākṣasa who had assumed the form of an antelope, and he was followed by some of his commanders. Then he killed the Rākṣasa and moved along the banks of the Kāvēri, 'the river which brings to the earth, in the guise of water, the nectar obtained by the gods after churning the ocean of milk.' Having bathed in the river, when he looked for some brahmans, apparently to bestow some gifts on them, he found none there; and so he summoned many excellent brahmans from Āryāvarta and settled them on the banks of the river. He then cleared the forest, planted groves of areca-palms and laid out fruit-gardens and otherwise improved the country. Such is the quaint account of the origin of the Cōḷa kingdom as it was imagined by the court-poet of Vīrarājēndra.[35]

1. *SII.* ii, No. 76, v. 18; 337 of 1912.

2. Rangachari, NA. Nos. 536-7; *EI.* iv. pp. 180-3.

3. 675 of 1909. A Vijayālaya-caturvēdimangalam is mentioned among the *brahmadēya* villages which were required to supply men for service in the Tanjore temple in Rājarāja's reign (*SII.* ii 69, para 139). See also 164 of 1915 (Vikrama Cōḷa 5) for a reference to a *kal-veṭṭu* of the fourth year of Vijayālaya in the North Arcot district. A Pāṇḍya inscription of the thirteenth century from Nārttāmalai (Pd. 282) mentions a Vijayālayacōḷēśvara temple. Nos. 125 and 126 of 1943-4 from near Tiruttaṇi (Chittoor dt.), though only late Vijayanagar records, mention a temple named after Vijayālaya.

4. *SII.* iii, No. 205 vv. 45 and 46. The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīrarājēndra (*TAS.* iii, p. 142, v. 54) exaggerates this and says that Vijayālaya founded Tanjore. The Anbil plates pun on his name Vijayālaya in praising his valour on the battle-field (v. 16).

5. *SII.* iii p. 17 n. 14; *EI.* v, p. 42; *SII.* iii No. 11 from Ukkal is now seen to belong to Uttama Cōḷa. *ARE.* 1939/40—1942/43, II 30.

6. 51 of 1936, *ARE.* 1935-6 II 34. Another record of the eighth year of Parakēsari with no title from Kāppalūr, fifty miles north of Vīracōḷapuram, may also be his—283 of 1938-9. *ARE.* II 12. MAR. 1909 para 18 comments suggestively on a single line fragment from Kūḍalūr in the Mysore area. See also *ARE.* 1909 para 35, and 1916 II 17.

7. E.g., 436 and 439 of 1908 from Tiruvīḻimiḻalai.

8. *EI.* viii p. 260.

9. 167 of 1894; *EI.* iii, p. 279.

10. Anbil Plates (*EI.* xv) vv. 17-18.

11. *EI.* xix, No. 12.

12. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar observes: 'If Vijayālaya came of the same family as the Cōḷa Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa, it is very likely that he was the grandson of his.' *TAS.* iii, p. 108. Kumārāṅkuśa, as we have seen, figures as the *vijñapti* in the Vēḷūpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman III. It is extremely doubtful, however, if he and Vijayālaya belonged to one and the same branch of the Cōḷas. See ante p. 104.

13. *PK.* pp. 73 ff.

14. *EI.* xiii pp. 134 ff. where these records are tentatively referred to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (p. 136). Note particularly *Tañjaittram pāḍi ninṟār; Tañjaik-kōn; Tañjai naṟpugaḻāḷan* occurring in them.

15. 609 of 1905 (Rangachari - Mr. 8). The name Pāṇḍiyanai-ven-kaṇḍa-śoḻa-caturvedimangalam is applied to this place in a late record (42 of 1914) dated Ś. 1369; this can hardly be a reference to the discomfiture of Varaguṇavarman. *Contra* Rangachari Tj. 185.

16. Inscription 337 of 1912 (Rangachari Ct. 226) of Priduvayya mentioning the Cōḷa-rāja is too fragmentary to throw any light on the political relations of the age. *Contra* Dubreuil, *Pallavas* p. 83. T. A. Gopinatha Rao writes (*E.I.* xv, p. 49): 'It is known from other records that Āditya and the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa marched against the Pallava

Nṛpatungavarman, otherwise known also by the name of Aparājitavarman, defeated and killed him.' Apart from the identification of Aparājita with Nṛpatunga for which there is no evidence, it is difficult to believe that the expedition which led to the overthrow of Aparājita had anything to do with Varaguṇavarman's campaign. As I understand the evidence, it was different, and most probably, some years later. (See Dubreuil-*Pallavas* p. 84).

It must be admitted, however, that our view of the relation between the Cōḷas and the Pallavas in the time of Vijayālaya and in the early years of Āditya I is not final. It is quite likely that the aggrandisement of Vijayālaya at the expense of the Muttaraiyar had nothing whatever to do with the struggle between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas. In that case, Vijayālaya took advantage of the confusion in the borderland between the dominions of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas, and his son also gained by the weakening of both after Śrī Puṟambiyam. See, however, *EI.* xix p. 87 n. 6. Yet another view may be taken: The Muttaraiyar being allies of the Pallavas, the Cōḷas may, under Vijayālaya, have found occasion to join the Pāṇḍyas and to throw off the Pallava yoke. On this supposition the capture of Tanjore by Vijayālaya would be at once an act of aggression undertaken by him against the Pallava, to favour the Pāṇḍya, and a decisive step in the assertion of Cōḷa independence from Pallava suzerainty. On this assumption, it is not unlikely that Āditya fought on Varaguṇa's side at Śrī Puṟambiyam. An objection to this view is the difficulty of explaining how, after the defeat he suffered on this occasion, Āditya recovered sufficiently to overthrow Aparājita later, and why Aparājita failed, after his success at Śrī Puṟambiyam, to reassert his supremacy over the Cōḷa.

17. v. 18.
18. v. 49.
19. v. 55.
20. 286 of 1911.
21. *SII.* iii No. 142.

21a. 271 of 1938-9, *ARE.* II 12. See *JOR.* xix pp. 148-9, and Potdar Comm. Vol. pp. 29-31.

22. 5 of 1897; *EI.* xix No. 12.
23. 161 of 1928.
23a. 14 of 1920; *EI.* xxvi p. 233.
24. 16 of 1899. The regnal year 24 is given by Krishna Sastri (*SII.* iii No. 94) but does not seem to be borne out by the text.
25. 13 of 1899.

26. The place of Aparājita, though not his relation with his predecessor Nṛpatunga, is well attested. The narrow range of the provenance of his inscriptions needs an explanation. It seems strange that the victor of Śrī Puṟambiyam appears to have left no inscriptions to the south of Kāñcīpuram. The death of Pṛthivīpati on the field perhaps left Aparājita at the mercy of his overbearing ally Āditya who managed to take the southern Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as the price of his co-operation He chose the next opportunity to complete the destruction of the Pallavas.

It may be that Mārambāvai was the queen of Nandi III of Teḷḷāṟu, whose reign ended about A.D. 860. The earliest Cōḷa record which mentions her is in the 18th year of Rājakēsari, c. 889. She is also named in two of Nṛpatunga's inscriptions, both from the Tanjore dt. (Nos. 300 and 303 of 1901). See *ARE.* 1901, paragraph 10; *SII.* ii. p. 513, *n.*

27. 258 of 1907. The regnal year of this record is 10, not 30.

28. 286 of 1911.

29. *ARE.* 1912 II, 11 suggests the identification of Sthāṇu-Ravi with Kōkkandan Ravi of the Candrāditya family (148 of 1910) on palaeographical grounds. The epithet *'pal-yānai-kōk-kaṇḍan'* in the Tillaisthānam inscription, like the phrase *'Toṇḍai-nāḍu-pāvina-Śōḻan,'* applies to Rājakēsari and not to Sthāṇu-Ravi, as *ARE.* (*ibid*) appears to suggest. 'It is not impossible that Sthāṇu-Ravi substantially assisted Āditya in his conquest of the Pallavas and the acquisition of their territory, and that Vikki-Aṇṇan distinguished himself on this occasion as an able general.' (*ibid*). In the same paragraph we find the suggestion thrown out that Vikki-Aṇṇan was, like his wife Kaḍamba-mādēvi, of Karṇāṭaka origin, and that he was a Vēḷir chieftain of Koḍumbāḷūr (Pudukōṭṭah).

30. 332 of 1912. Śembiyan Mahābali Bāṇarasa (of this record) is no other than Pṛthvīpati II.

31. *EI.* xv, p. 50.

32. 286 of 1906; also 230 of 1903. Before the Kanyākumāri inscription gave us the information that Āditya had the name Kōdaṇḍarāma, the only Kōdaṇḍarāma known was his grandson Rājāditya; but Rājāditya must have been living in the 34th year of his father's reign. *EI.* xviii pp. 23-24.

33. 38 of 1895.

34. vv. 28-35.

35. See *TAS.* iii. for a full discussion of the legends in this record. Also *SII.* iii, Introd. pp. 4-5 for those in the copper-plates, and *EI.* xviii pp. 26 ff.

Chapter VII

PARĀNTAKA I (A.D. 907-955.)

Cōḷa expansion.

At the time of the battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam, the Cōḷas held a small principality including Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr, perhaps in subjection to the Pallavas. But within twenty-five years their power became formidable. This expansion was exclusively the work of Āditya I, a remarkable warrior and able diplomat. Circumstances favoured him and he made full use of his opportunities. The Pāṇḍyas, after Śrī Puṟambiyam, were engrossed in their own troubles at home; Varaguṇa died soon after the battle, and his successor Śrī Paṟāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa had to deal with a serious rising headed by the haughty Ugra.[1] With the Pallava Aparājita, Āditya was on friendly terms for some years after Śrī Puṟambiyam. He then turned against him and deprived him of the bulk, if not the whole, of his possessions; in this enterprise, Āditya was possibly aided by his Ganga contemporary; and the obscure conflicts that were engaging the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas, the Gangas and the Noḷambas, of which the battle of Sorēmati was the central event, must have indirectly facilitated Āditya's success. Before the end of his reign Āditya conquered Kongu and annexed it to his territories. Thus at the accession of his son Parāntaka, A.D. 907, the Cōḷa kingdom embraced the whole country between Madras and Kāḷahasti in the north, and the Kāvēri in the south, with the exception of the Mysore table-land and the strip along the west coast. It kept the Ganga power in a position of subordinate alliance and was friends with the Cēra. The first conflict with the Pāṇḍya power had perhaps already taken place in the Kongu country.[2]

Parāntaka I.

Parāntaka I ruled for forty-eight years, as the latest inscription of his reign is dated in his forty-eighth regnal year.[3] Early in his reign he resisted with success the attempt of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II to put his own grand-son Kannaradeva on the Cōḷa throne. Thenceforth Parāntaka's rule was one of increasing success and prosperity for the best part of it; he followed up his father's victories by

putting an end to Pāṇḍyan independence and extending the empire up to Kanyākumāri in the south; he even invaded Ceylon, though the raid, as we shall see, failed of its object. Elsewhere, he subjugated the Bāṇas, and the Ganga king Hastimalla acknowledged his sway. The last vestiges of Pallava power disappeared and the dominion of Parāntaka extended up to Nellore in the north. Towards the end of his reign, however, Kṛṣṇa III invaded the Cōḷa empire in great force from the north-west, and in the conflict that ensued Parāntaka's eldest son Rājāditya lost his life, and Parāntaka himself did not long survive the cataclysm. A heavy gloom settles on Cōḷa power for a period of over three decades thereafter until the accession of the celebrated Rājarāja I in A.D. 985.

Pāṇḍyan War.

Parāntaka invaded the Pāṇḍya country very soon after his accession. He bears the title Madurai-koṇḍa (who captured Madura) as early as his third year.[4] The conquest and subjugation of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was, however, a gradual process; the earliest inscription of Parāntaka actually found in the Pāṇḍyan country is dated in his 24th year.[5] The Śinnamanūr and the Udayēndiram plates concur in the name of the Pāṇḍya king, Rājasimha, who suffered deprivation and exile at the hands of Parāntaka. Says the *Mahāvamsa*[6]:

> 'While thus the sovereign of Lankā (Kassapa V. A.D. 913-23) held sway in justice, the Paṇḍu king was vanquished in battle by the Cōḷa king. To gain military aid he sent numerous gifts. The king, the ruler of Lankā, took counsel with his officials, equipped military forces, appointed his Sakkasēnāpati as leader of the troops, and betook himself to Mahātittha. Standing at the edge of the coast he spoke of the triumph of former kings, and having thus aroused their enthusiasm, he made his troops embark. With his army the Sakkasēnāpati thereupon safely crossed the sea and reached the Paṇḍu country. When the Paṇḍu king saw the troops and him, he spake full of cheer: "I will join all Jambudīpa under one umbrella." The king took the two armies; but as he could not vanquish him (the king) of the Cōḷa line, set out once more with the purpose of fighting further, made halt, and died of the *upasagga* (plague) to the undoing of the Paṇḍu (king). When the ruler of Lankā heard that

the troops were also perishing of the same disease, out of pity he had the army brought back.'

In this account we can recognise three stages in the conflict. In the first the Pāṇḍyan king suffers a defeat at the hands of Parāntaka. The second stage begins with his appeal for aid to the Ceylonese ruler and ends with a fight in which the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese troops together sustained defeat and retreated before the Cōḷa forces. Lastly, another effort made by the Ceylonese commander came to nothing owing to a plague which killed him and led to the recall of the Ceylonese army. The inscriptions so far as they go corroborate this account in every respect; only, they make no mention of the second effort of Sakkasēnāpati and the plague.

The first stage in the account of the *Mahāvamsa* corresponds, doubtless, to the raid on Madura in the first years of Parāntaka's rule which led to his adopting the title Madhurāntaka, the destroyer of Madura. The second stage in the war is thus graphically pictured by the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthivīpati in A.D. 921-2.[7]

> 'His (Parāntaka's) army, having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāṇḍya king together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants together with (the city of) Madhurā. Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army, despatched by the lord of Lankā, which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in the world the title Sangrāma Rāghava (i.e., Rāma in battle) which is full of meaning. When he defeated the Pāṇḍya (king) Rājasimha, two persons experienced the same fear at the same time: (Kubēra), the lord of wealth, on account of the death of his own friend (and) Vibhīṣaṇa on account of the proximity (of the Cōḷa dominions to Ceylon)'.

These events must have taken place some years before the date of the Udayēndiram grant. As early as A.D. 923 we find the title *Maduraiyum Ilamum Koṇḍa*, in a record of Parāntaka.[8] Two inscriptions of the twelfth year make casual allusions to incidents in the battle of Veḷḷūr in which the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese forces were defeated by the Cōḷa. One is a gift to commemorate the victory of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Amudanār on the

Battle of Veḷḷūr

occasion when the Pāṇḍya king, helped by the Ceylonese army, attacked the Cōḷa king at the battle of Veḷḷūr.[9] Another is an endowment for the merit of four soldiers (*śēvakar*) who died in a frontal attack (*nerṟiśenṟa*) led by Śennippēraraiyan at Vēḷūr (Veḷḷūr) on the occasion when the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle with the Cōḷa.[10] It is clear that there was a great and decisive battle at Veḷḷūr in which the Cōḷa troops had to fight hard before securing victory and which was well remembered for some years after the event for the exceptional heroism of its incidents. It seems probable that this battle was fought about A.D. 915.

The victory of Parāntaka at Veḷḷūr paved the way for the progressive conquest and annexation of the Pāṇḍyan country. Frustrated in all his attempts to stem the tide of the Cōḷa invasion, the unlucky Rājasimha took to flight, leaving his ancient heritage to fall into the hands of his enemy. In the reign of Dappula IV (A.D. 923-934) the *Mahāvamsa* records:[11]

> 'At that time the Paṇḍu king through fear of the Cōḷa (king) left his country, took ship and came to Mahātittha. The king had him brought to him, rejoiced greatly when he saw him, gave him an abundant income and granted him a dwelling outside the town. When the king of Lankā had armed (with the purpose): "I will make war on the Cōḷa king, take from him his two thrones[12] and give them to the Paṇḍu king," the nobles dwelling on the island for some reason or other stirred up a sorry strife to the undoing of the Paṇḍu king. The Paṇḍu king thought his sojourn here was of no use to him. He left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook himself to the Kēraḷas.'

This is confirmed by a verse[13] in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates saying:

> 'Encircled by the fire of his (Parāntaka's) prowess, the Pāṇḍya, as if desirous of cooling the heat caused by it, quickly entered the sea (embarked for Ceylon), abandoning his royal state and the kingdom inherited from his ancestors.'

Rājasimha proceeded to Kērala from Ceylon because it was the home of his mother Vānavan-mahādēvi.[14] The rulers of Kēraḷa were in such close political alliance with the Cōḷas in this period, that Rājasimha depended more on the Ceylonese king for help in the first instance, and went to Kērala only as a last resort, even then leaving his crown and other valuables behind in Ceylon. The flight of Rājasimha may be dated, following the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa,* sometime between the sixteenth and the twenty-sixth year of Parāntaka's reign.

Ceylon War.

Parāntaka spent many years in reducing the newly conquered country to subjection, and when he felt he was near the end of his task, he wanted to celebrate his success by a formal coronation at Madura at which he was to invest himself with the insignia of Pāṇḍyan monarchy. These had been carried away by Rājasimha and left in the custody of the Ceylonese king, and Parāntaka made an unsuccessful effort to secure them in the reign of the slothful and intemperate Udaya IV A.D. 945-53.[15]

> 'The Cōḷa king hearing of his sloth was greatly pleased, and as he wished to achieve consecration as king in the Paṇḍu kingdom, he sent (messengers) concerning the diadem and the other (things) which the Paṇḍu (king) had left behind (in Lankā). The king did not give them up, so the mighty Cōḷa equipped an army and sent it forth to fetch them by force. Now, at that time the Senāpati here (in Ceylon) was absent in a rebellious border province. The king had him fetched and sent him forth to begin the war. The Senāpati set forth, delivered battle and fell in the fight. Thereupon the king (Udaya) took the crown and the rest and betook himself to Rohaṇa. The Cōḷa troops marched thither, but finding no way of entering Rohaṇa, they turned and betook themselves through fear from here to their own country.'

The exact date of these occurrences cannot be determined; the Ceylonese account is no doubt right in placing them in the last years of Parāntaka's reign.[16] His failure was remembered, and made up for, years later, by his powerful descendant Rājēndra I.

Allies of Parāntaka.

Besides the friendliness of the Kēraḷa ruler and the assistance of the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar chieftains of Kīḻappaḷuvūr, Parāntaka was aided in his Pāṇḍyan campaigns by the Vēḷir chiefs of Koḍumbāḷūr. Records dated very early in Parāntaka's reign show that prince Arikulakēsari, one of the sons of Parāntaka, had already married Pūdi Ādicca Piḍāri, daughter of Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷār of the Koḍumbāḷūr line.[17] Other evidence of the close connection in this period between the Cōḷa line and the Koḍumbāḷūr chieftains is furnished by records from Pudukottah and the Trichinopoly district.[18] Their hostility to the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha becomes clear from the Śinnamanūr plates of the sixteenth year of Rājasimha (c. A.D. 916). While giving an account of Rājasimha's relations with the Cōḷas in the early years of Parāntaka's rule, the Pāṇḍyan inscription says that Rājasimha 'defeated the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai (Koḍumbāḷūr), the seat of one of the powerful Cōḷa subordinates, burnt Vañji and destroyed the king of Southern Tañjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Cōḷas) at Nāval.'[19] This rather obscure and, no doubt, highly embellished account, from the Pāṇḍyan side, of the early stages of the Cōḷa war is valuable in two respects. It confirms the impression derived from the *Mahāvamsa* and the inscriptions of Parāntaka that his conquest of the Madura kingdom was a gradual and difficult process which involved much fighting spread over many years. It provides, moreover, a clear idea of the alinement of the political powers in these struggles, and corroborates the view that the Cēra and the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs[20] were friendly to the Cōḷa and fought on his side.

Other Wars.

The intervals between his Pāṇḍyan wars were employed by Parāntaka in extending his power elsewhere. The Sholingur rock inscription[21] of the ninth year mentions that the Ganga Pṛthivīpati II got the title of Bāṇādhirāja from Parāntaka and that he distinguished himself in a fight at Vallāḷa. The Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthivīpati[22] state that Parāntaka uprooted two Bāṇa kings and conquered the Vaidumbas.

In the early years of Parāntaka's rule the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II appears to have made an attempt to set aside Parāntaka and bestow the Cōḷa throne on his daughter's son Kannara-

deva. He invaded the Cōḷa kingdom from the north-west and the Bāṇas who were his feudatories joined their forces to his. In his turn Parāntaka was assisted by his subordinate, the Ganga Pṛthivīpati II. The decisive engagement was fought at Vallāla, modern Tiruvallam some time about 910-11. Kṛṣṇa II and his allies suffered a signal defeat, and the Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīrarājendra categorically affirms that Parāntaka earned the name Vīra-Cōḷa by his victory over the invincible Kṛṣṇarāja.[23] Thus Kṛṣṇa's attempt ended in failure, Parāntaka became secure on his throne, and eventually punished the Bāṇas and other allies of Kṛṣṇa for their part in the war started by him.

The Bāṇas were an ancient line of kings who ruled for over two centuries in the tract that came to be called Perumbāṇappāḍi, the big Bāṇa country.[24] This was the area to the north of the Pālār, between Punganūr in the west and Kāḷahasti in the east. There is reason to believe that at an earlier period they ruled the territory further north and were forced to migrate south in the period of the rise and expansion of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi. In the last stages of their existence as an independent power their capital was at Paṛivi[25] which is first mentioned in the Sholingur inscription and may be identical with Parigi in the Hindupur taluq of Anantapur district. The last ruler of the line was Vikramāditya III, Vijayabāhu, described as the dear friend of Kṛṣṇarāja, doubtless Kṛṣṇa III, his powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa neighbour. The course of events which is nowhere described in explicit terms can only be inferred from a careful study of the dates which, fortunately, are clearly recorded in the inscriptions.

With the Bāṇas.

Hastimalla got the title Bāṇādhirāja from Parāntaka before A.D. 916. (Sholingur record.) Vijayāditya II Prabhamēru ruled the Bāṇa territory independently till A.D. 909.[26] The conquest of the Bāṇas by Parāntaka must have taken place in the intervening period of six or seven years. The great-grandson of Vijayāditya Prabhumēru is known from his Udayēndiram grant to have been the friend of Kṛṣṇarāja III Rāṣṭrakūṭa. There were two Bāṇa kings intervening—Vikramāditya II and Vijayāditya III, Pugaḻvippavarganda. Considering the fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III could not have begun his reign much earlier than A.D. 940, it seems proper to infer that the two Bāṇa rulers

who were dispossessed of their kingdom and perhaps forced by Parāntaka to seek refuge within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion were Vikramāditya II and Vijayāditya III. The title conferred on Pṛthivīpati II, Bāṇādhirāja, was not then an empty name; it carried with it the real overlordship of the Bāṇa country for some years. And this uprooting of the Bāṇas, so proudly proclaimed by the Ganga ruler who benefited thereby, contributed to the invasion of the Cōḷa lands by Kṛṣṇa III which ended so disastrously for the Cōḷas.

With the Vaidumbas.

Forming part of the campaign against the Bāṇas, or at any rate closely connected with it, was the war against the Vaidumbas. These were a Telugu family who have left behind a few records in that language and in Kannaḍa. In the ninth century they claim to have had the Rēnāṇḍu 7000 country under them, and their inscriptions tell us that in the great battle of Sorēmati (c. A.D. 850) they took the side of the Bāṇas against the Noḷambas and the Gangas. This alliance with, and possibly subordination to, the Bāṇas continued until the time of Parāntaka's war with them. We have no direct means of identifying the opponent of Parāntaka. Some records[27] of Kannaradēva (Kṛṣṇa III) from the South Arcot district mention the Vaidumba Mahārāja Śandayan Tiruvayan and Tiruvayan Śrīkaṇṭha; the Vaidumba chief reduced to submission by Parāntaka about A.D. 915 must have been Śandayan Tiruvayan himself or his immediate predecessor. The Vaidumbas, like the Bāṇas, sought refuge with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the onslaught of the Cōḷas. In later times, under Rājarāja I and Rājēndra, when the Cōḷa empire regained its ascendancy, the son and grandson of Tiruvayan accepted subordinate positions under the Cōḷas.

Śītpuḷi Nāḍu.

Two inscriptions[28] from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr contain the most casual reference to a campaign in the Nellore district. An officer of Parāntaka, Māṟan Paramēśvaran, a native of Śirukuḷattūr, overthrew Śītpuḷi and destroyed Nellūr, and on his way back to the south, he stopped at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr to make a thanks-offering to Mahādēva in the form of a grant of land, which four years later was released from the fiscal dues falling upon it. The original gift was made in the thirty-fourth year of Parāntaka (A.D. 941).

This campaign was probably directed against the power of the Vēṅgī ruler Cāḷukya Bhīma II. Śiṭpuḷi was a district in the southern regions of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom.[29] Considering that no records of Parāntaka have been discovered in the east coast region to the north of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, it may be doubted if the campaign had any permanent results.[30]

Growing Difficulties.

From about A.D. 940, Parāntaka experienced the increasing difficulty of defending an empire at a great many points; in less than fifty years a small principality had grown into a widespread dominion at the expense of its neighbouring states; the very quickness of the expansion was fraught with danger and dynasties which had been dispossessed and driven out of their traditional homes could not all be expected to give in without further struggle. Nor was it likely that other powers like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas would view without concern the progress of the Cōḷa power. We have seen already that some time after A.D. 945, Parāntaka experienced a repulse in Ceylon and failed to take from Udaya IV the Pāṇḍyan diadem. We must now turn to a narration of the occurrences elsewhere that must have had no small share in forcing Parāntaka to give up the fight in Ceylon and acquiesce in his failure.

Death of Pṛthivīpati.

The death of Ganga Pṛthivīpati II, the trusted friend and vassal of Parāntaka I, which must have occurred about A.D. 940,[31] may be said to mark the commencement of Parāntaka's troubles from this quarter. Pṛthivīpati left no son, Vikkiyaṇṇa having pre-deceased him.[32] Būtuga II, who had married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Rēvakā, the sister of Kṛṣṇa III, and assisted Kṛṣṇa in securing his throne from a usurper, was now left in unquestioned supremacy in the Ganga country, because he had murdered his elder brother Rācamalla and annexed his possessions also.[33] And the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas were already by the side of Kṛṣṇa soliciting his protection and aid against the powerful Cōḷa. Kṛṣṇa was in the prime of life and had just encountered and overcome opposition at home and was not reluctant to seize the favourable moment that chance offered to him for making a great advance to the south.[34]

Rājāditya.

It is possible that these developments were fore-shadowed even in the life-time of Pṛthivīpati and a little before the accession of Kṛṣṇa to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne. A record[35] from the North Arcot district commemorates the death of a hero in A.D. 936 in a cattle-raid by a Western Ganga king (Perumānaḍigaḷ), and this may be taken to give the first indication of the coming storm. There is also evidence to show that about this time Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka, was stationed with a large army including an elephant corps and some cavalry [36] in the district known in inscriptions and literature as Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu. Veḷḷangumaran, a Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya's forces, was present at Grāmam as early as A.D. 936,[37] where seven years later he constructed a stone temple to Śiva on the banks of the Peṇṇār.[38] Tirunāvalūr, a village near Grāmam, called Rājādittapuram till about A.D. 1140,[39] was the residence of Rājāditya for many years. We also find Arikulakēsari[40] in the same region about the same time, no doubt assisting his brother Rājāditya. It is clear, therefore, that Parāntaka was not unmindful of the repercussions of his aggressive policy against the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas, and that though he expected much from the loyal support of Pṛthivīpati II, he did not leave everything to him, but made his own preparations to meet an emergency.

In Tirumunaippāḍi.

Policy of Parāntaka.

Chronology of Kṛṣṇa's invasion.

The chronology of Kṛṣṇa's campaign against the Cōḷa has been the subject of some difference of opinion, but it is not incapable of precise determination. The Śōḷapuram inscription[41] which is dated in three different ways may furnish the starting point. This record which bears the Śaka date 871 (A.D. 949) is also dated in the second year of some king not named in direct relation to this regnal year. But as Kannaradēva started his rule in or about A.D. 940,[42] the second year cannot be his. Venkayya, however, affirms[43] that this is 'evidently a record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III' and suggests that the date is 'probably the second year after the occupation of the Toṇḍaināḍu' by him. But the suggestion is contradicted by the record itself which says that it was the year in which Kṛṣṇa entered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam; and we have no other instance in his numerous records from that country of his using

the date of his entry into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as the starting point of an era; they give invariably his regnal year. The only alternative is to assume with Hultzsch that it refers to Rājāditya's rule as the inscription comes from a place within the sphere of his jurisdiction as viceroy. It is not to be supposed[44] that Rājāditya began to rule and issue inscriptions in his own name only after the death of his father; for nothing is more common in Cōḷa inscriptions than for records of successive rulers dated in different series of regnal years to overlap. Rājāditya had by A.D. 948 served his father actively in a subordinate capacity for over a dozen years, and it is not a violent assumption to make that Rājāditya was made 'co-regent'[45] in that year.

The third method in which the Śōḷapuram record is dated is by describing it as the year in which Cakravartin Kannaradēva Vallabhan entered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam after the overthrow of Rājāditya. It seems likely that this record was engraved very soon after Rājāditya's death, when the consequences of the battle of Takkōlam were not yet fully realised. By the evidence of this record the successful invasion of Kṛṣṇa took place in A.D. 949.

The Ātakūr inscription of Būtuga II affords striking confirmation of this date. It dates the battle of Takkōlam (in which Rājāditya lost his life at the hands of Būtuga) in the current Śaka year 872, i.e., A.D. 949-50.[46] Again Parāntaka's own inscriptions tell the same tale. His inscriptions bearing dates in A.D. 948 are found in the South and North Arcot districts,[47] and it is a remarkable fact that not only are his inscriptions not found in these districts after that date, but no inscriptions of his dated in his regnal years 42-44 (inclusive) are at all known—a fact clearly to be accounted for by some great disaster like the battle of Takkōlam. Thus all lines of evidence point to one date, A.D. 949, as the year which decided the fortunes of the contest between Parāntaka and Kṛṣṇa.

A spurious Inscription.

One inscription[48] from Siddhalingamaḍam (South Arcot), dated in the fifth year of Kṛṣṇa's reign, already in A.D. 944-5 gives him the title Kacciyum-Tañjaiyumkoṇḍa. This has created some confusion, and led some scholars to imagine that Kṛṣṇa's invasion and occupation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was earlier than

the battle of Takkōlam.[49] But the difficulty of reconciling this datum with the rest of our evidence is so great as to be almost insuperable, and we can hardly help suspecting some mistake here. For if Kṛṣṇa was in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as early as A.D. 944-5, how can we account for Parāntaka's inscriptions being found in the Arcot districts till 948, for the presence of Rājāditya at Takkōlam in 949, and for the battle of Takkōlam itself? Again, how can we account for the fact that, barring this single record from Siddhalingamaḍam, there is no other inscription of Kṛṣṇa dated before his sixteenth regnal year A.D 956, in the North and South Arcot districts? There is no alternative, in fact, to our rejecting this record as spurious at least in its date. It should be noticed that the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple from which the inscription comes was renovated in the reign of Kulōttunga I by one of his officers,[50] and that it is quite probable that an error crept into the copy of this old inscription reproduced on the new walls more than a century after it was originally recorded, and this, I think, is the real explanation of the difficulty.[51]

The Invasion.

We may now turn to the actual course of events connected with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. It has been pointed out before that Parāntaka was quite alive to the danger from the north-west frontier of his dominions, and that he took early steps to maintain a strong frontier force intended to resist any hostile movements on the part of his enemies. It would seem that the arrangements made by Parāntaka fulfilled their purpose for quite a number of years. But the long threatened clash came actually in A.D. 949, and the decisive engagement took place at Takkōlam, six miles to the South-east of Arkōṇam in the North Arcot district.[52] The Ātakūr inscription tells us that Kannaradēva 'was making a display of triumph after fighting against and killing the Mūvaḍi-Cōla-Rājāditya at a place called Takkōla'; it also adds: 'when Kannaradēva was fighting the Cōḷa, Būtuga made the howdah the battle-field, and aimed at, pierced and killed Rājāditya'—an act for which Kṛṣṇa rewarded him by granting him the districts of Banavāse 12,000, and Beḷvōla 300.[53] The Cōḷa version of what happened on the occasion is not different; the Tiruvālangāḍu plates[54] say that Rājāditya went to heaven after conquering Kṛṣṇarāja; the larger Leyden grant is more explicit and records[55]:

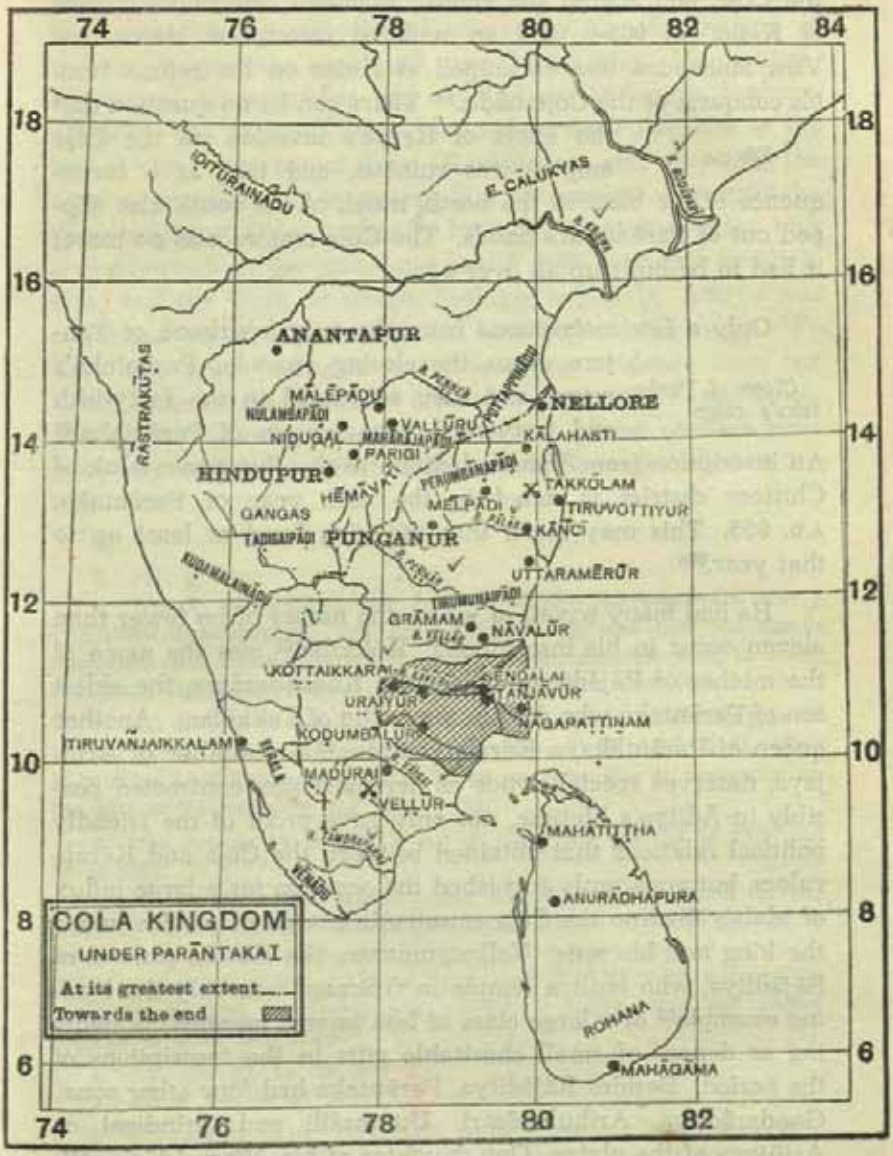
Takkōḷam.

'The heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race, having shaken in battle the unshakable Kṛṣṇarāja with his forces, by means of his sharp arrows flying in all directions was himself pierced in his heart while seated on the back of a large elephant by the sharp arrows of the enemy, and (thus) winning the praise of the three worlds, he ascended to the heaven of heroes in a tall *vimāna*.'

This clearly implies that there was much hard fighting, and that the Cōḷa army lost the battle mainly on account of a well-aimed arrow of Būtuga having fatally wounded Rājāditya.

And after.

That even this decisive battle was not followed by the total collapse of all resistance to Kṛṣṇa's advance, and that he had some more years of rather hard fighting, may be inferred from the fact that inscriptions dated in his reign do not begin to appear till his sixteenth year, A.D. 956 or at the earliest 953. Inscriptions from South Arcot dated in Śaka years 874-876 (A.D. 952-954)[55] recording gifts of minor chieftains but not acknowledging either Cōḷa or Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy may be taken to support this inference. There is much uncertainty, however, about the exact course of the events that followed Takkōlam. We have no Cōḷa records from the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput for several years after the battle; Kṛṣṇa's records with dates ranging from the sixteenth to the twenty-eighth years of his reign are found in the same area. By assuming the tittle *'Kacciyum-Tañjaiyum-Koṇḍa,'* Kṛṣna claimed to have captured Kañcīpuram and Tañjāvūr. The 'spurious' Sudi plates[57] state that Būtuga, after conquering Rājāditya, assaulted Tanjore, Nālkōṭe and a number of other fortresses and handed over to Kṛṣṇa elephants, horses and a vast amount of treasure captured from these places. The Karhād grant A.D. 959, which shows Kṛṣṇa still in his camp at Mēlpāḍi (N. Arcot) at the end of his southern campaigns, states that in the course of his *digvijaya* in the south, he uprooted the family of the Cōḷas, distributed their territory among his followers, extorted tributes from several kings, including the king of Ceylon, and erected a pillar of victory in Rāmēśvaram.[58] We cannot say for certain if these are merely empty boasts or the record of a triumphant raid across the southern countries. No inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa or his vassals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ANANTAPUR
NELLORE
HINDUPUR
PUNGANUR
KĀLAHASTI
TAKKOLAM
TIRUVOTTIYUR
KĀNCĪ
UTTARAMĒRŪR
NĀVALŪR
TAÑJAVŪR
NĀGAPATTINAM
KOḌUMBALŪR
MADURAI
VELLŪR
TIRUVAÑJAIKKALAM
MAHĀTITTHA
ANURĀDHAPURA
ROHANA
MAHĀGĀMA
E. CĀLUKYAS
RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS
GANGAS
COLA KINGDOM
UNDER PARĀNTAKAI
At its greatest extent
Towards the end

are found south of the latitude of Pondicherry.[59] The Noḷamba poḷalcōra II and his son Vīra Mahendra are seen from their inscriptions to have taken part in Kṛṣṇa's expedition against the Cōḷa, and shared the spoils. Poḷacōra calls himself 'lord of Kāñcī' in 965-6, and an undated inscription states that Vīra Mahendra was encamped at Kolar on his return from his conquest of the Cōḷa-nāḍu.[59a] There can be no question that the effect of Kṛṣṇa's invasion on the Cōḷa empire was ruinous, and that as a consequence of the blow in the north, much of the south also slipped out of Parāntaka's hands. The Cōḷa empire was no more; it had to be built up all over again.

Effects.

Only a few inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Tanjore attest the closing years of Parāntaka's reign, and they are dated in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth regnal years of Parāntaka.[60] An inscription from Vanamaladinne in the Punganur taluk of Chittoor district is dated in the 48th year of Parāntaka, A.D. 955. This may mean that the king lived at least up to that year.[60a]

Close of Parāntaka's reign.

He had many wives, of whom the names of no fewer than eleven occur in his inscriptions. Kōkkiḷān[61] was the name of the mother of Rājāditya, called also Kōdaṇḍarāma, the eldest son of Parāntaka who died in the battle of Takkōlam. Another queen of Parāntaka, a Kēraḷa princess,[62] the mother of Ariñjaya, deserves special notice as her marriage, contracted possibly in Āditya's lifetime, not only gave proof of the friendly political relations that obtained between the Cōḷa and Kēraḷa rulers, but apparently furnished the occasion for a large influx of Malaiyāḷis into the Cōḷa country in search of service under the king and his sons. Veḷḷangumaran, the Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya, who built a temple in Grāmam was only the leading example[63] of a large class of less known immigrants figuring as donors of small charitable gifts in the inscriptions of the period. Besides Rājāditya, Parāntaka had four other sons: Gaṇḍarāditya, Arikulakēsari, Uttamaśīli and Arindigai or Ariñjaya of the plates. One daughter of his, Vīramādēvi, called also queen of Gōvinda Vallavaraiyar, is mentioned;[64] and it is likely that another, Anupamā, was married to the chieftain of Koḍumbāḷūr. That Parāntaka was fond of many high-sounding titles[65] is clear from his inscriptions, amongst which

the most noteworthy, in this as well as in other respects, are the celebrated records of the twelfth and fourteenth years of his reign dealing with the constitutional arrangements of the *Sabhā* of Uttaramērūr.[66] The Karandai plates (v. 21) stress his promotion of agricultural prosperity by the digging of numerous irrigation canals all over the country. He performed several *hēmagarbhas* and *tulābhāras*, and gave *brahmadēyas*.[67] The Tiruvālangāḍu plates describe Parāntaka as the bee at the lotus feet of Śiva (Purāntaka), and they and the Leyden grant concur in stating that he covered with gold the Śiva temple of Cidambaram.[68] In fact Parāntaka's reign was a great epoch in the history of South Indian temple architecture, and the work of temple-building begun by Āditya was continued vigorously during the best part of his reign. We have also much valuable and interesting evidence from the inscriptions on the details of administration, central and rural, on the state of religious faith and so on. These matters have been reserved for detailed study at a later stage.

1. *PK.* p. 78.

2. Was it an accident that Āditya's Pāṇḍya contemporary was a Parāntaka Vīranārāyana, and that Āditya's son also had the names Parāntaka and Vīranārāyaṇa? Or was it more common then to name the first children after their maternal grandparents than it is now?

3. 465 of 1918 is dated 45 yr.; Krishna Sastri is sure that year 46 is clear in 15 of 1895; 200 of 1931-2 bears the yr. 48, *ARE.* II 11. This is held by A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar to be an error due to ignorance on the part of the engraver, *E.I.* xxv. p. 38.

4. The date in 29 of 1907 is not so clear, but see 157 of 1928 and 11 of 1931.

5. 446 of 1917. The copper-plates furnish little assistance in the study of these campaigns; the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, however, give some information which is borne out by the contemporary account given by the Udayēndiram plates of Ganga Pṛthivīpati II. The stone inscriptions of Parāntaka and the *Mahāvamsa* provide a fairly clear and cogent account of what happened.

6. *CV.* Ch. 52, vv. 70 ff.

7. *SII* ii. No. 76 vv. 9-11.

8. 331 of 1927. *ARE.* 1927, II 10 seeks to effect a weak reconciliation between the new evidence and Venkayya's account of the wars by suggesting that this title was assumed after Vēḷūr (Veḷḷūr) and fully justified only later—a curious instance of academic orthodoxy. See, also *SII*, iii, Introdn. p. 11. No. 332 of 1927 is a Rājakēsari record, not one of Parāntaka, as stated in *ARE.* 1927, App. C.

9. 231 of 1926. The Pāṇḍya did not die, as stated in *ARE.* 1926 II, 16. There must be some mistake here. The actual phrase in the inscriptions is '*astigaḍai śeyda ñānṟu.*'

10. *SII.* iii. No. 99. Another inaccuracy here—the Ceylonese king did not come to the fight himself, according to the *MV.*

11. *CV.* Ch. 53 vv. 5 ff.

12. Meaning evidently his own Cōḷa throne, in addition to the Pāṇḍyan recently captured by him. See Geiger, *CV.* i p. 172 n. 1.

13. No. 51.

14. *PK.* p. 79.

15. *CV.* Ch. 53, vv. 41 ff.

16. See Geiger, *CV.* i p. 176 n. 4. Also ii p. xx n. 18. It must be noted that Venkayya's proof that it is only in his latest inscriptions of 943|4 to 947|8 that Parāntaka calls himself 'Conqueror of Ceylon' no longer holds good; and the date 948 accepted by Geiger for this invasion is not so trustworthy as it appeared to Hultzsch. (See 332 and 331 of 1927 of years 8 and 16 respectively of Parāntaka). The *MV.* goes on to add that a new Senāpati of Udaya 'laid waste the borderland of the Cōḷa king and forced him with threats to restore all that he had carried away' as booty. What exactly is meant by the 'borderland' is not clear.

17. *SII.* iii 96.

18. See *ARE.* 1908, II 84 ff.

19. *SII.* iii p. 449.

20. We have only one inscription (129 of 1907, Pd. 14), its beginning lost, giving the genealogy of these chieftains for eight generations or so. It is probable that there were collateral branches of which we have as yet no information and if, failing to allow for this possibility, we seek to accommodate all the inscriptions in the genealogy of this single record, we come across a number of difficulties not easily settled. It should also be borne in mind that a title like Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷār may have been borne by several persons, and no identification can be confidently based on the recurrence of such titles in different inscriptions. At any rate, if Pūdi Vikramakēsari was, as there are strong reasons to believe, the contemporary of Āditya II who 'took the head of Vīrapāṇḍiyan,' it is difficult to believe that he was also the Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷar whose daughter Ādicca Piḍāri had become the wife of Arikulakēsari as early as the third year (A.D. 910) of Parāntaka I. These chiefs were Kaḷḷar (140 of 1928 Parāntaka I, year 17), and had dynastic connections with the Muttaraiyar (337 of 1904, Pd. 45). Idangaḷi-Nāyanār was believed to be of their family (*Periya Purāṇam*), *contra* Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi.

21. *EI.* iv pp. 221-5.

22. *SII.* ii No. 76, v. 9.

23. v. 58. Note the phrase *ajitam-narādhipaiḥ.* See also *EI.* xxvi pp. 212-4. The new title is borne by Parāntaka in his 4th year (241 of 1943-4).

24. On the Bāṇas see *EI* xi, pp. 229-40 and xvii pp. 1-7; I follow Hultzsch's table (*EI.* xvii p. 3) for the numbering of the Bāṇa kings.

25. Parivi and Nandagiri occupy in late Bāṇa records a position similar to that of Uṟaiyūr and the Kāvēri in the Telugu Cōḍa records. It may be observed that Parigi answers to the description of the Bāṇa country being to the west of the Āndhra.

26. 99 of 1899.

27. 235, 267, 268 of 1902 (*EI.* vii pp. 142 ff) and 16, 743 of 1905; *ARE.* 1905 II, 28.

28. Nos. 160, 236 of 1912, the former being *SII.* iii 108.

29. *ARE.* 1913 II 18 and *SII.* iii 108 (Introdn.) make Śiṭpuḷi a personal name, and suggest that Śiṭpuḷi was the general of Bhīma. But 79 of 1921 (Rājak. 6) mentions Śiṭpuḷi-nāḍu and Pāki-nāḍu. The latter is well known as Pāka-rāṣṭra. It is doubtful if Cāḷukya Bhīma's territory could have extended up to Śiṭpuli-nāḍu between Venkaṭagiri and Gūdūr (Rapur tq.) It may have been an attempt of Parāntaka to subdue the Telugu Cōḍas. *NI.* R. 47 (p. 1267) l. 34 mentions Ceḍupulināḍu.

30. See Ch. viii below, under Ariñjaya.

31. Rangachari says that Pṛthivīpati became a vassal of Kṛṣṇa III, and was living in A.D. 953 (NA. 586). In saying this, he overlooks Hultzsch's warning that the Attimallar of this record is a different person (*EI.* vii p. 195).

32. 332 of 1912.

33. Rice *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 45.

34. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar has argued (*EI.* xxvi pp. 230-5) that Govinda IV when he was deposed from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne found refuge with his father-in-law Parāntaka I, that Parāntaka made a futile attempt to restore Govinda IV—an attempt which ended in the defeat and death of Govinda, and that Kṛṣṇa III's invasion of the Cōḷa was a reprisal against Parāntaka's attempt to support his father Amoghavarṣa's enemy Govinda. That Viramādevi, a daughter of Parāntaka, was a queen of Govinda IV is rendered probable by 245 and 246 of 1921. But this is too slight a basis for the speculative reconstruction offered, and Kṛṣṇa's invasion is explained quite easily on other grounds.

35. 1 of 1896 *ARE.* 1896, paragraph 6; *EI.* iv pp. 178-9.

36. *ASI.* 1905-6 p. 181. Also 180 of 1921. *ARE.* 1921, II 25.

37. 739 of 1905.

38. 735 of 1905 dated Saturday, 14th January A.D. 943.

39. 374 of 1902.

40. 280 of 1902.

41. 428 of 1902; *EI.* vii p. 194.

42. No. 236 of 1913 dates his death in Ś. 889 (A.D. 967). It is possible he started rule somewhat earlier. His earliest inscription is dated, however, A.D. 940; perhaps the conflict with Lalleya, the rival claimant to his throne, filled the early years.

43. *ASI.* 1908-9. p. 122 n. 2.

44. *Contra.* T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *EI.* xv pp. 51-2 and *EI.* xviii p. 24. See also *ARE.* 1911, II, 22.

45. Though not a happy term this may be retained as familiar to students of South Indian epigraphy.

46. *EI.* vi p. 51.

47. 419 of 1903; 184, 313 of 1906; 149 of 1916.

48. 375 of 1909. This record is availed of by A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar in his rather fanciful reconstruction of Cōḷa-Rāṣṭrakūta relations, *EI.* xxvi p. 232. 81 of 1941-2 is said to be dated 7 yr.; but this is very doubtful. *ARE.* 1939|40—1942|43 II 23.

49. K. V. S. Aiyar, *EL.* xii p. 123; xix pp. 82 ff. *ARE* 1926 II 12.

50. See Rangachari, p. 217; *Studies* pp. 178-9; 197.

51. It may also be noticed that while in some records Kannaradēva is given the title *Kacciyum-Tañjaiyum-koṇḍa*, in others he is simply called by his name without any distinguishing title. But as the range of dates and the provenance of both sets of these records are identical, and as no palaeographical differences divide the two groups, they may both be treated as relating to Kṛṣṇa III.

52. *EI.* iv, p. 331 n. 3.

53. This important inscription has been edited twice by Fleet—*EI.* ii pp. 167 ff; vi pp. 50-7. The text has: *'Mūvadi-Cōḷa-Rājāditya*na *mēlē (ba) ndu Takkōlal-doḷ kādi kondu bijayam-jeyyuttu iḷdu'* (l. 4); and *'Konnaradevam Cōḷanam kāduvandu Būtugam Rājādityanam bisugeye kaḷḷan-āgi guri (suri) -giridu kādi kondu Banavase Pannirccāsiramum* etc.' (ll. 20-1).

On both occasions Fleet translated the second extract so as to imply treachery on the part of Būtuga. And in discussing No. 181 of 1912, a most baseless conjecture was hazarded in *ARE.* 1913, II, 17 that Caturānana Paṇḍita betrayed his master and friend Rājāditya to his foes. But the phrase *'bisugeye kaḷḷan-āgi'* must really be read: *'bisugeye kaḷanāgi'*; the words *'bisuge'* and *'kaḷan'* mean respectively the howdah fastened to the back of elephants for riding on, and field (of battle). Būtuga made the howdah of Rājāditya's elephant itself the battlefield. This interpretation is borne out by the Cōḷa inscriptions. The larger Leyden grant says: *'Rājādityas-sa vīro ravikulatilakaḥ Kṛṣṇarājam sasainyam samkṣobhyākṣobhyam-ājau * * nāgēndra-skandha-vartī vidaḷita-hrdayaḥ * * vīralokañ-jagāma,'* a clear statement which leaves not the slightest room for the suspicion of treachery on the part of Rājāditya's opponent. See *JRAS.* 1909, pp. 443-6. Other Cōḷa inscriptions from Kumbakōnam and Tirunāgēśvaram mention the 'king who died on the back of an elephant.' *ARE.* 1912, II, 14, Fleet's old mistake is repeated in the *Kadamba-kula* (Bombay, 1931) p. 86.

54. v, 54.

55. *ASSI.* iv. pp. 206-7, ll. 42-45; *EI.* xxii.

56. 338, 356 of 1902 (Tirunāmanallūr). See also *ARE.* 1939-40—1942-43 II, 28.

57. *EI.* iii p. 179-80. Also the Kūdlūr plates of Māṛasimha (A.D. 963) ll. 88 ff. *MAR.* 1921, pp. 11, 26.

58. *EI.* iv. p. 280.

59. Al-Birūnī seems to say that Tanjore was in ruins and that in consequence the Cōḷa king built a new capital. Sewell, *Antiquities* ii p. 155. Is this a late reference to the effects of Kṛṣṇa's inroad, or merely the assignment of a wrong reason for the foundation of the new capital at Gangaikoṇḍa-Śōḷapuram?

59a. *ARE.* 1913 II 14.

60. Nos. 465 of 1918, 15 of 1895, and 135 of 1931. Krishna Sastri has said (*SII.* v, p. 226 n) that in 15 of 1895 the figure 6 is clear on the stone, and this must set at rest any lingering doubts on this question of fact. See also *ASI.* 1908-9, p. 122 n 1. The larger Leyden grant (v. 19) categorically asserts that Rājāditya began to rule after the death of Parāntaka, and then proceeds to give an account of Rājāditya's war with Kṛṣṇa. I am inclined to accept the contemporary stone records as more valid evidence than the statement in a copper-plate grant dated after more than half-a-century of the utmost confusion.

60a. 200 of 1931-32; *ARE.* 1931-2 II 11. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar (*EI.* xxv pp. 35 ff.) has argued by a process of elimination that Parāntaka I lost his life in war in the south fighting against Vīra Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Cōḷa' and that this happened in A.D. 953-54. He supposes that the regnal year in the Vanamaladinne record is due to the fact 'that the recent news of the death of the Cōḷa king had not percolated so far north, at the time that record was incised' (p. 38). But it may with equal propriety be suggested that the record is a valuable testimony to the continued resistance of the people of the locality to Kṛṣṇa's intrusion and to their loyalty to Parāntaka who was still alive and ruling.

61. 335 of 1902. Gopinatha Rao thinks that this queen and Parāntaka are named among the donors in the Huzur Treasury Plates of Tiruvalla. (*TAS.* ii. 141). But this is doubtful.

62. Anbil vv. 22-3. *SII.* ii p. 383 v. 8.

63. Iravi Nīli, the daughter of the Cēra King, Vijayarāga, is another. She gave 30-*kalañju* of gold for a lamp in the Tiruvorṟiyūr temple. (*SII.* iii No. 103).

64. Nos. 245-6 of 1921 (year 31).

65. T. A. Gopinatha Rao (*EI.* xv. p. 50), basing himself on 110 of 1895 suggests that Vikramaśōḷa Iḷangōvēḷār of that record must have been Parāntaka. If that be so, the name Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar favours the supposition, the record must be one of Āditya I, as Iḷangōvēḷār would not apply to Parāntaka in the record of any other sovereign. Then the interval between this record mentioning the marriage of Parāntaka and his death would be eighty years (34 *plus* 46) at least, which looks improbable. There were many Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars, and Iḷangōvēḷār is not the same as Iḷangō. Perhaps Vikramaśōḷa Iḷangōvēḷār was only a minor chieftain of some feudatory family.

66. See *Studies* pp. 163 ff.

67. *SII.* ii. 383 v. 7.

68. Karandai plate, v. 18. See also Gaṇḍarāditya's *Tiruviśaippā* on Kōyil: *Tennanāḍum Īḻamumkoṇḍa tirar-cengōr-cōḷan kōḻi-vēndan Śembiyan ponnaninda * * * * Tillaiyambalattu* (v. 8).

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE DEATH OF PARĀNTAKA I (A.D. 955) TO THE ACCESSION OF RĀJARĀJA I (A.D. 985)

I.—*Chronology and order of succession.*

The relatively short interval of about thirty years from the death of Parāntaka to the accession of Rājarāja I is one of the most difficult passages of Cōḷa history. The evidence is confusing, and no two scholars are agreed in its proper interpretation. It is hardly possible to put forward a scheme of succession without a more or less full discussion of possible alternatives.

Inscriptions.

We may begin by setting forth in some detail the nature of the evidence at hand. Stone inscriptions constitute the chief source of our knowledge, and there are several among these that unmistakably belong to this period.[1] The inscriptions of Kannaradēva (Kṛṣṇa III) bearing regnal years higher than twenty-three, and found in the districts of North Arcot and Chingleput constitute the first group of these records; the latest year in them is twenty-eight, and this would take us to A.D. 965.[2] Of the remaining stone inscriptions of the period, several belong to Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari and bear dates in regnal years ranging from five to seventeen. Four inscriptions belong to Sundara Cōḷa with titles Madhurāntaka and Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-iṟakkina; two of these are dated in years five and seven, while the dates in the other two are lost. A considerable number with years ranging from two to five are those of Parakēsari who had the title (Vīra) Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa; and a still larger number belong to a Pārthivēndra-varman with the same title and with other variants

Of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari.

Of Sundara.

Of Vīra-Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Parakēsari.

to his name like Vēndrādivarman, Pārthivēndrādhipativarman and so on; these records give dates up to the thirteenth regnal year.[3] Lastly, we have a number of Parakēsari Uttama Cōḷa's inscriptions with regnal years from two to sixteen; two of them are precisely dated and fix the limits of his reign. The title Parakēsari, and the dates in his inscriptions[4] which couple Kali year 4083 (A.D. 981-2) with his regnal year thirteen, fix Uttama Cōḷa's place as the immediate predecessor of Rājakēsari Rājarāja I. It should also be observed that some of the numerous records which give no more detailed specification of the ruling sovereign than to call him Rājakēsari or Parakēsari will, no doubt, on any scheme of chronology, be found to fall in this period; but these may, for the most part be left on one side in the present discussion.

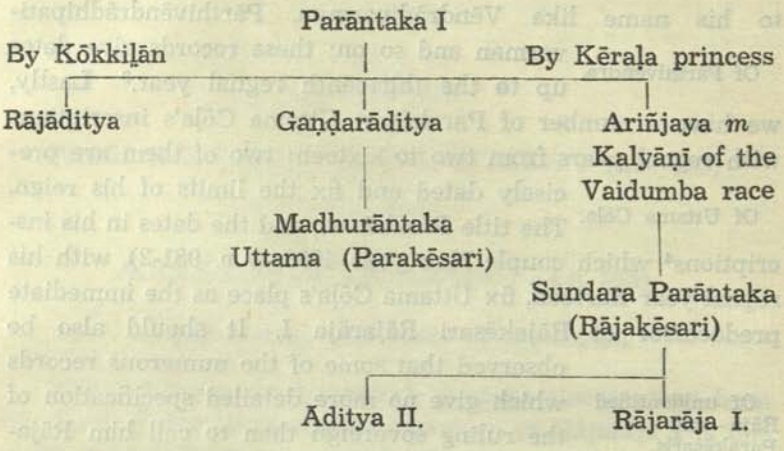
Of Pārthivēndra.

Of Uttama Cōḷa.

Of unidentified Rāja - and Parakēsaris.

Besides the stone inscriptions, we have the evidence of copper-plate grants. The only grant that falls in this period is that in the Anbil plates of the fourth year of Sundara Cōḷa. Unfortunately for us, Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, the composer of the Sanskrit *praśasti* in these plates, was less anxious to record facts which must have been very well known to him than to display his capacity for *alankāras* in his verse. As it is, even for the fact that Sundara Cōḷa was a Rājakēsari we have to depend on the opening of the Tamil part of the record. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates imply, and the Leyden grant expressly affirms, that after the death of Rājāditya the succession took place in the following order: Gaṇḍarāditya, Arindama, Parāntaka, Āditya and Madhurāntaka. The Karandai plates of Rajendra I as also the Kanyākumāri inscription and the Chārāla plates of Virarājēndra give only the names of Arindama and Parāntaka II between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja, apparently because the authors of the *Praśastis* had no other object in view than to trace the descent of the reigning king in the direct line from Vijayālaya. The genealogy of the Cōḷas from Parāntaka I to Rājarāja as it is given in these records may be set down before proceeding further:

Copper-plates.



One thing is clear and it is necessary to grasp this firmly; that we cannot treat the regnal years gathered from the stone records as those of kings whose reigns succeeded one another in regular order in the manner implied by the copper-plate grants. For in that case the period would, if we omit Pārthivēndra-varman from the reckoning and add the highest regnal years known of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari, Sundara, Āditya and Uttama, extend to 45 years, a period much too long for the interval between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja. Then there is the possibility that Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariñjaya also ruled as kings. A Rājakēsari inscription possibly of Rājaraja I's reign[5] mentions the second year of Gaṇḍarādityadēva *alias* Mummuḍicōḷa-dēva, while taking stock of the gifts made by his queen Śembiyan Mahādēvi at various times to the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍu. Records of the eighth year of Rājakēsari[6] show that Arikuḷakēsari, the son of Parāntaka, stood in the relation of Piḷḷaiyār or Āḻvār [7] (terms often applied to junior members of the royal family) to the ruling king who, being a Rājakēsari, could only have been Gaṇḍarāditya.

Overlapping reigns.

Gaṇḍarāditya's rule.

As for Ariñjaya, besides the statements in the copper-plates regarding his rule, there is a Rājakēsari record dated in the twelfth year[8] which mentions two queens of 'Ariñjigaivarman who died at Aṟṟūr'; and inscriptions from Mēlpāḍi dated late in the reign of Rājarāja I[9] mention the construction by him of the Cōḷēśvara

Ariñjaya.

temple as a memorial shrine (*paḷḷipaḍai*) to Āṟṟūrttuñjinadēva. These references render it probable that Ariñjaya lived long enough to rule in his own right, though, perhaps, only for a short time. Taking all these facts into consideration, we see clearly that there must have been a great deal of overlapping of the regnal years of the different kings quoted in the lithic records.

Meaning of *talai-koṇḍa*.

Another preliminary question that must be considered is the exact significance of the phrase *'talai-koṇḍa'* which is of some importance to the history of this period; because Vīra Pāṇḍya claims to have done this to a Cōḷa king and others claim to have done the same thing to Vīra Pāṇḍya himself. The phrase has been generally understood to mean 'having cut off the head,' and the identity of the Cōḷa king who died at the hands of the Pāṇḍya has been much discussed.[10] It appears, however, that the true meaning of the phrase is that the vanquished king had to acknowledge his defeat by humbling himself before the conqueror in a particular manner, as it were placing his head at the disposal of the conqueror. Hultzsch has pointed out[11] that in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga III, the phrase *'Pāṇḍiyanai muḍittalai koṇḍaruḷiya'* employed in some records is explained by another phrase: *'avan muḍi mēl aḍi vaittu'* of other inscriptions of the same reign; so that the process of 'taking the head' consisted in the vanquished king bowing and touching with his head the feet of the conqueror seated in open darbar. The celebrated Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagar only varied this traditional procedure slightly when he demanded that, as the price of peace, Adil Shah of Bijapur should visit him and kiss his foot.[12] The *Guruparamparai*, a work which often gives a true account of the practices of Cōḷa times, mentioned that the king from Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram mounted his state elephant by placing his foot on the head of his *sāmanta*, or feudatory.[13] The above interpretation of *talai-koṇḍa* has a bearing on the discussion of this period, because it follows that a king whose 'head was taken' by another need not be assumed to have died at the time this happened to him. It is, of course, another matter where we have clear statements of a person being killed. Applying this to the cases arising in this period, we see that the Tiruvālangāḍu plates make an express declara-

tion that Āditya II killed Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle and brought his severed head to the Cōḷa capital.[14] Even here the lateness of the testimony throws suspicion on the event. There is no clear evidence, however, that a Cōḷa sovereign lost his life at the hands of Vīra Pāṇḍya, and apparently Vīra Pāṇḍya's boastful title meant no more than that he inflicted a temporary humiliation on a Cōḷa king or prince.

Identification of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari.

Evidence has been cited above showing that Gaṇḍarāditya was a Rājakēsari and that he ruled for at least eight years. His rule might have commenced from the death of Rājāditya, whose place he must have taken as heir apparent in Parāntaka's lifetime. A suggestion has sometimes been made that Gaṇḍarāditya was a Parakēsari and that Arindama, placed immediately after him by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, was identical with Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari.[15] This seems to rest really on two assumptions; that Rājāditya ruled after Parāntaka's death, and that as he was a Rājakēsari, Gaṇḍarāditya who succeeded him must have been a Parakēsari. But it has been shown that the first of these assumptions is not true. It is likely enough that Rājāditya assumed the title Rājakēsari when he was made heir apparent; but considering that he predeceased his father, Gaṇḍarāditya who took his place must have assumed the same title so that the sovereign ruler next after Parāntaka Parakēsari might be a Rājakēsari. In fact the general opinion now prevailing is that Gaṇḍarāditya was a Rājakēsari,[16] though the implication that Rājāditya predeceased his father does not seem to have been so clearly grasped. For we shall see at a later stage of this discussion that an application of the rule that every heir apparent, whether one or more, adopted the title Rājakēsari or Parakēsari, according as the ruling sovereign was Parakēsari or Rājakēsari, furnishes a neat solution of the difficulties that could not otherwise be adequately met.

The Rājakēsari title may, therefore, be admitted for Gaṇḍarāditya. But the suggestion, first made by Venkayya,[17] that Gaṇḍarāditya was no other than Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari, appears to have been accepted without sufficient examination of the evidence.[18] The title Maduraikoṇḍa was taken to imply

that the king was the son of Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari, Parāntaka I. Hence when Gaṇḍarāditya was believed to be a Parakēsari, Maduraikoṇḍa was identified with Ariñjaya Rājakēsari.[19] Later when Gaṇḍarāditya became a Rājakēsari himself, he was said to be also Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari. But this asumption is by no means an argument, and one must be prepared to relinquish it if reason is shown for doing so. Now, let us turn to the provenance of the records of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari. All of them, except three records of the fourteenth and seventeenth years, come from the North Arcot and Chingleput districts. Three of these are dated in his fifth year, and a fourth in the seventh. One of the records of the fifth year belongs to a place called Karikkal, near Shōlingur, in the Walajapet taluq of North Arcot. Its date falls about A.D. 954. At the latest, that is, assuming that Parāntaka I died in 955 and that Gaṇḍarāditya did not begin his rule till after that event, it might be A.D. 960. It is difficult to see how this can be reconciled with the fact that Kṛṣṇa III was still at Mēlpaḍi in A.D. 959 distributing conquered territory among his followers, and that his inscriptions are found in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam up to about A.D. 965. These objections to identifying Gaṇḍarāditya with Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari are weighty, and should prevail even if no other identification were possible from the later inscriptions of the time. But fortunately there is open to us an easy, and doubtless the correct, solution of the question which would be readily accepted, once the idea is given up that Maduraikoṇḍa must have been a son of another Maduraikoṇḍa, that is, Parāntaka I. A single record from Koḍumbāḷūr,[20] from which the date has been lost, opens by mentioning *'uḍaiyār madurāntakan Sundara-śōḷan.'* This unique record disposes of the notion that the title Madurāntaka (Madiraikoṇḍa) in the records of this period must have been borne only by a son of Parāntaka I, for we know of no Sundara-śōḷan who was his son. This inscription offers the clue to the correct identity of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari. Sundara Cōḷa, the son of Ariñjaya, was a Rājakēsari, as the Anbil plates tell us, and he had also the title *'Madurāntakan.'* He has yet another title which gives evidence of his Pāṇḍyan war, namely, *Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-iṟakkina.*[21] These facts seem to point definitely to the conclusion that Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II was the king who, in some of his records, is called Madi(u)raikoṇḍa Rājakēsari.

His relation to Uttama Cōḷa.

There is one record of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari which, at first sight, seems to render it more likely that Gaṇḍarāditiya rather than Sundara Cōḷa was the king of that record. This inscription[22] from Tiruvorṟiyūr is dated in the fifth year and registers the endowment of a lamp by one of the nobles of Uḍaiyār Śrī Uttama Cōḷa-dēva who accompanied him to the temple. Krishna Sastri, in editing this record, says: 'A reasonable doubt may arise why Uttama Cōḷa is given here the title of a ruling king and not that of a prince. It was perhaps because he was the chosen successor of Gaṇḍarāditya at the time. We know, however, that he actually came to the Cōḷa throne only after one or two other kings had reigned subsequent to his father's death.' But if this was so, if Uttama Cōḷa was in the fifth year of his father's reign old enough to be chosen heir apparent, to adopt regal style and to visit temples with his (*perundaram*) nobles, and if his father continued to rule for twelve years thereafter, it is hard to see why he did not succeed his father immediately on his death and had to wait until most probably Ariñjaya and Sundara, possibly also Āditya II, had finished their rule. Not only does Krishna Sastri not explain this, but he says elsewhere:[23] 'At the time of Gaṇḍarāditya's death, Uttama Cōḷa must have been a young boy, as he was set aside in the order of succession till three kings after Gaṇḍarāditya had ruled and died.' Surely it is not easy to reconcile the two positions that the king of the Tiruvorṟiyūr record was Gaṇḍarāditya, and that at his death, his son was a young boy, so young that he had to wait through the reigns of three successors of Gaṇḍarādityā before he could himself rule. There is a more serious discrepancy. Even assuming that Gaṇḍarāditya counted his regnal years from the death of Rājāditya (A.D. 949), if we identify him with Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari, who ruled for at least seventeen years, his reign would extend up to 966. And Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa began to rule in 969-70. The interval of three years is too short to take in the reign of even Sundara Cōḷa whose records unmistakably give him a rule of not less than seven years,[24] much less those of three kings. The Tiruvorṟiyūr record cited at the beginning of this paragraph cannot, therefore, be assigned to Gaṇḍarāditya. It must be admitted, however, that even if we take it to be a record of Sundara Cōḷa, the difficulty still remains of explaining the regal title of Uttama Cōḷa in it. See-

ing that Sundara had a son Āditya who was ably assisting him in his warlike enterprises, it seems unlikely that he recognised, and that so early in his reign, a prince from a collateral, although senior, branch of his family as heir apparent. The only suggestion that offers itself, and for which support may be found in analogous cases from Cōḷa records, is that though the gift recorded in the inscription was made in the fifth year of Sundara Cōḷa when Uttama might have been old enough to have a retinue of his own with which he went about touring the country, it was not actually engraved on stone until Uttama Cōḷa had begun to reign in his own right, which he did, as we shall see, immediately after Sundara Cōḷa.[25]

There remain two further questions to be discussed—the position of Vīra-Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Parakēsari and the identity of Pārthivēndravarman who bears the same title. The former may certainly be identified with Āditya, the son of Sundara Cōḷa, who according to the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and the Leyden grant fought against Vīra Pāṇḍya.[26] But Āditya II was followed by another Parakēsari, viz., Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa. This appears, at first sight, to violate the normal rule of the Rājakēsari alternating with the Parakēsari title among the ruling sovereigns of the Cōḷa dynasty. Krishna Sastri says of Uttama Cōḷa:[27] 'Contrary to the usual order, according to which he ought to have been a Rājakēsarivarman, his predecessor Āditya II being Parakēsarivarman, he too was called a Parakēsarivarman, evidently because he was the son of a Rājakēsarivarman and succeeded to the throne not by the right he possessed, but at the request of his cousin's son Rājarāja I who was the chosen successor.' Two remarks may be made on this explanation: first, it seems hardly consistent with the position held by Krishna Sastri, not by us, that Uttama Cōḷa was chosen successor in Gaṇḍarāditya's reign, and that on account of his tender age, 'the claims of Gaṇḍarāditya's chosen successor were temporarily set aside and postponed.'[28] For, if this was so, how can it be said that he succeeded to the throne not in his own right, but at the request of Rājarāja? Then again the implication that the son of a Rājakēsari must be a Parakēsari is contradicted by the example of Rājarāja I, who was a Rājakēsari himself and the son of a Rājakēsari. It may also be stated here that Ariñjaya, who must have ruled a short while as Parakēsari, was also the

Two Parakēsaris in succession.

son of a Parakēsari. The true explanation of two Parakēsaris coming one after another seems to be that the earlier Parakēsari, the chosen heir apparent, Āditya II, died in the lifetime of his father Sundara Cōḷa, and the prince chosen next for the throne also took the title of Parakēsari in order that Rājakēsari Sundara might be followed on the throne by a Parakēsari after his death. At the death of Āditya II,[29] Sundara Cōḷa had to choose Uttama Cōḷa and not his younger son Rājarāja, either because Uttama Cōḷa forced the choice by threatening civil war, or because Rājarāja of his own will preferred to wait. The verses in the Tiruvālangādu plates, which are the only direct source of our information, can support either interpretation. They declare on the one hand that Uttama Cōḷa was eager to rule and on the other that Rājarāja was too good a kṣatriya to dream of the throne for himself while his father's cousin wanted it. And we shall see that Uttama Cōḷa made clear his eagerness to rule by, possibly, instigating a political murder.

Pārthivēndravarman.

The identity of Pārthivēndravarman, whose records, are found in the districts of North and South Arcot, and Chingleput, is involved in much obscurity. The suggestion [30] that he was the same as Pṛthivīpati II, the Ganga feudatory of Parāntaka, is the result of a very dubious inference from the resemblance in meaning between the names Pṛthivīpati and Pārthivēndra. It is also partly the result of a confusion between the Ganga king and a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III who, though he had the name Kannaradēva-Pṛthivigangariyar, was quite different from the Ganga.[31] After examining the records of Āditya II and Pārthivēndravarman, Krishna Sastri has reached the following conclusions:[32] 'Both these kings claim the epithet, "who took the head of Pāṇḍya or Vīra-Pāṇḍya"—evidently the same Pāṇḍya king who was at war with Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II—and the title Parakēsarivarman. Inscriptions of the former are very few and found only in the south, the latest regnal year being the 5th. Of the latter, there are many in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and the latest regnal year is the 13th. Pārthivēndra Ādityavarman may have been a prince of the royal family and viceroy of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. Āditya Karikāla appears to have been the actual successor.' The inscriptions of Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Parakēsari are not so very few after all; and what is more important, they are not confined to 'the

south,' if by that is meant the country to the south of and outside Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. There are at least five inscriptions of his in North Arcot and more in South Arcot. On examination we find that the Pārthivēndravarman records differ from those of Āditya Parakēsari in their provenance only in so far as the former are found in Chingleput district also, and are not found south of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. We also find the following features which have a cumulative significance in the consideration of his identity. He is a Parakēsari;[33] he has the regal title and calls himself 'Kōvirājamārāyar';[34] in an early record of the third year he is even called Pārthivēndra Ādittaparumar;[35] his queens have also the full regal style—*uḍaiyār dēviyār Villavan mahādēviyār*,[36] *Perumānaḍigaḷ dēviyārt-tanmapponnār-āgiya Trailōkya mahādēviyār*.[37] It seems clear that, far from being a feudatory of the Cōḷa kings, the ruler who can lay claim to so much distinction must himself be a Cōḷa monarch, and the name Āditya and the title Parakēsari clearly suggest his identity with Āditya Karikāla Parakēsari. 'Pārthivēndra Ādityavarman' and its variant forms occurring in his records show that he took the title 'Pārthivēndra.' The Cōḷa kings were very fond of high-sounding *birudas*, and almost every one of them had many such titles. As the latest recorded regnal year in his inscriptions seems to be the thirteenth year,[38] it follows that he must have been chosen co-regent very soon after his father Sundara Cōḷa's accession. This looks very probable considering that the Leyden grant gives him credit for having successfully attacked Vīra Pāṇḍya as a young boy. Afterwards he must have been deputed to rule the northern part of the Cōḷa dominion. Apparently he died in the life-time of his father and was succeeded in the place of heir apparent by Parakēsari Uttama Cōḷa.

Perhaps identical with Āditya II.

The results of the foregoing discussion may thus be summarised before the history of the period is taken up:

Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarāditya	A.D. 949/50[39]-957
Parakēsari Arinjaya	c. A.D. 956-957
Rājakēsari Sundara Cōḷa (Madurai-koṇḍa)	c. A.D. 956-973
[Parakēsari Āditya II Pārthivēndra Karikāla	c. A.D. 956-969]

The Parandūr Record.

There is just one record[40] of Pārthivēndravarman from the Chingleput district which is dated in the fifteenth year. Though the inscription is damaged, a careful examination of the impression of the record establishes two things: the date of the record is clearly 15; and though the chiselling of the letters is by no means good, and the stone is apparently much decayed, there is no reason to question the genuineness of the record which exhibits most of the characteristic palaeographic features of the period. This date must, if accepted, upset the scheme of chronology given above which is based on the identification of Āditya II with Pārthivēndra, for we cannot possibly find room for the fifteen years before the accession of Uttama Cōḷa and within the reign of Sundara. The period of thirteen years takes us almost to the limit and involves the assumption, in itself by no means unlikely, that Sundara associated his son Āditya in his administration very soon after his accession to the throne. On the other hand, this inscription of the fifteenth year from Parandūr is the only record so far known of Pārthivēndravarman with a regnal year higher than thirteen. We have several records of the thirteenth year, none whatever of the fourteenth, and only this one of the fifteenth. And it is extremely difficult to see any other solution to the riddle presented by his records than the one offered above; for if Pārthivēndra was not Āditya himself, how are we to explain the numerous coincidences to which attention has been drawn above, and which cannot all of them be accidental? The suggestion may therefore be made that in the regnal year in the Parandūr record, the second figure which looks like the ordinary *i* ( ) contains some mistake on the part of the engraver. This record need not be taken into account, therefore, unless other records with higher regnal years than 13 are discovered in future years.

One final consideration remains to be urged in addition to those so far dealt with. If Āditya and Pārthivēndravarman were not identical, the highest regnal year for Āditya would be that found in the records of Parakēsari who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, namely five. We must naturally assume

these five years to have been those immediately preceding Uttama Cōḷa's accession in A.D. 969-70; this would lead to Āditya's initial year falling somewhere about A.D. 964/5, which would be in the 8th or 9th year of Sundara Cōḷa according to the chronology suggested above. The fact that Sundara Cōḷa is clearly described as having come out successful in the Pāṇḍyan war before his seventh year (A.D. 963), together with the statement of the Leyden grant that Āditya took part in the fight at Śēvūr when still young, may lend some support to the view that Āditya had become sub-king earlier in Sundara's reign. This argument cannot be pressed far, as it is possible that Āditya fought without being formally associated in the government; or a second fight with the Pāṇḍyas might have come about later, about the year A.D. 964/5

II. *History*

Gaṇḍarāditya.

The rule of Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarāditya is attested not only by the statements of the Tiruvālangāḍu and Leyden grants which, though vague, doubtless imply that he ruled in his own right as king, but by several Rājakēsari inscriptions[41] from the Trichinopoly district, all dated in the eighth year and mentioning Piḷḷaiyār or Āḷvār Arikulakēsaridēva, and one from S. Arcot of year 2 of Mummuḍi Cōḷa Gaṇḍarāditya.[41a] The sphere of Cōḷa rule in his day must have been very limited and at the time of his death, about A.D. 957,[42] Kṛṣṇa III was still perhaps in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam consolidating his position and distributing the conquered country among his allies and servants. One of Gaṇḍarāditya's feudatories in the mountainous country of South Arcot, Siddhavaḍavan of the lineage of Ōri of the Śangam age who married Pāri's daughters, claims victory over unnamed enemies at Vīracōḷapuram in a record of the second year (A.D. 951) of Gaṇḍarāditya; he must be the same as the Milāḍa chief Narasimhavarman who owed allegiance to Kṛṣṇa III in his seventeenth year (A.D. 955).[42a] This shows that Gaṇḍarāditya could not make much progress in recovering territory lost to Kṛṣṇa III who was still aggrandising his position and power in the Cōḷa country.

Gaṇḍrāditya left behind an infant son, Uttama Cōḷa, by his queen Śembiyan Mahādēvi. This lady who survived her husband and even her son for many years, and lived on till A.D. 1001,[43] must have been widowed in early youth. After the death of her husband, hers was a life devoted to religion and charity. The number of stone temples to Śiva built by her, and of substantial endowments for their up-keep after the commencement of her son's rule will be noticed later. Very probably Gaṇḍarāditya was the author of the single hymn on the temple of Cidambaram. In this hymn there is a distinct statement that Parāntaka I conquered Pāṇḍya country and Īḻam, and covered the temple of Naṭarāja with gold; and the author calls himself, like Parāntaka, the king of Kōḻi (Uṟaiyūr) and the lord of the Tañjaiyar (people of Tanjore).[44] Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have been known also as *Mēṟkeḻundaruḻina-dēvar*, the king who went to the west.[45]

His queen.

His *Tiruviśaippā*.

The identity in meaning of the titles Arikulakēsari and Ariñjaya or Arindama has often led to the supposition that they refer to one and the same person, a younger son of Parāntaka I. This may be so. In any event, Ariñjaya Parakēsari succeeded his brother Gaṇḍarāditya and had a short reign. As yet we have no direct evidence of the transactions of his reign. Two of his queens Vīman Kundavaiyār and Kōdai-pirāṭṭiyār survived him and made gifts in his son's reign. Though it has been thought that Vīman Kundavai was a daughter of the Cāḷukya Bhīma II of Vēngī,[46] such an alliance between the Cōḷas and the Cāḷukyas in this period when the Cōḷas were reduced to virtual subordination to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas seems hardly likely. If, however, Kundavai was an Eastern Cāḷukya princess, her marriage with Ariñjaya must have taken place before the invasion of the Cōḷa country by Kṛṣṇa and sometime after the raid on Nellore by Māṟan Paramēśvaran, in the reign of Parāntaka I. But two inscriptions[47] from Tiruppaḷanam, dated in the second year of Parakēsari, mention an Araiyan Ādittan Vīman making some gifts to the local temple, and there is nothing to preclude this noble (Araiyan) from being the father of Ariñjaya's queen.[48] If this view is correct, these Parakēśari records must be assigned to Ariñjaya, and in view of the strict limits placed on the duration of Ariñjaya's

Ariñjaya.

rule by the general chronology of the period we must assume, what is not unlikely, that Ariñjaya was chosen heir apparent to Gaṇḍarāditya[49] sometime soon after the death of Parāntaka I. Ariñjaya is said to have died at Āṟṟūr,[50] a place that cannot be definitely identified. An inscription of Rājarāja I states that he built at Mēlpāḍi a memorial shrine (*paḷḷipadai*)[51] to the king who died at Āṟṟūr and this implies that Āṟṟūr was somewhere in that neighbourhood. Probably, Ariñjaya had entered upon the task of regaining the Cōḷa possessions in the north lost to Kṛṣṇa III. This suggestion gains force from an inscription[52] from Tirunāgēśvaram which mentions Ariñjigap-pirāṭṭiyār, daughter of prince Arikulakēsari and his wife of a Bāṇa king.

Revival of Cōḷa power.

This is a record of the second or third year of a Rājakēsarivarman who may be identified with Gaṇḍarāditya. It suggests that even under Gaṇḍarāditya attempts were made to retrieve the losses sustained in the closing years of his father's rule, and that, possibly, the Bāṇas, or some among them, were successfully seduced from their allegiance to Kṛṣṇa III. This Bāṇa alliance may thus be counted among the earliest indications of the emergence of Cōḷa power from the eclipse it suffered for a time. After the death of Gaṇḍarāditya, his efforts were continued by Ariñjaya who fell fighting at Āṟṟūr. If this view of Gaṇḍarāditya's reign is correct, it is possible that he also sought, at first with little success, to recover lost ground in the south, and that Vīra Pāṇḍya's boast of 'taking the head' of a Cōḷa may be referred to the same reign.

Sundara Cōḷa.

Ariñjaya was succeeded by his son by the Vaidumba princess Kalyāṇi, the only queen of Ariñjaya mentioned by the Anbil plates. This son was Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II who, as we have seen, was also known as Maduraikoṇḍa-Rājakēsari. The attention of Sundara Cōḷa was first directed to the south. Vīra Pāṇḍya, having repulsed Gaṇḍarāditya's attempt to restore Cōḷa supremacy in the Pāṇḍya country, was ruling as an independent potentate. The Leyden grant[53] tells us that in a great battle at Cēvūr, Parāntaka caused rivers of blood to flow from the deep cuts inflicted by him on the elephants of the enemy and that his son Āditya, while yet

Cēvūr.

a boy, played with Vīra Pāṇḍya in the battle, like a lion's whelp sporting with a tusker. The Karandai plates (vv. 24-5) mention the battle of Cēvūr adding that Vīra Pāṇḍya was defeated and forced to climb the peaks of the Sahyādri for refuge. Āditya's heroism was probably exhibited in the field of Cēvūr to the south of the Sevali hills, the southern boundary of Pudukkottah, and that battle must have furnished the occasion for his claim that he 'took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya.' The Leyden grant does not, like the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, state that Vīra Pāṇḍya was killed by Āditya, and it is possible that the composer of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, struck by the forcible simile in the Leyden grant, embellished the account of Āditya's contest with Vīra Pāṇḍya; and his account of Āditya's rule adds nothing else to what we learn from the earlier grant. The chances are that, after the battle of Cēvūr in which Vīra Pāṇḍya sustained a bad defeat, the Cōḷa forces led, among others, by Parāntakan Śiṟiyavēḷār of Koḍumbālūr, continued the campaign into the Pāṇḍya country, and forced Vīra Pāṇḍya to seek refuge in the forests.[54] The Pāṇḍya sovereign was on this occasion also supported by Ceylonese troops in his endeavour to resist the Cōḷa aggression; for Śiṟiyavēḷār led an expedition to Ceylon, and there he fell fighting before the ninth year of Sundara Cōḷa, A.D. 965.[55] The *Mahāvamsa*, corroborating this account, records the following in the reign of Mahinda IV A.D. 956-72:[56]

Pāṇḍya War.

Extended to Ceylon.

> 'The Vallabha king sent a force to Nāgadīpa[57] to subdue this our country. The Ruler hearing this, the king sent thither the senāpati Sena by name, to whom he had made over an army, to fight with the troops of the Vallabha king. The senāpati betook himself thither, fought with the troops of this (Vallabha) king, defeated them and remained master of the battle-field. As the kings with the Vallabha (king) at their head, were unable to vanquish our king, they made a friendly treaty with the ruler of Lankā. In this way the fame of the king penetrated to Jambudīpa, spreading over Lankā and crossing the ocean.'

The Vessagiri slab inscription[58] of Mihindu which mentions the successful campaign of senāpati Sena against the Damiḷas furnishes epigraphical confirmation of the statements in the chronicle and the Cōḷa inscriptions.[59]

Allies of the Cōḷas

Besides Āditya II, two other persons claim success against Vīra Pāṇḍya. One of these is Pārthivēndravarman of whom something has been said already. The other is Bhūti-vikramakēsari of Koḍumbāḷūr, who claims to have conquered Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle. The inscription[60] which gives this information, also states that Vikramakēsari turned the waters of the Kāvēri red with the blood shed by the army of the Pallava, put an end to Vañcivēḷ and ruled from Koḍumbāḷūr. He had two queens Kaṟṟaḷi and Varaguṇā. A Rājakēsari inscription, from which the date has been lost,[61] mentions that Kaṟṟalip-pirāṭṭi was the wife of Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷār *alias* Maṟavan Pūdiyar, which may be other names of Vikramakēsari. Two others dated in the thirteenth year of Rājakēsari mention Varaguṇa-perumānār, apparently the other queen of Vikramakēsari. One of these from Tillaisthānam,[62] says that she was the queen of Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār, a title showing doubtless the subordinate relation in which Vikramakēsari stood to Parāntaka Sundara Cōḷa; the other, from Lālgudi,[63] states that Nangai Varaguṇa Perumānār was the sister of the Cōḷa king. Again, Vikramakēsari called his two sons by Kaṟṟali by the names of Parāntaka and Āditya-varmā, apparently after the Cōḷa sovereign and his son. Lastly, as has been mentioned before, Parāntakan Śiṟiyavēḷār of Koḍumbāḷūr was one of the leaders of the Cōḷa army in its southern expedition. When taken together, these facts suggest that the close terms of friendship and loyalty that subsisted between the chieftains of Koḍumbāḷūr and the Coḷas under Parāntaka I continued under his successors also, and that Vikramakēsari[64] assisted Sundara Cōḷa and his son in subduing the rebellious Vīra Pāṇḍya.

Vikramakēsari

The other achievements of Vikramakēsari are not so easily explained as his war with Vīra Pāṇḍya. Even if we ignore the minor success against Vañcivēḷ, it is not easy to

see how Vikramakēsari could have fought with the Pallavas on the banks of the Kāvēri. This by itself might justify a much earlier age for the Koḍumbālūr inscription of Vikramakēsari; but as on palaeographical considerations no earlier date than that of Gaṇḍarāditya can be assigned for this record,[65] the suggestion may be made that by the Pallava in this context we must understand Vallabha, and explain the fight in which Vikramakēsari took part with such distinction as having occurred on the occasion of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa's raid into the Cōḷa country which is said to have taken him as far as Rāmēśvaram.

Inconclusive results of the Pāṇḍya War.

The reign of Sundara Cōḷa then marked the recovery of the Cōḷas from the disasters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. For all the fighting in the south, however, the Pāṇḍyas and their allies of Ceylon held their own, and it is not till the reign of Rājarāja I that Cōḷa inscriptions begin again to appear in the Pāṇḍya country. In fact Rājarāja claims to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas when they were still powerful and illustrious, implying thereby that in spite of their exertions his father and his elder brother Āditya had not made much headway against them.

Success in the north.

The inscriptions of Āditya, Pārthivēndra, and of Sundara himself show on the other hand that remarkable success attended the Cōḷa efforts in the north. As Kṛṣṇa's inscriptions get fewer in the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput, records of these others become more numerous; but we have no knowledge of the stages by which this change came about. That Sundara Cōḷa took an active share in directing affairs in the north may be inferred from the fact that he died in his golden palace at Kāñcīpuram and was thereafter known as Pon-māḷigaittuñjina dēva.[66] One of his queens, Vānavanmahādēvi, a princess of the line of Malaiyamāns, performed *satī* at the king's death,[67] and her image was perhaps installed in the Tanjore temple by Kundavai, her daughter.[68] Sundara left behind him the reputation of a second Manu born to wean the world from ways of evil[69] (Kali). Another queen of Sundara Cōḷa, a Cēra princess, survived him till the sixteenth year of his son Rājarāja's reign, A.D. 1001.[70]

Literature.

In Sundara Cōḷa's reign literature, both Sanskrit and Tamil received encouragement; not only does the earliest Cōḷa copper-plate grant known so far date from his time, but a highly poetic eulogium of his reign, in the commentary of the *Vīraśōḷiyam*, bears witness to his patronage of letters.[71] This eulogy, which calls Sundara Cōḷa the king of Nandipura, is addressed to the Buddha to secure the strength and prosperity of the king, and furnishes evidence of the prevalence of friendly relations between the Cōḷa monarchs and the southern Buddhist Sangha several years before the date of the larger Leyden grant which records the gift of a village to a foreign Buddhist monastery at Negapatam.

Murder of Āditya II.

Sundara Cōḷa's last days appear to have been clouded by a domestic tragedy. An inscription from Uḍaiyārguḍi dated in the second year of Rājakēsari[72] records the measures taken by the Sabhā of Śri Vīranārāyaṇa caturvēdimangalam under orders from the king for the confiscation and sale of the properties of some persons who were liable for treason as they had murdered 'Karikāla Cōḷa who took the head of the Pāṇḍya.' This record clearly shows that Āditya II fell a victim to assassination. The only possible kings to whom this Rājakēsari record can be assigned are Sundara Cōḷa himself. and Āditya's younger brother, Rājarāja, who succeeded Uttama Cōḷa, a Parakēsari. But the early regnal year rules out Sundara Cōḷa, as we cannot suppose that Aditya, whose inscriptions range at least up to the fifth year, began to reign before his father. Therefore the inscription is doubtless a record of Rājarāja's reign. If this inference is accepted —the palaeography and the astronomical data of the record support this view—then it follows that the murder of Āditya II remained unavenged throughout the sixteen years in which Uttama Cōḷa ruled, Sundara Cōḷa himself having either died of a broken heart soon after the murder or after having found the natural course of justice obstructed by a powerful conspiracy. It seems impossible under the circumstances to acquit Uttama Cōḷa of a part in the conspiracy that resulted in the foul murder of the heir apparent. Uttama coveted the throne

Uttama Cōḷa's part in it.

and was not satisfied with the subordinate role assigned to princes of the blood in the administration of the kingdom; as representing a senior branch of the royal family, he perhaps convinced himself that the throne was his by right, and that his cousin and his children were usurpers. He formed a party of his own, and brought about the murder of Āditya II, and having done so, he forced the hands of Sundara Cōḷa to make him heir apparent, and as there was no help for it, Sundara had to acquiesce in what he could not avert. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates seem to gloss over the story on purpose, and make statements which, though enigmatic in themselves, are fairly suggestive of the true course of events, when read together with the datum furnished by the Uḍaiyārguḍi inscription. The plates say:

> 'Āditya disappeared owing to his desire to see heaven.[73] Though his subjects, with a view to dispel the blinding darkness caused by the powerful Kali (Sin), entreated Arumoḷivarma, he, versed in the *dharma* of the *Kṣattra*, did not desire the kingdom for himself even inwardly as long as his paternal uncle coveted his own (*i.e.*, Arumoḷivarmā's) country.'

The sun of Āditya had set; the darkness of sin prevailed; the people wanted Arumoḷi to dispel it; but Uttama's cupidity triumphed, because of Arumoḷi's restraint. Arumoḷi was not a coward; nor was he lacking in political ability or legal right. Anxious to avoid a civil war, he accepted a compromise, and agreed to wait for his turn until after Uttama's desire to be king had found satisfaction; it was apparently part of the compromise that Uttama was to be succeeded not by his children, but by Arumoḷi, and in the words, again, of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates:

> 'Having noticed by the marks (on his body) that Arumoḷi was the very Viṣṇu, protector of the three worlds, descended (on earth), Madhurāntaka installed him in the position of *yuvarāja*, and (himself) bore the burden of (ruling) the earth.'

We find accordingly Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan, who must have been a son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa, occupying high office under Rājarāja when he came to power and loyally assisting him in the administration of the country.[74]

If this reading of the story of Uttama Cōḷa's accession is correct, Uttama Cōḷa furnishes an instance, by no means unique in history, of selfish and perverse offspring born of parents distinguished for piety and right-mindedness; and his rash and bloody self-seeking stands out in striking contrast to the true nobility and statesmanship of the future Rājarāja.

Accession of Uttama.

The inscriptions of Āditya Parakēsari (who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya) and of Pārthivēndra-varman show that, by the time of the accession of Uttama Cōḷa, the Cōḷas had recovered much in the north that had been lost on account of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. These inscriptions are found in Uttaramērūr, Kāñcīpuram, Takkōlam and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and furnish clear evidence of the renewed Cōḷa occupation of the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput, and considering that the bulk of these inscriptions relate to normal transactions like endowments, sales and irrigation works, we may conclude that general peace had been restored, and that the effects of the wars were fast fading out of memory.

Of the reign of Uttama Cōḷa we have many stone records and one set of copper-plates. The beginning of the latter, which probably contained a genealogical account of the dynasty in Sanskrit verse, is unfortunately lost; only the concluding prose portion mentioning the object of the grant survives. In some of the stone inscriptions and in the copper-plate grant, the king is clearly described as Parakēsari Uttama Cōḷa; but a number of other stone inscriptions bearing only the Parakēsari title can be assigned to his reign either on astronomical grounds, or because they mention the relatives of the king like his mother or one of his queens, or lastly, because they mention officials in his service. It should be observed also that the earliest Cōḷa coin of which we have any knowledge belongs to his reign; it is a gold piece, a unique specimen once in the possession of Sir Walter Elliot and figured by him from a faithful drawing, the coin itself having been lost;[75] its obverse and reverse are identical, the centre occupied by a seated tiger facing a fish to the proper right and separated from it by a line, the legend Uttama Cōḷan in grantha characters along the circular margin and a ring of beads at the perimeter. Elliot estimated the weight of the coin at between 50

The earliest Cōḷa coin

and 60 grains, and this conforms to the standard in the Deccan and Southern India before the time of Rājarāja.[76]

The Madras Museum plates.

The Madras Museum plates of Uttama Cōḷa, though they add little to our knowledge of political history, are of very great interest to the study of the social life and the administrative methods of the kingdom in Uttama Cōḷa's time; they form moreover beautiful specimens of the palaeography of the period.[77] Even the stone inscriptions of the reign contain little information on political transactions. Some inscriptions recently discovered in the Trichinopoly district,[78] dated in the twelfth year of Parakēsari, introduce to us a high official of Uttama Cōḷa's government by name Ambalavan Paḷuvūrnakkan of Kuvaḷālam (Kōlār). He was an officer of *perundaram* rank who built of stone the old shrine of Vijayamangalam celebrated by Tirunāvukkarasu as a temple in Gōvandaputtūr on the bank of the Coleroon,[79] commemorating Arjuna's (Vijaya's) penance for obtaining the favour of Śiva;[80] and on this officer, Uttama Cōḷa conferred the title Vikramaśōlamārāyar,[81] from which we may conclude that Uttama had also the title Vikrama. The same officer continued in Rājarāja's service later; in the records of Rājarāja's reign he has the title Mummudiśōḷa prefixed to his personal name, and also bears the alternative title Rājarāja Pallavaraiyan.[82] No other evidence exists to show that Uttama Cōḷa's suzerainty extended as far as Kōlār in Mysore, and all the inscriptions mentioning this official come from one place, and that in the Trichinopoly district. It must be assumed, therefore, that for some reasons unknown to us, this person migrated from Kōlār into the Cōḷa dominions and rose to a high position in the royal service.

Uttama's queens.

The inscriptions give the names of several queens of Uttama Cōḷa, of whom five are mentioned together in one inscription.[83] The chief place was held throughout the reign by Oraṭṭaṇan (Urattāyan) Sorabbaiyār, a Kannaḍa name (?), who is called *agramahādēviyār* and *mūttanambirāṭṭiyār* in the fifth and the fifteenth years of the reign;[84] she had also the title of Tribhuvanamahādēviyār, significant of her rank as chief queen. The queens of Uttama Cōḷa are almost all of them found making endowments in a village in the Tanjore district which bore the name of their mother-in-law, Śembiyan-mahādēvi—proof of

the high regard in which the pious widow of Gaṇḍarāditya was held by the members of her family. One son of Uttama Cōḷa is known,[85] Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāditya, who held high office under Rājarāja, as has been mentioned already.

Son.

A record of the fifth year of Rājakēsari[86] mentions a Pāṇḍya princess[87] with the name Puḷiccayan Śāmi Abbai, as the spouse of Vikramaśōḷa Malāḍuḍaiyār. This Malāḍa chieftain, a feudatory of the Cōḷas, in the hilly tracts of South Arcot, might have got the title from Uttama Cōḷa, who was also known as Vikrama; if this view is correct, the inscription is certainly one of Rājarāja I.

1. Three inscriptions, all of the ninth year of a Parāntakadēva, pose one of the minor problems in Cōḷa epigraphy. No. 16 of 1896 from Tiruvālangāḍu, North Arcot, calls the king Parakēsari and Tribhuvana-Cakravartin. No. 261 of 1923 from Kōyil-Tēvarāyanpēṭṭai, Tanjore Dt., does the same, and in addition gives a historical introduction beginning *pū-mangai-vaḷara*. No. 225 of 1929 from Tiruvaḍatturai, S. Arcot, gives the same introduction, but calls the king Rājakēsari and Cakravartin. If the records are genuine, they must be of the reign of either Parāntaka I Parakēsari, or Parāntaka II Rājakēsari. But the absence of other Cōḷa *praśastis* before Rājarāja I, the title Tribhuvana-cakravartin applied to the king in two of these records, and the fact that the third is found in a temple which has no other inscription of a period earlier than that of Vīrarājēndra, render these records suspicious. They furnish no information of historical importance, and may belong to some obscure late Cōḷa prince. See *ARE.* 1924, II 9; 1929, II 26.

2. Krishna Sastri (*SII.* ii Introd. 12) says: 'Perhaps the years quoted in Kannara-Kṛṣṇa's Tamil inscriptions must be taken to count from A.D. 949.' On the same page he admits that Kṛṣṇa died in Śaka 889 or A.D. 967. He does not explain why, after this date records should bear his name and his regnal years till about 977. Again, he admits that 949 was not the year of Kṛṣṇa's entry into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam but the following year; why, then, should this year have been the starting point for the dates in his Tamil records. The highest regnal year in the Tamil inscriptions is not 30 as was believed till recently but only 28 (364 of 1902, 159 of 1921); the date in No. 232 of 1902 (Kīḻūr) is now read as 20, not (3)0 which was given in *ARE.* 1903. See *SII.* vii 859.

3. See, however p. 150 *post* on a record of year 15 from Parandur.

4. See *SII.* iii, 135, 138.

5. 444 of 1918 under year 6 of Rājarāja I. 252 of 1936-7 is a direct record of Yr. 2 of Mummuḍi-Cōḷa Gaṇḍarāditya.

6. *SII.* iii, 111 and 112.

7. Krishna Sastri remarks: 'The epithet Āḻvār is taken to be one of respect. It may also indicate that he was dead at the time,' and then proceeds, 'If Arikulakēsari, Arikēsari, Ariñjaya or Arindama died before the 8th year of Gaṇḍarāditya as inferred already, the next king must have been a son of Arikulakēsari who, as the Anbil plates say, was Prince Sundara Cōḷa born of a Vaidumba princess.' (*SII.* iii, Introd. p. 14). But though Arikulakēsari may be identified with Ariñjaya, there is nothing to show that he predeceased Gaṇḍarāditya. We know that, in many records of Rājarāja I, his elder sister Kundavai is called Āḻvār during her life-time. Further, seeing that Gaṇḍarāditya and Sundara Cōḷa who succeeded him were both Rājakēsaris, Krishna Sastri suggests (*ibid.* n. 2) that the intervening Parakēsari must be identified with the infant son of Gaṇḍarāditya who, though chosen for succession, 'may have been too young at the time to succeed his father.' Ingenious, but not likely. See also *EI.* xv, p. 53 where Gopinatha Rao adopts the same arrangement, cutting out Ariñjaya and making Gaṇḍarāditya a Parakēsari who followed his elder brother Rājāditya Rājakēsari.

8. 587 of 1920.

9. 83, 84, 86 of 1889 (*SII.* iii 15-17).

10. Gopinatha Rao thinks it was Sundra Cōḷa *EI.* xv p. 54; others say Gaṇḍarāditya, *QJMS.* xvii p. 195. See also *ARE.* 1921, II 61.

11. *SII.* iii p. 215 n. 4.

12. Sewell: *Forgotten Empire* p. 145.

13. *Guruparamparai* pp. 105-6, (ed. S. Krishnamachari, 1927).

14. vv. 67 and 68. *Contra* Kielhorn, *List* p. 115 n. 2 written before the Tiruvālangāḍu plates were discovered.

15. *ARE.* 1904 II, 20; 1909 II, 39.

16. *SII.* iii Introd. p. 14; and *ASI.* 1908-9 p. 122; also *ARE.* 1912 II 17, more halting in its tone.

17. *ASI.* 1908-9 p. 122.

18. As a matter of fact, the discussion of the subject in *ARE.* 1912, II 17 with reference to No. 306 of 1911 (year 7) is very cautious. It is said that the title Maduraikoṇḍa implies that the king was a son of Parāntaka. On the other hand it is admitted that G. is nowhere 'clearly stated' to have been a Rājakēsari, and that it is difficult to see how the seventeen years of this king can be treated as the period of the rule of Gaṇḍarāditya when there are only twenty years for three reigns—Gaṇḍarāditya, Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II and Āditya II Karikāla. The conclusion is: 'In any case we may for the present provisionally presume that Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari is identical with Gaṇḍarāditya.' It is on the basis of this provisional conclusion that Krishna Sastri arranges the inscriptions in *SII.* iii, part 3. See p. 250 No. 114, introduction and note 4.

19. *ARE.* 1909 II 39.

20. 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

21. 291 of 1908. *EI.* xii pp. 121-6.

22. *SII.* iii 115 (246 of 1912).

23. *SII.* iii, Introd. p. 14.

24. 291 of 1908.

25. One writer (*QJMS.* xvii, p. 197) claims that 'after a close and patient study of many inscriptions published, unpublished and not yet copied by the Epigraphical department,' he has come to the conclusion that all Rāja Rājakēsari records (with one Rāja) must be assigned to Gaṇḍarāditya, as Rājarāja to whom such inscriptions are assigned really called himself Kō Rājarāja Rājakēsari, (with two Raja-s). No. 176 of 1906 is a record in the seventh year of Rāja Rājakēsari and mentions the fifteenth year of Uttama Cōḷa; see also 298 of 1908.

26. vv. 67-8 and 28 respectively.

27. *SII.* iii. Introd. p. 16.

28. See *ibid.* pp. 14 n. 2; 16, n. 1.

29. For a possible son of Āditya, Karikāla-kaṇṇan by name, whose existence may be inferred from the inscriptions of Rājarāja, see *SII.* ii, p. 460 and n. 2.

30. *ARE.* 1921 II 61.

31. *EI.* vii p. 195. *Con. EI.* iv p. 223 followed by Rangachari in N.A. 586.

32. *SII.* iii (Intr.) p. 15.

33. *SII.* iii 180.

34. *SII.* ii 186.

35. *SII.* iii, 158.

36. *SII.* iii 193.

37. 17 of 1921.

38. See, however, *post* for the Parandur record.

39. *EI.* xxvi pp. 82-4. By his recent researches, late A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar has generally confirmed the chronological scheme put forward here for the first time. But still there is some loose thinking afoot. Ramanatha Aiyar himself says that because Sundara Cōḷa gets the title *Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-iṟakkina* in a record of his seventh year, the conflict with Vīra Pāṇḍya must have taken place only about A.D. 946; and then makes this the basis for rejecting 956 for Āditya II's accession and 937 for Vīra Pāṇḍya's on the ground: 'This would yield the inconsistent results that Āditya killed him (Vīra Pāṇḍya) in A.D. 957, and that his predecessor Sundara Cōḷa defeated him in A.D. 963'! And he is quoted with approval by M. Venkataramayya (*EI.* xxv pp. 36-7; xxviii pp. 89-90), who, however, has a glimpse of the greater historical probability of the rejected date. Again, V. Venkatasubba Aiyar has argued that because one chieftain mentions no overlord in a record of 959 and acknowledges Āditya II in another record dated in his second year, therefore Āditya's second year must be later than 959, his accession date cannot be 956, and he cannot be identical with Pārthivendravarman (*EI.* xxviii p. 269). How easy for men to become the slaves of their own *abhinivēśas!*

40. 75 of 1923. Nos. 62, 63 of 1889 (*SII.* iv, 291-2) are late copies and they are most probably Parakēsari records.

41. 176 of 1907; 570, 574 of 1908, (*SII.* iii 111, 112); 444 of 1918 (Rājarāja I, yr. 6).

41a. 252 of 1936-7.

42. Krishna Sastri assigns 287 of 1911 (*SII.* iii 113) to G. I rather think it is a record of Sundara Cōḷa. See *post* n. 62.

42a. *ARE.* 1936-7, II 22. 362 of 1902.

43. 200 of 1904. Another queen Vīranāraṇiyār is mentioned in 220 of 1935-6 of Yr. 40 of Parāntaka I, *ARE.* 1936-7 II 21.

44. These features of the hymn render it more likely that its author was this king rather than the official of Rājarāja, Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittar, who is found employed in enquiring into the affairs of temples and whose name seems to imply that he was the son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa. *Contra* Venkayya *ASI.* 1905-6 p. 173, n. 5.

45. 540 of 1920.

46. 587 of 1920. *ARE.* 1921, II 26.

47. 162, 172 of 1928.

48. See *ARE.* 1928 II 3.

49. This, if correct, would be an additional objection to Krishna Sastri's reconstruction of the order of succession.

50. 587 of 1920.

51. *SII.* iii 17.

52. 215 of 1911; the date given as [9] is not clear in the original, but it cannot be 9. *ARE.* 1912 II 16.

53. *EI.* xxii vv. 25, 28.

54. 302 of 1908. Kanyākumāri inscription v. 63. *Contra* N. L. Rao in *JOR.* xix p. 150.

55. 116 of 1896, *SII.* v. 980 (Yr. 27 of Rājarāja I). Text of record in *SII.* v. gives dates (3)-wrong; *ARE.* 1914 II 15 gives it correctly as Yr. 9 of Sundara Cōḷa; see also *EI.* xii pp. 124 ff.

56. Ch. 54 vv 12-16.

57. The N.W. part of Ceylon (Geiger). The Vallabha has sometimes been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (Codrington *Ceylon Coins* p. 50). But the Cōḷas were called 'Vaḷava' and the Vessagiri inscription implies that the invaders were Tamils. See Codrington's *Short History of Ceylon* pp. 39 and 53.

58. *EZ.* i. pp. 29 ff.

59. Some statements in Chapter VIII of *PK*, on the chronology and the course of the Cōḷa conquest, are seen to need considerable modification. To one point in particular attention may be drawn here. Vīra Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Cōḷa' bore that title for thirteen years. (*PK.* p. 102). This clearly means that Vira Pāṇḍya did not lose his life at the hands of Āditya and his confederates. For if we accept, for the sake of argument, the latest date suggested for the accession of Āditya II, A.D. 965, Vīra Pāṇḍya must have lost his life in A.D. 966, because Āditya's records of the second year mention the event. Thirteen years earlier than this date takes us to A.D. 953 or 954, a date which seems to be too soon after the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion for a contest

between the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas in the South—a contest which gave Vīra Pāṇḍya the occasion to 'take the head of the Cōḷa.' If Pārthivēndravarman and Āditya were identical, then this contest would be pushed back to 944-5, an impossible date.

60. 129 of 1907, Pd. 14 (Text).

61. 273 of 1903, *ARE.* 1908 II, 90.

62. *SII.* iii 113; Krishna Sastri ascribes this record to Gaṇḍarāditya on the ground that Vikramakēsari is palaeographically earlier than the time of Āditya II to which Venkayya ascribed him. I think Venkayya was right. Arguments from palaeography can be hardly conclusive when the difference in time is so little as that between Gaṇḍarāditya and Āditya II. See *JOR.* vii pp. 1 ff.

63. K. V. Subramania Aiyar who edits this record (*EI.* xx p. 53) assigns it to Āditya I (*ibid* pp. 47-8) and says that its date corresponds to A.D. 883-4. He grants the identity of Varaguṇā with the queen of Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār, whom he also identifies with Vikramakēsari; but does not deal with the problems raised by the Vikramakēsari record from Koḍumbāḷūr.

64. A record of the sixth year of Parakēsari (337 of 1904) from Kuḍumiyāmalai mentions a Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi-pērumānār, queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷār; from this, the conclusion has been drawn that this was another name of Vikramakēsari (*ARE.* 1908 II, 90). But the Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi mentioned in this record was the daughter of a Muttaraiyar chief (Pd. 45 Text) and different from the Cōḷa princess mentioned above. Hence Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ cannot be the same as Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷar, if our view that the latter married the Cōḷa princess is correct.

The suggestion may be made that the Muttaraiya lady was the queen of Vikramakēsari and that Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār, the husband of the Cōḷa princess, was the elder son of Vikramakēsari. In this case, the 6th year of Parakēsari (337 of 1904) must be the 6th year of Parāntaka I, which would fall nearly 52 years before the wars with Vīra Pāṇḍya in which Vikramakēsari took part. It seems better to treat Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ and his Muttaraiya wife Varaguṇā as persons not represented in the genealogy of the Koḍumbāḷūr record. There are other names of Irukkuvēḷs, like Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ and Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ in the Pudukōṭṭah inscriptions for which there is no room in the Koḍumbāḷūr genealogy. Possibly Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ of Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904 (Pd. 63 and 65), also called Ādittan (Āccan) Vikramakēsari, was a contemporary of Āditya I and his son Parāntaka I.

65. See *ante* n. 62.

66. See *SII.* iii p. 288 and n. 5. No. 18 of 1933-4 (Yr. 17) comes from Cintamaṇi (Chingleput Dt.); also perhaps 21 of 1934-5 (Rājak. 17) from Kīrappākkam, (same Dt.)

67. Tiruvālangāḍu plates vv. 65-66; also 236 of 1902 (Rājarāja I 27).

68. *SII.* ii p. 73.

69. Tiruvālangāḍu v. 57.

70. 159 of 1895, ll. 127-32.

71. pp. 102-3, *Yāppu* v. 11.

72. 577 of 1920 *EI.* xxi p. 165.

73. vv. 68-9. The expression employed literally means 'set' (*astam gatavān*)—a play on his name Āditya; a hint of his premature death may be seen in 'his desire to see heaven.'

74. *Contra* K. V. S. Aiyar—*Ancient Dekhan* p. 243. The difficulties regarding the ages of Uttama Cōḷa and his son pointed out by Aiyar are not so serious as he makes them out. We may suppose that Gaṇḍarāditya died A.D. 957 and that then Uttama was 12; he came to the throne when he was, say, 24 in 969, and then had a son aged three; this son would be about 23 in 989 when he is first mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign. The omission of his name from the Leyden and Tiruvālangāḍu plates is only to be expected in the conditions of the case.

75. Elliot *CSI.* p. 132, No. 151 p. 152 G. *ARE.* 1904, I 20, Nos. 152-4 are, no doubt, coins of Rājēndra I.

76. Codrington—*Ceylon Coins* p. 74.

77. See *SII.* iii No. 128. After this fine edition of the plates by Krishna Sastri, we might well have been spared the belated publication with negative plates in 1925 (*IA.* Vol. 54 pp. 61 ff) of a paper contributed by T. A. Gopinatha Rao and another in 1911. This paper begins with the wild statement that the seal of these plates 'belongs to the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman, one of whose documents is also found in the Museum.' I examined the seal and found it true to the fac-simile in *EI.* iii. plate p. 104, No. 3, which again very closely resembles the seal of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates of Rājēndra (plate opp. p. 413 in *SII.* iii).

Krishna Sastri holds that the Parakēsarivarman, a record (*śilālēkhai*) of whose 22nd year is quoted in ll. 28-29, was Vijayālaya (*SII.* iii p. 267 and n. 2), and that 'the statement in our grant that a stone inscription of his 22nd year did provide for permanent income to a temple at Kaccippēḍu is proof enough to show that though he was the first of the new line, Vijayālaya had a peaceful, long and prosperous rule like any of his powerful successors.' This view derives support from the express mention of 'Maduraiyum Iḷamum Koṇḍa Parakēsari' in l. 96, which might naturally lead to the supposition that the Parakēsari of ll. 28-29 must be a different king. There is, however, another mention of Parakēsari (year 16) in ll. 72-3, which Krishna Sastri takes to be a reference to Uttama Cōḷa himself; but it is possible to hold that ll. 72-98 record one continuous transaction by which, in the 18th year of Parāntaka I, the Nagarattār of Kaccippēḍu regulated the expenditure to be met from endowments made in the sixteenth year of Parakēsari (note in particular *enṟu ipparisu* in l. 96). If this view is accepted, the Parakēsari of l. 72 would be not Uttamma, but Parāntaka I, and the same may be true of ll. 28-9. Again, Uttama Cōḷa is mentioned by name with the Parakēsari title in l. 12; we have only the Parakēsari title in l. 72. By assigning the latter to Uttama Cōḷa, K. Sastri grants

that the same king may be mentioned in two different ways in the same record. If that is so, it is easier to assume that Parakēsari of ll. 28-9 and 72 is the same as Maduraiyum Iḷamum Koṇḍa Parakēsari of l. 96, than to equate one of them with Vijayālaya and the other with Uttama. I wish also to add that Karikāla-terri might have got its name as much by association with Āditya II Karikāla as after 'the ancient Cōḷa king Karikāla.' (Krishna Sastri *ibid*, p. 268).

78. 165-7 of 1929.
79. v. 3 of his *Dēvāram* on Tiruviśayamangai.
80. v. 8 ibid.
81. 164 of 1929—*ARE.* 1929 II 29.
82. 168, 184 of 1929.
83. 494 of 1925 (Yr. 12).
84. 165, 488 of 1925.
85. *SII.* iii No. 49. *ARE.* 1904 (paragraph 20); *ante* n. 74.
86. 7 of 1905.
87. The name of the Pāṇḍyan princess seems to imply Kannaḍa origin for her, though we cannot be sure of this.

Chapter IX

RĀJARĀJA THE GREAT (A.D. 985-1014).

Accession.

Rājakēsari Arumoḷivarman, as he was known in the early years of his reign, came to the throne, after a long apprenticeship as *yuvarāja*, on some day in the month following 25 June, A.D. 985.[1] He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa by Vānavan-mahādēvi, and the joyous occasion of his birth is described in particular detail in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates.[2] The star of his nativity was Śatabhiṣak, as we learn from the inscriptions recording endowments for offerings in temples on his birth-days.

A great epoch.

With the accession of Rājarāja we enter upon a century of grandeur and glory for the dynasty of the Cōḷas. Quite obviously, the personal ability of the first Rājarāja, in some respects the greatest of all the great Cōḷa rulers of the Vijayālaya line, laid the foundation for the splendid achievements of his son and successor Rājēndra I, under whom the empire attained its greatest extent and carried its arms beyond the seas. The thirty years of Rājarāja's rule constitute the formative period in the history of the Cōḷa monarchy. In the organisation of the civil service and the army, in art and architecture, in religion and literature, we see at work powerful forces newly liberated by the progressive imperialism of the time. A relatively small state at his accession, that had hardly recovered from the disasters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion, the Cōḷa kingdom had, by the end of Rājarāja's rule, grown to be an extensive and well-knit empire efficiently organised and administered, rich in resources, possessed of a powerful standing army, well-tried and equal to the greatest enterprises. More wonderful than the work of this great monarch must have been his personality. But of him we have no authentic description; no eyewitness has rendered to Rājarāja the service which Nuniz and Paes did to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya. There is not even a well-attested statue, or painting of this king[3] that has come down to us. All that we know of his reign, however, and that is not little, attests his potent personality and the firm grasp of his intellect which allowed nothing to escape

its vigilance and applied itself with as much vigour to the minutest details as to the sublimest ambitions of statecraft. The affection he lavished on his sister Kundavai, after whom he named one of his daughters,[4] and the privileged position accorded to his grand-aunt, Śembiyan-mahādēvi, the mother of Uttama Cōḷa, indicate that he was a great and good man as well as a far-sighted ruler.

Very early in his reign[5] Rājarāja assumed the title Mummaḍi Cōḷa-dēva, a term whose meaning is not clear.[6]

Kēraḷa War.

Almost the first military achievement of his reign was the campaign in the Kēraḷa country of which the result was summed up in the phrase *'Kāndaḷūr-śālaik-kalamaṟutta'* which precedes the name of the king in several of his inscriptions from the fourth year[7] onwards. Though this title appears from the fourth year, no inscription of Rājarāja has been found in the Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya countries bearing a date earlier than the eighth year.[8] Some years of fighting were apparently necessary before the conquest could be completed and the conquered country become sufficiently settled for its administration being properly organised.

War against Pāṇḍya.

The Tiruvālangāḍu plates giving a detailed account of the king's *digvijaya* state that he began with the conquest of the southern direction.[9] This account mentions the capture of the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujanga, and then states :

> 'The commandant (*daṇḍanātha*) of this ornament of the solar race then conquered Viḷinda which had the sea for its moat, whose extensive ramparts were shining aloft, which was impregnable to other warriors and which was the permanent abode of the goddess of victory.'

We have often found before that the three southern kingdoms of Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and Simhaḷa were allied against the Cōḷa ; this alliance was still effective in the time of Rājarāja, and it would seem that Rājarāja's southern campaign was directed against the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra together. The Cēra king at this time was Bhāskara Ravi Varman Tiruvaḍi (A.D. 978-1036), whose inscriptions have been recovered from different parts of Travancore.[10]

The Cōḷa *praśastis.*

The Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas followed the injunctions of the Dharmaśāstras, and in their copper-plate grants, they caused a brief history of their ancestors to be engraved before recording the occasion for and the details relating to the particular gift. But Rājarārja was the first Tamil king who conceived the idea of formulating in set phrases an official record of the chief events of his reign which was to serve as an introduction to his stone inscriptions. In this he was followed by almost every one of his successors on the Cōḷa throne, and we shall see that the *praśasti* of his son Rājēndra I, which is rather brief in the early regnal years, grows in length as the reign advances and descriptions of fresh events are added on to it as they take place; these official 'historical introductions' in the Cōḷa inscriptions are, in fact, an important aid to the discovery of the particular king to whose reign any given record belongs. Sometimes the same king used two or more forms of such introductions, and Rājarāja I seems himself to have employed at least three forms, of which the one beginning '*tirumagaṭ-pōla*' was the most common from the eighth year onwards.[11] In this introduction the only reference to the first campaign of the reign seems to be the phrase employed about Kāndaḷūr Śālai already quoted. A second form of the introduction[12] also places the victory at Śālai first among the achievements of the reign. Yet another, dated in the twentieth year,[13] mentions that Rājarāja 'destroyed the town of Madurai, conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Koḍungōḷūr and that the kings of the sea waited on him.'

Praśastis of Rājarāja.

The Southern campaign.

One question suggests itself naturally in relation to this southern campaign of Rājarāja. Did he conquer Madura and the Pāṇḍya country first and march into Kēraḷa by the southern passes that led into it from the Tinnevelly district, or was the line of his march the other way round? The Tiruvālangāḍu plates and the last of the introductions cited above seem to suggest that the capture of Madura and the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujanga preceded the advance on the strong fortress of Viḷiñam and on Śālai.[14] But the bare men-

tion of Kāndaḷūr Śālai in the earlier records of the reign and in the opening lines of the '*tirumagaḷpōla*' introduction, and the provenance of Rājarāja's inscriptions which appear in South Travancore about two years earlier than in the Tinnevelly and Ramnad districts point to the other alternative.[15] It is possible that the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and the later inscriptions of Rājarāja mixed up facts relating to several distinct campaigns against the southern country. For it is clear that Rājarāja sent more than one expedition against the Pāṇḍya and his ally the Cēra. One seems to have been directed specially against Kollam. The campaign in which Rājarāja claims, in his Tanjore inscriptions,[16] to have conquered the Cēra and the Pāṇḍyas in the Malai-nāḍu (Mountain country) was quite obviously different from and later than that in which Kāndaḷūr and Viḷiñam were attacked.

Two invasions.

The chief event of this expedition which took place sometime before the year A.D. 1008[17] was apparently the storming and capture of the strong fortress of Udagai.[18] Malai-nāḍu or Kuḍa-malai-nāḍu, the western hill-country, may be identified with Coorg,[19] and the fortress of Udagai must be looked for in the Western Ghats in that region, or perhaps a little to the south. Inscriptions of the fourteenth and sixteenth years,[20] though they mention the occupation of Kuḍa-malai-nāḍu, do not yet record the attack on Udagai. The statement made in the inscriptions that Rājarāja deprived the Pāṇḍyas of their splendour when they were still flourishing in all its glory seems to indicate that the capture of this fortress was not effected in the first war. The *Kalingattupparaṇi*[21] in its notice of this king's reign mentions only the conquest of Udagai besides the foundation by him of the Śadaiyam festival in the Cēra country. In all his three *ulās*, the poet Oṭṭakkūttan says that Rājarāja's great achievement was the crossing of the 'eighteen forests' for the sake of his ambassador and setting fire to Udagai. We are unable to explain this satisfactorily; apparently the immediate cause of the march against Udagai was an insult offered to the king's ambassador.

Malai-nāḍu.

A Cōḷa general Rājēndra (?).

The Cōḷa general who most distinguished himself in the campaigns in the West was perhaps no other than the crown prince Rājēndra.[22] He was afterwards made Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of the Vēngī and Ganga-maṇḍalas. He had also the title Pañcavanmārāya. This 'tusker of Mummuḍi-Cōḷa,' as he is called, 'seized the Tuḷuva and Konkaṇa, held Malēya (Malabar), and pushed aside the Cēra,' as well as the Telunga and the Raṭṭiga.[23] As chief military officer in the Ganga-maṇḍala, he carried out the royal order conferring on Manija the village of Māḷavvi (Coorg) and the title Kṣatriya-śikhāmaṇi-kongāḷva in recognition of his heroism in the battle; perhaps it was fought against the Cangāḷvas, a petty local dynasty. In any case, this was the beginning of the line of Kongāḷvas who ruled a small kingdom for about a century as the subordinates of the Cōḷas to whom they owed their existence, and then disappeared with the expulsion of the Cōḷas from these regions after the rise of the Hoysaḷas.[24]

Ceylon.

Īḻam (Ceylon) is included among the conquests of Rājarāja from the first in the *tirumagaḷ* introduction,[25] (A.D. 993). The king is said to have taken the Īḻamaṇḍalam owned by the fierce Singaḷas and famed in all the eight directions.[26] In his twenty-ninth year (A.D. 1014) Rājarāja made a grant of several villages in Ceylon for various purposes to the celebrated temple he had erected at Tanjore.[27] The Tiruvālangāḍu plates contain the following picturesque account of the invasion of Ceylon.[28]

> 'Rāma built, with the aid of the monkeys, a causeway across the sea and then slew with great difficulty the king of Lankā by means of sharp-edged arrows. But Rāma was excelled by this (king) whose powerful army crossed the ocean by ships and burnt up the king of Lankā.'

This naval expedition of Rājarāja against Ceylon must have taken place in the reign of Mahinda V who came to the throne A.D. 981 and was still ruling Ceylon at the time when the island was invaded by Rājarāja's son and successor Rājēndra I. But the *Mahāvamsa* makes no mention of Rājarāja's invasion, apparently because the annals of Mahinda's reign became confused after the tenth year (A.D. 991) on account of the

military revolution which led to the ascendancy of Kēraḷa and Kaṇṇāṭa mercenaries in a large part of his kingdom.[29] As a result of the military rising, Mahinda had to take refuge in the inaccessible hill country in the south-east of Ceylon called Rōhaṇa. Rājarāja then found his opportunity and made himself master of Northern Ceylon which became a province (*maṇḍalam*) under the name of Mummuḍi-śōḷa-maṇḍalam.[30]

Effects of Cōḷa conquest.

The Cōḷa invasion had one permanent result. Anurādhapura, the capital of Ceylon for over 1000 years, was finally destroyed by the armies of Rājarāja. Polonnaruwa, formerly a military outpost of the ancient capital as seen from its alternative name Kandavura Nuvara (the camp-city), now became the capital under the Cōḷas. While the earlier Tamil invaders of Ceylon had aimed at the overlordship only of Rājaraṭṭha, the Cōḷas were bent upon the mastery of the whole island. This decided the choice of their capital. There is practically no trace of Cōḷa rule in Anurādhapura. When Sinhalese sovereignty was restored under Vijayabāhu I, he crowned himself at Anurādhapura, but continued to have Polonnaruwa for his capital, as it was more central and rendered easier the task of controlling the turbulent province of Rōhaṇa.[31] Polonnaruwa was renamed Jananātha-mangalam,[32] after another title assumed by Rājarāja about the middle of his reign.[33] Rājarāja's inscriptions have been found in Ceylon.[34] It is probable that Rājarāja signalised the Cōḷa occupation of Ceylon by the construction of a stone temple of Śiva in Polonnaruwa. This 'beautiful little' Śiva Dēvāle, 'constructed of granite and lime-stone' which 'stands within the walled confines of the old city' of Polonnaruwa is among the few Hindu monuments of Ceylon, which are still in a good state of preservation; and 'its architectural form seems at once to class it with the Hindu fanes of South India erected from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, of which the great temple of Tanjore is the finest and most elaborate exponent.'[35] The earliest inscription found in this temple is dated early in Rājēndra I's reign. An officer from the Cōḷa country by name Tāḷi Kumaran built another temple called Rājarājēśvara at Mahātittha (Mantota), which was also named Rājarājapura, and richly endowed the new temple.[36]

Cōḷa Temples in Ceylon

Other conquests.

Turning now to Rājarāja's conquests in other directions, Gangapāḍi, Noḷambapāḍi and Taḍigaipāḍi sometimes called Taḍigaivaḷi, all of them in the Mysore country became parts of the Cōḷa kingdom in Rājarāja's time. One of the variant forms of the introduction to the king's stone inscriptions implies that the conquest of the Mysore country immediately followed the victory at Śālai, and that it was undertaken before the expedition against the Eastern Cāḷukyas into the Vēngī country.[37] After his victory at Śālai, Rājarāja is here said to have gained successes at Taṭṭapāḍi (Taḍigaipāḍi?), Taḷaikkāḍu, Noḷambapāḍi and Pirudigangar-vaḷanāḍu. This campaign against the Noḷambas and the Gangas, first mentioned in the eighth and ninth[38] years of the king's reign, would seem in reality to have advanced very far, if not actually ended by the sixth year (A.D. 991), as we find an inscription of Cōḷa-nārāyaṇa, obviously a name of Rājarāja I, in the Mysore country dated in this year (Śaka 913).[39] An official from Kōlār in the Gangarasāyira with a Ganga name made an endowment in South Arcot in the seventh year of Rājakēsari, perhaps Rājarāja I.[40] This conquest was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the Cōḷas had never lost their hold on the Kongu country or, if they had done so, had very soon recovered it when they began to reassert themselves after the troubles consequent on the invasion of Kṛṣṇa III. Rājarāja does not claim to have conquered the Kongu area, and he was master of it early in his reign. Copper-plates[41] recording a gift of land in the fifth year of Rājakēsarivarman have been found at Tiruccengōḍu, and these may with tolerable certainty be assigned to Rājarāja I, if they do not belong to an earlier Rājakēsari like Parāntaka II. The conquest of Taḍigaipāḍi was probably undertaken from the side of Kongu and as part of the campaign in Kuḍamalai-nāḍu. By the time of this war the Noḷambas had long ceased to be an independent power and become subordinate to the Gangas. In the tenth century the name Noḷambapāḍi still included[42] not only the districts of Tumkūr and Citaldurg, but much of the Bangalore, Kōlār and Bellary districts and even parts of Salem and N. Arcot; this is sufficient proof of the place once held by the Noḷambas in the politics of Southern India. Though they lost

Ganga country.

much of their power at the time of Rājarāja's invasion, they did not by any means die out altogether, and in Śaka 920 Gannarasa, the son of Ayyapa, was ruling a portion of Daḷigapāḍi as a feudatory of Rājarāja.[43] A certain Noḷambādhirāja was the general of the Cōḷa monarch in his sixteenth year.[44] Either the same person or another, Noḷambādhirāja Cōrayya, is again mentioned as feudatory of the Cōḷa in Śaka 933.[45] These instances raise a suspicion that the Noḷamba subordinates of the Gangas turned against their Ganga overlords and paid off old scores by taking the side of the Cōḷas openly, or by assisting them in other ways. The Gangas then were the chief enemy against whom was directed the expedition into Mysore. This invasion, which started with an attack on Taḍigaipāḍi[46] and Taḷakāḍ after crossing the Kāvēri from the Kongu country, was a complete success, and made the Cōḷas supreme in the entire Ganga country for a period of more than one century. The easy success was partly also the result of the disappearance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, which had taken place about A.D. 973, when Taila II Āhavamalla restored the ancient Cāḷukya line to power. By this political revolution the Gangas and the Noḷambas lost their chief support, as there was nothing as yet to bind them to the newly risen Cāḷukya power corresponding to the dynastic alliances and common enterprises that had brought them close to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But the Western Cāḷukyas were by no means indifferent to the advancing power of the Cōḷas under Rājarāja, and in an inscription dated A.D. 992, Tailapa II claims to have gained a victory against the Cōḷa king and captured 150 elephants from him.[47]

W. Cāḷukyas.

Within a few years after 992, Tailapa II died and was succeeded by Satyāśraya on the Cāḷukya throne. The later inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign state that he fought a successful war against Satyāśraya and captured some of his treasure, part of which went to the enrichment of the great Tanjore temple.[48] The W. Cāḷukyas were also hard pressed in the north by the hostility of the Paramāras of Mālwa and must have found it hard to sustain themselves against two powerful enemies attacking them from opposite directions. The inscriptions of Rājarāja from about A.D. 1003[49] roundly assert that he captured by force Raṭṭapāḍi, 'the seven and a half lakh coun-

War against Satyāśraya.

try.' This is a violent exaggeration. More trustworthy is the poetic statement in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates[50] that Satyāśraya, though, true to his origin from Taila (oil), he fled the battle-field in order to escape the misery of facing the ocean-like army of Rājarāja, still became himself the abode of misery (*kaṣṭāśraya*). The Karandai (Tanjore) plates devote several verses to the account of Rājarāja's war against Satyāśraya. Rājarāja's elephants are said to have wrought havoc on the banks of the Tungabhadrā (v. 28). Seated on his war horse, he is said, single-handed, to have checked the rush of the advancing Cāḷukya army like Śiva restraining with his *Jaṭā* the force of Gaṅgā's descent on earth (v. 29). He took the Cāḷukya general Keśava prisoner (v. 31). The next four verses are also descriptive of this war, though they add no new facts (32-5). Lastly, a verse under the reign of Rājēndra I, the son and successor of Rājarāja, discloses that Rājarāja had taken a vow to capture Mānyakheṭa, the Cāḷukya capital, and that Rājēndra fulfilled the vow (v. 51).

Led by Rājēndra.

An inscription of Satyāśraya from Hoṭṭūr (Dharwar), dated Śaka 9(2)9 A.D. 1007, states that the Nūrmaḍi Cōḷa Rājēndra Vidyādhara, the son of Rājarāja Nityavinōda and the ornament of the Cōḷakula, advanced as far as Dōnūr in the Bijapur district, with an army of 900,000 troops, plundered the whole country, killed women, children and Brahmans, caught hold of girls and destroyed their caste. The same record proceeds further to say that Satyāśraya, 'the slayer of the Tamil' (*Tiguḷa-māri*), thereupon forced the Cōḷa to turn back, captured his paraphernalia (*vastu-vāhana*) and thus conquered the southern quarter.[51] Though the account of wholesale slaughter and rape must be discounted as proceeding from a hostile source, still this account given by the Cāḷukya inscription of Rājēndra's invasion of Raṭṭapāḍi rings very true, and may be accepted as substantially correct. Though overwhelmed for a time by the strength and rapidity of the Cōḷa onslaught, Satyāśraya soon recovered himself, and by hard fighting rolled back the tide of invasion. In Raṭṭapāḍi proper there are no traces (as there are in Nuḷambapāḍi and Gangapāḍi) of the occupation of the country by the Cōḷas.[52]

Results of the Cāḷukya war.

The campaigns in the N. W. that have so far engaged our attention resulted in the annexation to the Cōḷa empire of practically all the territory that had ever been held by the Gangas and the Noḷambas in Mysore, and nearly the whole of the modern district of Bellary,[53] so that the Tungabhadrā became the boundary between the two empires. No inscriptions of Rājarāja have been found in Bellary so far; but then there are no Cāḷukya inscriptions of the period either. As a rule, Cōḷa inscriptions are not found in the remote provinces of the empire in as great numbers as in areas nearer home, and we cannot on this account entertain doubts about the correctness of facts clearly attested by contemporary records. That Rājarāja had a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka for the Ganga and Vēngī *maṇḍalas*[54] towards the close of his reign is sufficient proof of the extent of his empire and of the contiguity of these two *maṇḍalas*.

Vēngī.

Rājarāja's intercession in Vēngī affairs was the direct and natural result of the political development of the early years of his reign, rather than of any diplomatic design to dissociate the Eastern Cāḷukyas from their Western cousins.[55] If Rājarāja and his successors found it easier to spread their power along the east coast than across the Tungabhadrā, this was partly due to the different conditions in which the Eastern and the Western Cāḷukyas found themselves when the Cōḷas entered on their imperial career under Rājarāja. After more than three centuries of rule in Vēngī marked by many wars with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Western Deccan, the Eastern Cāḷukyas had become an old and decrepit race, and their kingdom was falling a prey to disputed successions and anarchy. The coming of the Cōḷas brought fresh blood into the family and became a source of strength to this declining dynasty which, sustained for nearly a century by the Cōḷas in a position of respected though subordinate alliance, soon after, more than repaid the debt by contributing largely to the continuance of the Cōḷa empire under Kulōttunga I and his successors, the Cōḷa-Cāḷukyas, as they are sometimes called. The Western Cāḷukyas, on the other hand, had just emerged under Taila II, after centuries of subordination to

Contrasted with W. Cāḷukya Kingdom.

the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the restored dynasty was in its full vigour. As the Cebrōlu inscription of Satyāśraya[56] implies, they even made an attempt to unite the resources of the Eastern Cāḷukyas to their own; but being subject to attacks from the Paramāras in the north and the Cōḷas in the south, they failed to do more than just keep their hold over their ancestral territory, the Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country. They were on the whole less fortunate than their Cōḷa contemporaries, and being compelled to wage many wars of defence, they found little time or inclination for aggression. Difficult as it may be to find a satisfactory scientific explanation for it, the fact remains, and it receives ample confirmation from the general course of history, that the chief dynasties throw up for a time a succession of very able rulers, that this succession occurs generally in the earlier part of the dynastic history, and that no dynasty flourishes for more than a limited number of generations. The relative importance of the Western and Eastern Cāḷukyas and the Cōḷas about A.D. 1000 forms one of the numerous illustrations of this general rule furnished by the course of Indian history.

Cōḷa expansion in the north.

Under Parāntaka I the Cōḷa power extended in the north up to Nellore. The northern provinces were lost after the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion and recovered in part under the successors of Parāntaka I. The northernmost limit reached under them was in the neighbourhood of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, a few miles north of Madras. Rājarāja who aimed at recapturing every province that had ever been held by Parāntaka I and extend the empire still further, sent an expedition in the northern direction early in his reign. An inscription from Kāñcīpuṟam,[57] dated in the 6th year of Rājakēsari and recording a royal gift of a large herd of sheep to a Durgā temple states that the sheep were got when Śīṭpuḷi-nāḍu and Pāki-nāḍu were conquered by Paraman Maḷapāḍiyār *alias* Mummaḍi-śōḷan, the chief of Kāru-kuḍi in Tanjāvūr Kūṟṟam. The titles of the commander make it clear that the expedition was undertaken in Rājarāja's reign.

War with Vēngī.

The actual occasion for Rājarāja's interference in the internal affairs of Vēngī must have occurred later than the expedition just mentioned. The presence of Satyāśraya for a time in the Vēngī kingdom

had, no doubt, something to do with it. There were, however, deeper causes accounting alike for the presence of Satyāśraya in Guntūr and for the interest of Rājarāja in the affairs of Vēngī. Despite the abundance of Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates, some of them directly bearing on this period, the history of the dynasty is by no means settled, and its chronology presents many little problems which cannot be considered here. The troubles of the Eastern Cāḷukyas appear to have begun sometime in the reign of Amma II A.D. 945-70 and they were started apparently by the intrigues of the ambitious Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa III with the younger branch of the Eastern Cāḷukyas.

Causes.

The complicated events in Vēngī in the period 945-99 may be briefly summarised as follows from the standpoint of Cōḷa history.[58] At Amma II's accession in 945, his elder half-brother Dānārṇava was superseded; how this happened we do not know; but this was one source of trouble. Then there were the brothers Bādapa and Tāḷa II from a younger branch of the family which had tasted power and was ready to seize the throne again when opportunity came. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III was an ambitious conqueror who evidently followed the traditional policy of aggrandisement at the expense of Vēngī, and became the more eager to do so after his successes against Cōḷa Parāntaka I. The dissensions among the Eastern Cāḷukya princes favoured his designs. There is good reason to think that Amma II had married a sister of Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma, the ruler of Peḍekallu, who rose into great prominence towards the end of the period and seems to have exerted himself in the cause of his brother-in-law as he understood it.

Amma II had a chequered reign though it lasted altogether for twenty-five years till 970. At his accession he is said to have fought Yuddhamalla II with success;[59] but Yuddhamalla's defeat was avenged by his sons Bādapa and Tāḷa II, who with the aid of a party inside Vēngī and perhaps of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa as well, drove Amma II into exile and seized the throne. The copper plate grants of Bādapa and Tāḷa which mention Kṛṣṇa's aid must be assigned to this period; its exact duration is not easy to determine. But Amma returned after a few years from his exile in Kalinga

with the aid of the Kolanu chief Nṛpa Kāma whose daughter he married, and put an end to Tāḷa's rule some time before 955, possibly even killed him in battle as hinted by the Pabhuparru grant of Śaktivarman I which says that Amma despatched a *dāyāda* of his to heaven.[60] But very soon after the Vēngī kingdom was invaded in force by Kṛṣṇa III, and Amma sought refuge in Kalinga a second time; it was after the eleventh year of his reign (956) that according to the Māngallu plates, Amma fled to Kalinga a second time.[61] The government of Vēngī was now entrusted by Kṛṣṇa to Dānārṇava who was also supported by a party hostile to Amma within Vēngī. But when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa withdrew, Amma returned to Vēngī and apparently made it up with Dānārṇava, and once more ruled the kingdom for some time. At last Dānārṇava rose once again and having killed Amma in battle, took the throne for himself (970).[62]

Dānārṇava sought to extend his kingdom to the south and came into conflict with the Cōḷas who were recovering their northern possessions which had been overrun by Kṛṣṇa III. His son Śaktivarman is said to have won his spurs as a boy in a Tamil battle (*dramilāhava*);[63] no further details are forthcoming. Meanwhile, Amma's brother-in-law, Bhīma the son of Jaṭā-Cōḍa and ruler of Peḍekallu (Kurnool district), was on the move to avenge Amma II's death. His activities could not be clearly made out as the inscription which records them is sadly mutilated.[64] As a boy Bhīma must have been a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III and possibly had even to take part in his campaigns in Vēngī. But after Kṛṣṇa's death he asserted himself and resented the success of Dānārṇava against Amma followed by his conquest and annexation of Pottapi to Vēngī. The details are not clear, but in the war that followed Bhīma killed Dānārṇava, drove his children into exile, and occupied the whole of Vēngī.

The period of twenty-seven years (973-999) between the death of Dānārṇava and the accession of Śaktivarman I, his son, is described in later charters of the Eastern Cāḷukyas as an interregnum[65] and ascribed to a bad stroke of fate.[66] This was the period when Jaṭā-Cōḍa Bhīma ruled in Vēngī; he was not a Cāḷukya and his rule was an unwelcome intrusion, a real interregnum from the standpoint of the Cāḷukyas. Dur-

ing this period, Bhīma met with much sullen opposition from the Vaidumbas, the nobles who were loyal to Dānārṇava's memory, and Kāmārṇava the Eastern Ganga king of Kalinga who was related to Dānārṇava and in whose court Dānārṇava's sons found shelter in the first instance. But Bhīma overcame all opposition after years of fighting and having destroyed Kāmārṇava in 978 and his brother Vīnayāditya in 981, made himself master of Kalinga also. The children of Dānārṇava, two sons Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya, and perhaps their mother also, left Kalinga to find a welcome in the Tamil Cōḷa court and settle for a time in Tiruvaiyāṟu in the Tanjore district.[67] After the accession of Rājarāja, their presence in the Cōḷa country was turned by that farsighted ruler to great advantage in the development of his policy against the rising power of the Western Cāḷukyas under Taila II and Satyāśraya. They became the instruments of Cōḷa policy and furnished the excuse for Rājarāja's interference in Vēngī. On the other side, it seems possible though as yet there is no direct proof, that the Western Cāḷukyas came to an understanding with Jaṭā-Coḍa Bhīma. Rājarāja invaded Vēngī in 999 or a little earlier to restore Śaktivarman to the throne of Vēngī. Though details are lacking in Cōḷa inscriptions, Śaktivarman's records state that first he killed a great warrior Ekavīra despatched against him by Bhīma, and then put to death two other powerful chiefs Baddema and Mahārāja, and finally uprooted the 'widespread tree of Jaṭā-Coḍa to its very roots' i.e. did away with Bhīma himself. But the struggle was hard and lasted some years. Though Bhīma was driven out of Vēngī and Śaktivarman began his rule in 999, Bhīma returned to the charge, chased Śaktivarman as far as Kāñcī, and it was only after another fight in the neighbourhood of that city (1001-2) that Śaktivarman could feel fairly secure on the throne of Vēngī. In any event, it is quite certain that Śaktivarman owed much to the Cōḷa king's support, and possibly he consented to recognise the overlordship of Rājarāja in some form after becoming king of Vēngī. We know that the exact date of Vimalāditya's accession in Vēngī was 10 May, A.D. 1011[68] and that his predecessor and elder brother Śaktivarman ruled for twelve years before him. This would give A.D. 999 as the date of Śaktivarman's accession and the end of

Śaktivarman's restoration.

the interregnum. Śaktivarman is called in his plates Cāḷukya-nārāyaṇa, a surname evidently modelled on that of Rājarāja, Cōḷa-nārāyaṇa. Thus a study of the affairs of the E. Cāḷukya dynasty before Rājarāja began to interest himself in them makes it plain that, far from their being sought out by Rājarāja as valuable political allies, they owed their position to that great monarch. By the part he played in restoring order and putting an end to the long-drawn civil strife in that kingdom, Rājarāja was well justified in claiming to have conquered Vēngī. This is not to say that Vēngī became at once an integral part of the Cōḷa Empire[69] like the other areas where, as in the Ganga or even the Pāṇḍya country, the separate political existence of the conquered country was deliberately put an end to, and the administrative system of the Cōḷas was imposed. If the analogy suggested by the term is not pressed too far, the political relation in which Vēngī stood to the Cōḷa empire under Rājarāja is best described as that of a protectorate. The alliance between the two ruling families was sealed by a dynastic marriage; Vimalāditya married Rājarāja's daughter Kundavā, the younger sister of Rājēndra.[70]

By Rājarāja.

The fall of Bhīma and the subordination of Vēngī to Rājarāja were bitter pills to Satyāśraya. In fact from this time Vēngī becomes a bone of contention between the Cōḷas and the Western Cāḷukyas, and for the next 135 years, with few intervals, Vēngī becomes a theatre of their hostilities; the Eastern Cāḷukya rulers of the country recede into the background. Śaktivarman's inscriptions are silent on the occurrences after his accession. But a Western Cāḷukya inscription[71] from Cebrolu (Guntur district) shows that a Western Cāḷukya army under the command of Bāyal Nambi invaded Vēngī, burnt down the forts of Dharaṇikōṭa and Yanamadala, and that the general had established himself at Cebrolu by A.D. 1006. What happened subsequently is not apparent; but the date of the record suggests that Satyāśraya made an effort to displace or subjugate Śaktivarman before he could establish himself firmly in his kingdom. The invasion of Raṭṭapāḍi by Rājēndra that occurred about the same time and is so vividly described in the Hoṭṭūr inscription already noticed was perhaps calculated to draw off Satyāśraya's forces from Vēngī and succeeded in its purpose.

Conquest of the Maldives.

The last of the conquests, mentioned only in the latest inscriptions of Rājarāja, is that of the 'old islands of the sea numbering 12,000,' the Maldives.[72] This naval conquest, of which we have no details, is sufficient indication that the navy which, as we shall see, Rājēndra used so effectively some years later, had been organised under his great father who stands in many ways in the same relation to Rājēndra as Philip of Macedon to Alexander the Great. An earlier occasion in Rājarāja's reign in which the navy played a part was the conquest of Ceylon. In this increasing realisation of the importance of a good navy, we may find a reason for holding that the expedition against Kāndaḷūr in the early years of Rājarāja's rule was primarily intended to sterilise the naval power of the Cēras.

The Cōḷa Navy.

The Karandai (Tanjore) plates (v. 30) state that Rājarāja drove out a Bāṇarāja after a battle and cut off the head of a certain Bhogadeva, occurrences of which no adequate explanation is now forthcoming.[73]

Rājēndra made *yuvarāja* A.D. 1012.

In the closing years of his reign Rājarāja associated his son Rājēndra with himself in the official administration. This formal recognition of Rājēndra as heir apparent took place some time between 27 March and 7 July A.D. 1012.[74] Rājēndra must have been at least twenty-five years of age at the time as he is mentioned in Rājarāja's inscriptions of the fourth year as a young prince.[75] Considering the large number of Tanjore inscriptions which mark the twenty-ninth year of his father, we may conclude that this year A.D. 1014 marked the close of Rājarāja's illustrious reign.[76]

The Tanjore temple.

Rājarāja's great reign is commemorated by the magnificent Śiva temple which he built at Tanjore, the Rājarājeśvara, which stands to this day, the finest monument of a splendid period of South Indian history and the most beautiful specimen of Tamil architecture at its best. The temple is remarkable alike for its stupendous proportions and for the simplicity of its design. A rectangular court, 750 feet by 250, is divided into two by a partition wall, which carries a low

tower of beautiful design; the inner court is twice as long as the outer. The chief shrine occupies the centre of the Western half of this inner court and the *Vimāna,* which rises over the sanctum to a height of nearly 200 feet on a square base of about a hundred feet, dominates the whole structure. The boldly moulded basement, the huge monolithic Nandi, the simple and tasteful bas-reliefs and the decorative motifs on the *Vimāna* and the balustrades, the graceful sculptures in the niches on the sides of the *Vimāna* and the fine chiselling which marks the entire work, including the lettering of the numerous inscriptions, are not equalled by anything known in South Indian architecture. Viewed from any angle, the effect produced by the whole of this wonderful structure is pleasing and impressive. That the stone walls round the *garbhagṛha* right under the *Vimāna* in the interior of the temple were overlaid with a thin coat of chunam (lime) plaster, and painted, is beyond question. When he saw this great enterprise of his reign drawing to completion, on the 275th day of the 25th year of his reign, Rājarāja solemnly dedicated the copper-pot intended for adorning the finial at the top of the *Vimāna.* We have no authentic information as to how the colossal labour involved in transporting the huge blocks of granite over great distances, and the technical problems involved in raising them to position, were met. The conquered countries doubtless paid part of the cost. After its completion, the temple in the capital city had close business relations with the rest of the country; year after year villages from all parts of the empire were required to supply men and material according to a fixed schedule for the various requirements of the temple. Those nearer home took out perpetual loans from the numberless money endowments showered on the temple by the piety and the generosity of the court and its officials, and undertook to contribute regularly the annual interest in cash or in some other way previously determined. In the minute care and precision with which most of these arrangements were completed before Rājarāja's twenty-ninth year we see the hand of a masterful and imaginative administrator. Karuvūr Dēvar, a contemporary hymnist, celebrated the new temple in one of his sacred hymns. Tañjāvūr, it should be noted was not among the numerous sacred spots of Śaivism consecrated by the hymns of the Dēvāram Saints,

Appar, Sambandar and Sundaramūrti. The temple was altogether a creation of Rājarāja's policy.

Administration.

The accurate survey and assessment of the country for purposes of land-revenue, the perfection of the administrative organisation of the country by the creation of a strong and centralised machinery corresponding to the staff of secretaries in a modern administration, and the posting of representative officers of the central government in suitable localities, the promotion of a system of audit and control by which village assemblies and other quasi-public corporations were held to account without their initiative or autonomy being curtailed, the creation of a powerful standing army and a considerable navy which achieved even greater success under Rājēndra than under himself, mark out Rājarāja as the greatest among the empire-builders of Southern India. No wonder, popular appreciation of Rājarāja's eminence finds expression in a Sanskrit verse engraved in a rock face in Tenmahādevimangalam (N. Arcot, Polur taluq) within a generation or so after the end of his reign; the verse says that Viṣṇu will be born as Rājarāja, and Vākpati (Bṛhaspati) as his minister Jayanta; the king would survey the world and found a city in his name on the Triśūla hill, the Navirmalai ruled by Nannan in the Śangam age.[77]

Religious Policy.

Himself an ardent follower of Śiva, Rājarāja was, like all the great statesmen of India, tolerant in matters of religion, and all creeds received equal favour at his hands. The decorative sculptures on the walls of the Tanjore temple and the construction of some Viṣṇu temples recorded in his inscriptions are proof of his liberal religious policy. The celebrated Leyden grant records how he encouraged the erection of the Cūḍāmaṇi Vihāra in Negapatam by the Śailēndra king, Śrī Māra-vijayōttungavarman, the lord of Śrī Viṣaya and Kaṭāha across the sea. This Vihāra, which was building in the twenty-first year of Rājarāja,[78] was named after the father of its founder, and the Cōḷa monarch, with whose permission the construction was undertaken, dedicated to Lord Buddha dwelling in this Vihāra the village of Ānaimangalam, and his son Rājēndra confirmed the grant after his father's death and caused it to be engraved on copper-plates. That Negapatam was the first port on the

mainland touched by vessels from the East bound for South India becomes clear from I-tsing's itineraries.[79] This must have been the reason for the foreign king constructing a Vihāra there.

Titles.

If names are the music of history, this noble king greatly indulged his taste for this music; and what is more, he sought to make these names current coin by attaching them to new foundations or substituting them for old ones. Besides Rājarāja, Mummuḍicōḷa, Jayangoṇḍa and Arumoḷi, which became part of the names of cities (Puram), *vaḷanāḍus* and *maṇḍalams*, the king also called himself Cōḷēndrasimha, Śivapādaśēkhara, Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi, Jananātha, Nigarili-śōḷa, Rājēndrasimha, Cōḷamārtāṇḍa, Rājāśraya, Rāja-mārtāṇḍa, Nityavinōda, Pāṇḍyakulāśani, Kēraḷāntaka, Śingaḷāntaka, Ravikulamāṇikya, Telingakulakāla[80] and so on. Many of these names, together with those of other members of the royal family, like Kundavai, Śembiyan-mahādēvi and others often distinguished the wards (*sēris*) in the larger villages and towns of the Cōḷa empire.[81] The regiments in the army also bore names formed out of the surnames of kings and princes.

Family.

Rājarāja had a number of wives but apparently only a few children. The queens mentioned in his inscriptions as making gifts to temples and in other connections number about fifteen, and though we can hardly be sure of it, Dantiśakti Viṭanki, also called Lōka-mahādēvi, appears to have occupied the most important place among them. With her we find the king in Tiruviśalūr in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. On this occasion the king performed the *tulābhāra* and his queen Dantiśakti the *hiraṇyagarbha* in the temple at Tiruviśalūr.[82] The inscription recording this fact is engraved below a sculptured representation of the king and the queen in a worshipping posture. Some of the gold was used to make some flowers for Kṣētrapāla in the shrine built by the queen at Tiruvalañjuḷi.[83] The mother of Rājēndra, the only son of Rājarāja we know, was Vānavan-mahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādēvi.[84] We know that Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar was the husband of Kundavai, the elder sister of Rājarāja,[85] who is often called in the inscriptions Āḻvār Parāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār and the

daughter of Pon-māḷigait-tuñjina-dēvar.[86] Kundavai was much respected and treated with great affection by her brother. Her gifts to the Tanjore temple were recorded, next to the king's own, on the walls of the central shrine, while those of the queens and the officers of state found a place only on the niches and pillars of the enclosure.[87] Rājarāja must have had at least three daughters, because an inscription from Tiruvalañjuḷi mentions besides the younger Kundavai, the queen of Cāḷukya-Vimalāditya, a middle daughter of the king called Mādēvaḍigaḷ[88] Peculiar interest attaches to two memorials erected by Rājarāja which show his eagerness to fulfil his obligations to his family, and that in a manner productive of public good. They are the construction at Tirumukkūḍal[89] of a *maṇḍapa* called after Śembiyan Mahādēvi, the queen of Gaṇḍarāditya and mother of Uttama Cōḷa, and the foundation of the Cōḷēśvara or Ariñjigai-Īśvara temple at Mēlpāḍi.[90]

Officials and feudatories.

The history of the reign may be concluded with an account of the leading officials and feudatories who distinguished themselves in the royal service. Mention has been made already of the place held by Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Pañcavan Mahārāya, (probably identical with the crown-prince) the sphere of whose command extended over the Ganga and Vēngī *maṇḍalas,* and the Noḷamba feudatories of the king in the Ganga country. Paraman Maḷapāḍiyār *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḷan was a general who conquered the Śīṭpuli and Pāki *nāḍus* early in this reign. In the Trichinopoly district, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, of uncertain origin but closely allied to the royal family from the days when Parāntaka I married a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar princess, were occupying a respected position, and were apparently in the enjoyment of full responsibility for the administration of a small area around Paḷuvūr. The inscriptions of Aḍigaḷ Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavan, which clearly acknowledge the overlordship of Rājarāja are found in Kīḻa- and Mēlappaḷuvūr from the third year of the reign and show him ruling in state. He had for instance officers or nobles of the *perundaram,* like the Cōḷa monarchs and princes themselves.[91] This chieftain built a temple of Tiruttōṟṟam-uḍaiyār in Mēlappaḷuvūr,[92] and adopted the ancient standard prevailing at Nandipuram for regulating taxation in Paḷuvūr.[93] The

latest records mentioning him seem to be dated in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja.[94] Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan, apparently a son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa,[95] served Rājarāja as an important official in the department of temple-affairs, so to say. We see him conducting enquiries into the affairs of temples in various parts of the country, punishing defaulters[96] and making proper arrangements for the prevention of neglect in subsequent years. He has been wrongly identified with Gaṇḍarādittar, the author of the *Tiruviśaippā*, which was in reality composed by his grandfather.[97] In the district of North Arcot there were the Ilāḍarāya (Lāṭa) chieftains who had apparently been ruling the region round Pañcapāṇḍavamalai continuously from the days of Parāntaka I; in the eighth year of Rājarāja, Uḍaiyār Vīraśōḷar, son of Uḍaiyār Ilāḍarājar Pugaḻvippavarganḍan, remitted, at the request of his queen, some taxes in favour of a Jain temple.[98] The regal titles employed in the inscriptions of these chieftains are perhaps an indication of the high favour in which they stood with their Cōḷa overlords. In the sixteenth year of the reign of Rājarāja, we find mention, in a Tiruvallam inscription,[99] of a Tiruvaiyan Śankaradēva who claimed descent from the Ganga kings of Kōlār and built at Tiruvallam a temple called Tiruvaiya-Īśvara apparently after his father. The high-sounding titles that precede the name of this obscure chieftain constitute a clear warning against hasty inferences from such titles in regard to the political status of the person employing them. Nannamarāyar of the Vaidumba family, the son of Tukkarai who possessed the Ingallūr-nāḍu in Mahārājapāḍi, in the Cuddapah district, gave an endowment at Tiruvallam in North Arcot about A.D. 1005.[100] Like the Vaidumbas, the Bāṇas, who shared the same fate with them at the hands of Parāntaka I, seem to have become officers sharing in the administration of the country under the Cōḷas. A Bāṇa prince, Maṟavan Narasimhavarman, whose records commence with the usual introduction of Rājarāja and then proceed to give the traditional titles of the Bāṇas in all their fullness, was apparently ruling some part of the South Arcot district in the neighbourhood of Jambai towards the close of Rājarāja's reign, as we learn that he excavated a new irrigation tank in that locality.[101] The Tanjore inscriptions mention Sēnāpati Śrī Kṛṣṇan Rāman of Amaṇ-kuḍi,[102] who is called

Rājēndraśōḷa Brahmamārāyan in the larger Leyden grant,[103] as the person who built the *tiruccuṟṟālai*, the surrounding enclosure and *maṇḍapa* of the Tanjore temple under the king's orders. Īrāyiravan Pallavaraiyan *alias* Mummuḍi-sōḷapōśan was another officer of *perundaram* rank who presented an image and some jewels to the Tanjore temple.[104] He was doubtless a high official in the secretariat of the revenue department as we find him attesting the Leyden grant and an important inscription from Ukkal[105] relating to revenue settlement. Sēnāpati Kuṟavan Ulagaḷandān *alias* Rājarāja Mahārājan who is also mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions,[106] apparently got his surname Ulagaḷandān (one who measured the world) after carrying out the revenue survey which began in the sixteenth year (A.D. 1001), formed one of the most original and important administrative achievements of the reign[107] and furnished the basis for the revenue policy for many years thereafter, as can be seen from the numerous references to the survey in subsequent records.

1. *E.I.* ix p. 217.
2. vv. 61-3.
3. I am inclined to agree with T. G. Aravamuthan, who rejects the Tanjore bronze sometimes taken to be Rājarāja as late and spurious. See his *Portrait Sculpture in South India* p. 36 and fig. 11. *ARE.* 1952 II 12. A sculptured representation of a king (and queen) at Tiruvīśalūr may be of this king.
4. 633 of 1902.
5. 453 of 1908 (yr. 3).
6. See *SII, ii.* Intr. p. 3 and n. 6. The best explanation seems to be: 'the thrice (powerful) Cōḷa.'
7. 395 of 1922 is the earliest record so far known mentioning this achievement and dated in the 24th day of the fourth year. It is no longer true therefore to say that 'until the 8th year of his reign, A.D. 994, he did not undertake any expedition' (*SII.* ii Introd. p. 2). What Rājarāja's achievement at Kāndaḷūr exactly was has been the subject of much discussion. Though *śālai* and *kalam* mean respectively 'a feeding house' and '(eating) plate', these meanings seem hardly satisfactory in the present instance (*Contra TAS.* ii 2-5). On the other hand *śālai* in the sense of 'roadstead' is not known in any other context. But, after all, *śālai* may only be part of the name of the place; or it may have the ordinary meaning of a road. In any case, no other meaning seems more likely than the one usually adopted for the whole phrase viz., 'who destroyed the fleet in the roadstead of Kāndaḷūr.' The alternative

suggestion that the 'scale of feeding in the feeding-house of Kāndaḷūr was regulated by the king' (S. Desikavinayagam Pillai - *Kerala Society Papers,* Series 2 pp. 100 ff.) necessitates a far-fetched explanation of the need for the use of force in the transaction, and fails to explain why such a thing had to be done over again, for instance, by Rājādhirāja. D. Pillai's objection that the destruction of a fleet would not be described as an act of grace *aruḷi* as this is done in the usual introduction, *'tirumagaḷpōla'* etc., of Rājarāja, is easily met; Rājādhirāja caused the Pāṇḍya Vira Kēraḷa to be trampled by an elephant, and this is described as an act of grace *'kadakkaḷirrān-udaippittaruḷi.'* Perhaps, *aṟuttu* does not mean 'destroyed', but simply 'overcame,' cf. *Kalingattupparaṇi* (verse 370) saying that Viliñam was destroyed and *śālai* captured. It must be admitted, however, that the earliest mention of Kāndaḷūr (*TAS.* i p. 6, l. 6) does support D. Pillai's interpretation. Gopinatha Rao has correctly identified Kāndaḷūr with a part of Trivandrum now called Valiya Sālai. But see *TAR.* 1920-21 (p. 65) where Kāndaḷur near Pūvār (Neyyattinkara) is suggested. *Śālai* is sometimes sanskritised as *jvālā.* (T.A.S. ii. p. 4).

8. The Darśanankōppu record (*TAS.* i. p. 238) seems to be the earliest so far known.

9. vv 76-79.

10. *TAS.* ii pp. 31-2. It must be noted that the period of this king's rule has been fixed on the evidence of a single record, the Tirunelli plates.

11. 261 of 1910. Only a few records before the thirteenth year contain any introduction.

12. 67 of 1923 (Year 14).

13. 394 of 1911 *ARE.* 1912 II 23.

14. 'Perhaps Kāndaḷūr or Kāndaḷūr Śālai was near Viḷiñam . . . . Kāndaḷūr Śālai which is said to belong to the Cēra king in later inscriptions was probably held by the Pāṇḍyas when it was attacked by Rājarāja.' Venkayya, *SII,* ii. Intr. p. 2.

15. Darśanankōppu (Yr. 8), Sucīndram (Yr. 10), Vijayanārāyaṇam (Yr. 10).

16. *SII.* ii 1 paragraphs 34, 51 etc. It is these campaigns to which the Tiruvālangāḍu plates refer in v. 83 as the conquest of Paraśurāma's country. *Contra* Venkayya *SII.* ii. Intr. p. 4.

17. *SII.* ii 1 para. 51.

18. 236 of 1902 (Yr. 27)—*SII.* vii No. 863; also *TAS* ii. p. 5.

19. See Aḍiyārkkunallār on *Śil.* xi l. 53. Kielhorn calls it Malabar. *EI.* vii-*List* No. 704. See also *EC.* iii TN. 122.

20. *SII.* iii. 19, 51.

21. viii v. 24.

22. *EC.* iii Sr. 125.

23. No. 5 of 1895 (Yr. 28), *EC.* iii Sr. 140; also i. Cg. 46 and pp. 12-13.

24. A record from Kaleyūr (353 of 1901) dated Śaka 929 mentions that a Cōḷa general Apramēya defeated some Hoysaḷa leaders. But

Kielhorn considers this date 'of no value for historical purposes' *EI.* iv pp. 67-8. *Contra* Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* pp. 86, 144-5.

25. 261 of 1910.
26. *SII* iii 4, 15.
27. *SII.* ii 92 paragraphs 12-15.
28. v. 80.
29. *CV.* Ch. lv, v. 4-12.
30. *SII.* ii 92 paragraph 12.
31. *Ceylon Journal of Science*—G. II, 2 pp. 145-7.
32. *ASC.* 1906 p. 27.
33. 132 of 1910 (Year 17).
34. *ASC.* 1891 p. 12 Nos. 78-80. The record from Padaviya dated in the 27th year cited at *SII*, ii. Intr. p. 5 must be among these.
35. *ASC.* 1906 pp. 17 ff.
36. 616 of 1912 (*SII.* iv. 1412).
37. 67 of 1923. *ARE.* 1923 II, 27.
38. 97 of 1921 (Yr. 9). See *SII.* ii. Intr. p. 3 and n. 1, where a record of the 8th year from Tiruvadandai is said to mention these conquests; the reference is doubtless to 261 of 1910.
39. *MAR.* 1917, p. 42.
40. 127 of 1919. The official's name Gangan Ambalavanan Gandarāditta Śōḷa Viḷupparaiyan seems to imply that he rose to prominence in Uttama Cōḷa's reign, if not earlier.
41. *SII.* iii 213. No. 212 also of Rājakēsari and of the 10th year mentions Maḷavaraiyan Sundaraśōḷan as the donor. This name suggests the reign of Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa, and if this is correct, the father of the donor must, like Śiṛiyavēḷār, have met his fate in the Ceylonese expedition of that monarch's time. *ARE.* 1914 II, 15.
42. *EI.* x p. 57 and n. 3.
43. 169 of 1911 (Yr. 13).
44. *EC.* x Mb. 208.
45. ibid. Ct. 118.
46. 'The present Kṛṣnarājapet, Nāgamangala, Maṇḍya, Seringapatam and Maḷavaḷḷi tālūkas of the Mysore district,' Fleet, *IA* xxx pp. 109-10.
47. 36 of 1904; *IA.* v. p. 17. *SII.* ix(i) No. 77. Attempts have been made to account for the hostility between the Western Cāḷukyas and the Cōḷas by the assumption that it was a continuation of the Pallava tradition by the Cōḷas, that the Cōḷas were of the Solar race while the Cāḷukyas were of the Lunar, and that the former were Śaivas while the latter were Vaiṣṇavas and patronised Jainism (*SII.* ii Intr. p. 5 and n. 4). Such efforts lead nowhere.
48. *SII.* ii 1, paragraph 92. Judging by the relative value of the presents made to the temple at the conclusion of these campaigns, it would seem that the success in the Cāḷukya war was nothing by the side of the victories gained elsewhere.
49. *ARE.* 1927 ii 11. 97 of 1921 mentions Raṭṭapāḍi. But the date [9] is doubtful.

50. v. 81.

51. *EI.* xvi. p. 74.

52. See the next chapter for further particulars of this war or another which followed not long after.

53. *ARE.* 1904, para. 17. See, however, the next chapter on Rājēndra's campaigns for proof that later in this reign part of this territory was regained by the Cāḷukyas.

54. 5 of 1895 (Yr. 28)—*EC.* iii Sr. 140.

55. *Contra* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Gangai-Koṇḍa*, pp. 541-2.

56. 145 of 1897—*SII.* vi. no. 102.

57. 79 of 1921.

58. For details see *The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēngī* by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya Chh. xiv-xviii.

59. Korumelli pl. *IA.* xiv, p. 52.

60. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, ii, p. 408.

61. Agamat Kṛṣṇakopāt Kalingam, *ARE*, 1917, II, 24.

62. Penneru grant (unpublished) cited by Venkataramanayya op. cit. p. 183, *n.* 1.

63. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, ii, p. 409.

64. 237, 238 of 1931. *EI.* xxi p. 29 where the record is wrongly ascribed to Rājarāja I in whose time a single line was added in Tamil at the end to say that Bhīma of this record was made captive by Rājarāja.

65. *Arājakam* in l. 35 of Śaktivarman's grant; x *anāyikā* (l. 40) in Ranastapūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, *EI*, vi.

66. *Daiva-duśceṣṭayā* (l. 39)—Raṇastapūṇḍi grant.

67. *SII.* v. No. 516 of year 22 of Rājarāja I from Tiruvaiyāṟu mentions Vambavai, queen of Salukki Vīmayan (Cāḷukya Bhīma), a title assumed by Dānārṇava at the time of his coronation.

68. *EI.*, vi, p. 349.

69. See *JAHRS.* iii, iv, B. V. Krishna Rao's *History of Rajahmundry* for an unconvincing attempt to show that Rājarāja had no part in the restoration of Śaktivarman. K. Rao's identification of Jaṭā-Cōḍa with Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya is impossible.

70. Korumelli plates, *IA.* xiv, p. 52, ll. 55-65.

71. 145 of 1897; *SII.* vi. no. 102.

72. 'The king of the Maldives assumes the style of king of the Twelve Thousand Islands.'—Renaudot quoting Pyrard—*Ancient Accounts*, Remarks p. 2. Also *Toung Pao* xvi, p. 388 n. 1.

73. Cf. *JOR*, xix pp. 150-1. Was Bhogadeva another name of Jaṭā-Coḍa Bhīma?

74. *EI.* viii, p. 260.

75. 117 A of 1896.

76. This seems to be the proper explanation of the apparently puzzling reference to a gift of the third year of Rājēndra in *SII.* ii, 90.

77. 50 of 1933-4, *ARE.* II 13.
78. l. 118 of the grant (Tamil part), *EI.* xxii.
79. Gerini-*Researches* p. 527. Also *ARE.* 1899, paragraph 48.
80. Pd. 91.

81. Mannār-kōvil in the Tinnevelly district had twelve *śeris* so named, see 109 of 1905 (*EI.* xi pp. 292-8). Tirukkaḷittiṭṭai in Tanjore had the following *śeris*, among others. Arumoḷidēvaccēri, Jananāthacēri, Nittavinōdaccēri, Rājakēsariccēri, Nigarilisōḷaccēri, Aḷagiyaśoḷaccēri, Śingaḷāntakaccēri, Kundavaiccēri, Śoḷakulasundaraccēri, Rājamārttāṇḍaccēri and Rājarājaccēri (292 of 1908 of the ninth year of Rājēndra I).

82. 42 of 1907. For *hiraṇya-garbha* in modern times, see Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar* p. 110 and *n.*

83. 633-C. of 1902 (Rājēndra 3).
84. 117-A of 1896; 448 of 1918.
85. *SII.* ii 2.
86. 8 of 1919.
87. *SII.* ii. Introdn. p. 8.
88. 633 of 1902 (Yr. 25).
89. 178 of 1915 (Yr. 28).
90. *SII.* iii 15.
91. 115 of 1895.
92. 394 of 1924 (Rājak. 4).
93. 365, 367 of 1924 (Rājak. 10, 16).
94. 363 of 1924.

95. Hultzsch *SII.* iii 49; *ante* p. 157 and n. 74. A certain Gaṇḍarādittan Madhurāntakan is also mentioned in 356 of 1917 (Yr. 10).

96. 283 of 1906; 218 of 1921.

97. The mistake seems to have arisen from the false belief that G.'s *Tiruviśaippā* refers to the Tanjore temple whereas it is on Cidambaram. See T. A. G. Rao—*Śoḷavaṁśa-carittirac-curukkam* p. 16 *n.*

98. 19 of 1890 (*EI.* iv p. 139).
99. 11 of 1890 (*SII.* iii 51).
100. *SII.* iii 52.
101. 84, 86 of 1906.
102. *SII.* ii. 31.
103. l. 437.
104. *SII.* ii. 55.
105. *SII.* iii, 9.
106. *SII.* ii 95, p. 459.
107. 624 and 624-A of 1902—*SII.* viii Nos. 222-3; 44 of 1907 (Yr. 24).

Chapter X

RĀJĒNDRA—(A.D. 1012-1044)

Accession.

Parakēsari-varman Rājēndra-cōḷadēva I was declared heir apparent and formally associated with his father in the administration of the Empire in the closing years of his rule. Accordingly he counts his regnal years from some date between 27 March and 7 July, A.D. 1012[1] and we find clear evidence of joint rule in the third year of Rājēndra. This year is mentioned in Rājarāja's Tanjore inscriptions of the twenty-ninth year;[2] Rājarāja is also stated to have made a gift in the third year of his son's rule.[3] The star of Rājēndra's nativity was Ārdrā.[4]

Extent and organisation of empire.

Rājēndra inherited from his father an extensive empire comprising the whole of the modern Madras and Andhra and parts of Mysore and the island of Ceylon. The administration had been carefully organised and a fairly powerful bureaucracy brought into existence which, while it scrupulously respected the 'liberties,' feudal and corporate, of the various magnates and associations that studded the land, successfully maintained the king's peace, and enforced all civil rights. The army was a strong and tried body of men, well able to defend the wide land frontier and to keep down any threatened outbreaks in areas newly subjected to the empire, and ready for aggressive warfare abroad. The hold on Ceylon and some other islands like the Maldives was securely maintained by a powerful naval force which also served to protect the considerable overseas trade of the empire with the islands of the East Indies and with China. During the thirty-three years of his reign, Rājēndra turned these initial advantages to the best possible use and succeeded in raising the Cōḷa empire to the position of the most extensive and most respected Hindu state of his time, and one which possessed though perhaps only for a time a not inconsiderable dominion over the Malay peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago. The history of Rājēndra's reign is very

largely the history of the extensive wars and conquests he undertook in the first half of his reign. Like his father, he has left behind in his stone inscriptions and in the Tiruvālangāḍu and Karandai (Tanjore) copper-plates a trustworthy account of the military and naval transactions of his reign which receive confirmation at all points at which we have the means of controlling it by other evidence.

His *praśastis.*

The most common form of Rājēndra's Tamil *praśasti* is that which begins *tiru manni vaḷara.* We come across this form as early as the third year, though it is more generally employed only from the fifth. This introduction progressively increases in length by the narration of fresh conquests until the thirteenth year, after which date it becomes stereotyped. By tracing its growth we are able to fix the internal chronology of the reign with a precision not often attained in the annals of Ancient India. Another Tamil *praśasti* known so far from only one inscription[5] of the tenth year, gives some particulars about Pāṇḍyan affairs which are confirmed by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates. In another inscription dated in the twenty-fourth year,[6] the Tamil *praśasti* follows the usual form up to the conquest of Takkaṇalāḍam, and then copies the *praśasti* of another king; most probably a mistake occurred in the re-engraving and two inscriptions got mixed up.[7] Lastly, the account given of Rājēndra's military achievements in the Sanskrit part of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates was written, quite obviously,[8] after all conquests were over, and by the side of indications gained from the different stages of the Tamil *praśasti* in different years, this Sanskrit account must be held to be of decidedly inferior import to the chronology of the reign. But the poet Nārāyaṇa who composed the long Sanskrit *praśasti* is entitled to our admiration not only for his high literary quality but for the attention he gives to the facts of his patron's reign which is fuller than is usual with court-poets. In fact, his account forms, at several points, a valuable supplement to the Tamil *praśasti.*

Very early in Rājēndra's reign, he appointed his son Rājādhirāja as *yuvarāja* to assist him in the work of the state. Calculations made from Rājādhirāja's records have led to the conclusion that this happened on some day between 15

March and 3 December A.D. 1018,[9] most probably in the early months of the seventh year of Rājēndra himself. For over twenty-five years from that date, father and son, Parakēsari and Rājakēsari ruled together and shared the burdens of empire. The inscriptions of Rājādhirāja, with the introduction beginning *tingaḷērtaru*, give an account of the part played by this prince in the campaigns of his father, and up to about the twenty-sixth year of Rājādhirāja's reign, his records must be understood to supplement those of Rājēndra by giving an alternative description of more or less the same transactions from the standpoint of Rājādhirāja's part in them.[10] In an inscription of his twenty-sixth year from Tirumalavāḍi which adopts the shorter form of his introduction,[11] Rājādhirāja's umbrella of state is said to have functioned as if it were the shadow of the white umbrella of his father who conquered with his army the Ganges in the North, Ceylon in the South, Mahōdai in the West and Kaḍāram in the East. This clear statement that the son ruled in full regal state in the life-time of his father, and that for as many as twenty-six years, provides the key for the proper understanding of an important aspect of Cōḷa history. Adopted in the first instance, possibly, as a device to obviate disputed succession, the system of choosing a successor in the life-time of the ruling king and associating him, after a formal installation, in the discharge of important public duties pointed the way, under the stress of empire, to a more deliberate and extensive application of the principle to the administrative arrangements of the empire. The princes of the blood royal who had come of age were appointed to positions of authority in the different provinces of the empire, care being taken to give to each the position suited to his capacity and talent. The person chosen as heir apparent was distinguished from the rest by a formal installation, and by his higher status; in the case of Rājādhirāja, who was not the eldest son of Rājēndra and must have been chosen as *yuvarāja* for his outstanding ability, his status is clearly implied by his separate historical introductions and by his titles even during his father's life-time. The contemporary Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys, also Cōḷa princes, either use no historical introductions in their inscriptions, or when they do so, adopt that of the ruling sovereign,

Princes as administrators.

Rājēndra. In the early years of his reign Rājēndra seems to have been assisted only by one such subordinate ruler with jurisdiction over the Pāṇḍya and the Kēraḷa countries, besides the crown prince Rājādhirāja, though it is possible that in later years others were similarly recognized elsewhere. It is probable that when chosen for such employment, the princes underwent an investiture of some sort which, among other things, conferred on them the right to wear coronets of their own, suited to their relative positions in the state. Rājādhirāja and his successor are said, in their inscriptions, also to have continued these arrangements. This wise system initiated by Rājēndra I, by finding suitable occupation for the energies of restless princes of the royal family, doubtless allayed their discontent, diminished the chances of palace intrigues and revolutions, and at the same time brought new strength to the administration of an over-grown empire which was called upon to face many difficult problems, domestic and foreign.

Early conquests.

We shall now trace the progress of Rājēndra's conquests as recorded in the sources above mentioned, accepting as our basis the precise indications of chronology in the *tiru manni vaḷara* introduction. From this introduction we learn that up to the third year of his reign he had conquered Iḍiṟai-nāḍu, Banavāse (Vanavāsi) encircled by a continuous hedge of forest, Koḷḷippākkai whose ramparts were surrounded by *śuḷḷi* trees, and Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam whose fortifications were unapproachable. Whether this account is a retrospective version of Rājēndra's invasion of Raṭṭapāḍi of A.D. 1003-6 so vividly described in the Hoṭṭūr record of 1007, or recounts a second campaign necessitated by the recovery of Satyāśraya, cannot be decided with certainty. In any event, the campaign took place before A.D. 1008 because it was directed against Satyāśraya himself, who was succeeded by Vikramāditya V about that year. Iḍiṟai-nāḍu, Eḍedore 2000, 'was a stretch of country between the rivers Kṛṣṇā on the north and Tungabhadrā on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur district.'[12] Koḷḷippākkai was, doubtless, Kulpak, about 45 miles north-east of Hyderabad, 'invariably termed Koḷḷipāka in the inscriptions,'[13] and the centre of a 7000 district which was later on, at the beginning of the next century, ruled for

some time by Sōmēśvara III, as viceroy under his father Vikramāditya VI. Kulpak was still the centre of a province ruled by a governor under the Kākatīyas in the thirteenth century. In Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam with its strong fortifications one may easily recognise the Mānyakhēṭa which according to the Kanyākumāri inscription[14] became the sporting ground of Rājēndra's forces in battle. Mānyakhēṭa (Mālkhed) must have suffered greatly in this invasion of Rājēndra. In the closing years of Rāṣṭrakūṭa domination, it had been once sacked and plundered by the Paramāra ruler of Mālwa ; and now, forty years later, under the Cāḷukyas, a worse fate overtook the unfortunate city. This must have weighed greatly with the Cāḷukyas who, soon after, transferred the capital to Kalyāṇi or Kalyāṇapura, 48 miles to the N. E. of Mālkhed.[15] An inscription of Rājēndra from the Trichinopoly district, dated in his third year,[16] mentions an incident in the fight with Satyāśraya before Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam. A certain Śrutimān Nakkan Candran, a native of Ūṟṟattūr, was ordered directly by the king (*perumāḷ tiruvāyāl moḻiya*) to attack the enemy's elephant and apparently lost his life, and for his benefit a gift was made to the temple of Mahādēva in his native village of Ūṟṟattūr. In this campaign, therefore, Rājēndra crossed the Tungabhadrā, carried the war into the heart of the Cāḷukya country and attacked their very capital. It is not easy to see how these operations across the Tungabhadrā could have been coupled with an attack on Banavāse, long celebrated as the centre of Kadamba power, and then part of the W. Cāḷukya kingdom. Banavāse lies much outside, and too far to the west of the line of advance indicated by the rest of this campaign ;[17] and yet the language of the inscription seems to render it obligatory to treat the whole as one campaign, and the names mentioned as the different stages, though not in that order, of a single expedition. This and the date of the Hoṭṭūr inscription go far to suggest that the data furnished by Rājēndra's inscriptions also belong to the war which was waged about A.D. 1004 against Satyāśraya by Rājarāja, and that in this war the advance of Rājēndra against the Cāḷukyas started from somewhere in the N.W. of Mysore, took a generally north-eastern line along the course of the Tungabhadrā until the Raichūr doab was reached, when a more northerly course was struck, and Kulpak and Mālkhed

became the objects of attack. A *maṇḍapa* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr called Maṇṇaikoṇḍa-Śōḷa was among the mementos of this campaign.[18]

Ceylon War.

The conquest of the whole of Īḷa-maṇḍalam (Ceylon) is the next achievement mentioned. As some of the inscriptions of the fifth year[19] do not include this conquest, while others[20] do so, we may be sure that the war against Ceylon was undertaken in the fifth year, A.D. 1017-18. The *Mahāvamsa* places the completion of the Cōḷa conquest of Ceylon in the 36th year of Mahinda V which falls also in A.D. 1017 according to the latest scheme of Ceylonese chronology established by Geiger.[21] About twelve years before this date, Rājarāja, taking advantage of the confusion in the island kingdom which arose from a military revolt against Mahinda V, had brought it under his power with the exception of its remoter parts which were still held by the Sinhalese. As a result of his expedition Rājēndra claims to have captured the crown of the kings of Ceylon[22] the exceedingly beautiful crowns of their queens, the fine crown and the garland of Indra which the Pāṇḍya had previously deposited with them (the kings of Ceylon), and the whole Īḷa-maṇḍalam on the transparent sea. The Karandai (Tanjore) plates (vv. 58-9) say that Rājēndra conquered the king of Ceylon with a fierce army and seized his territory, his crown, his queen and her crown, his daughter, all his wealth, his transports, and the spotless garland of Indra and crown of the Pāṇḍya left in his charge; after having lost the battle, and being shorn of his queen, son and other belongings, the king of Ceylon, out of fear, came and sought the two feet of Rājēndra as shelter. The *Mahāvamsa* does not mince matters and gives a straight account which confirms the claims made by Rājēndra in his inscriptions :[23]

> 'In the six and thirtieth year of the king's (Mahinda V's) reign the Cōḷas seized the mahēsi, the jewels, the diadem that he had inherited, the whole of the (royal) ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet, a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword and the relic of the torn strip of cloth.[24] But the Ruler himself, who had fled in fear to the jungle, they captured alive, with the pretence of making a treaty. Thereupon they sent the Monarch

and all the treasures which had fallen into their hands at once to the Cōḷa Monarch. In the three fraternities and in all Lankā (breaking open) the relic chambers, (they carried away) many costly images of gold etc., and while they violently destroyed here and there all the monasteries, like blood-sucking yakkhas, they took all the treasures of Lankā for themselves. With Pulatthinagara as base, the Cōḷas held sway over Rājaraṭṭha as far as the locality known as Rakkhapāsāṇakaṇṭha. . . . King Mahinda dwelt twelve years in the Cōḷa land and entered into heaven in the forty-eighth year (from his ascent of the throne.)'

Rājēndra thus succeeded in getting hold of the Paṇḍyan regalia left behind by Rājasimha, which Parāntaka I had sought and failed to secure. The Cōḷa inscriptions are silent on the details of the conquest and draw a veil over the pillage of Lankā so vividly chronicled in the Ceylonese annals, though one inscription apparently mentions Mahinda's submission to the Cōḷa king after he was transported to the mainland.[25] Rājēndra's success was complete, and the whole of the island became a Cōḷa province. We have some inscriptions of Rājēndra at Polonnaruwa and in the Colombo museum with the *tiru manni vaḷara* introduction;[26] but these are in a very damaged condition, and valuable only as furnishing clear epigraphical confirmation of Rājēndra's conquest and rule in Ceylon. Several Hindu temples, Dēvāles devoted to Śiva and to Viṣṇu, have been discovered in the vicinity of Polonnaruwa; these are built of stone and in the Tamil Cōḷa style of architecture, and all of them must have been constructed in this period of Cōḷa rule in the island. The *Mahāvamsa* adds that twelve years after Rājēndra's invasion, possibly also after the death of Mahinda V, his son Kassapa who had been brought up in secret by the Sinhalese for fear of the Cōḷas, became the centre of a national resistance against the Tamil power, and that, after a six months' war in which a great number of Damiḷas were killed by the Sinhalese forces, he succeeded in making Rohaṇa once more independent of the Tamil province and ruled it as Vikkamabāhu I for a period of twelve years (A.D. 1029-41). The events of Vikkamabāhu's reign belong to a later stage of Rājēndra's

rule and may be reserved for further consideration at the proper place.

Kēraḷa War.

In his sixth year,[27] A.D. 1018, Rājēndra seized the heirloom of the Kēraḷa monarch including the crown praised by many and rightfully worn by him, and the garland emitting red rays.[28] He also took the 'many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound.' In the next year, he captured the crown of pure gold worthy of Tiru (Lakṣmī) that had been deposited in Śāndimattīvu, in view of its strong fortress, by Paraśurāma who, roused in war, had uprooted the kings (of the world) twenty-one times.[29] Some light is thrown on these rather obscure transactions by the account of Rājēndra's southern campaign given by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and by a single stone inscription of the tenth year[30] which gives an account of Rājēndra's policy in the Pāṇḍya country, not found in the other stone records of the reign. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates[31] say:

'This famous and heroic king, possessed of a powerful army and bent upon the performance of meritorious deeds with heaps of money acquired by his own arm, then set his heart upon a *digvijaya*.

Accordingly after arranging for the protection (in his absence) of his own capital, the unrivalled king Uttama Cōḷa first started in the direction marked by Triśanku (the south) desirous of conquering the Pāṇḍya king.

The commander (*daṇḍanātha*) of the ornament (*tilaka*) to the Solar race (Rājēndra) (thereupon) struck the Pāṇḍyan king who had a great force; and the Pāṇḍya abandoned his home in fright and fled for refuge to the Malaya mountain, the abode of Agastya.

Rājarāja's son, the master of policy, took possession of the bright spotless pearls, the seeds of the spotless fame of the Pāṇḍya kings.

After establishing there his own son, Śrī Cōḷa-Paṇḍya, for the protection of the Pāṇḍya country, the light of the Solar race then proceeded to the conquest of the west.

Having heard of the ignominy sustained by kings at the hands of Bhārgava in battle, this proud king, not

finding him (Bhārgava) on the face of the earth, developed a desire to conquer the land created by him.

Who else, other than this supreme lord (Paramēśvara) can entertain the thought in his mind of subjugating (*lit.* humiliating) that ancient land protected by the glory of the ornament of the Bhṛgukula and free from the inroads of enemies ?

The fearless Madhurāntaka crossed the Sahya (mountain) and forthwith set upon the Kēraḷa in great force and there ensued a fierce battle which brought ruin upon kings.

After having (thus) conquered the Kēraḷa kings and harrowed the land guarded by the austerities of the lord of the Bhṛgus, the prince returned to his capital, the abode of prosperity.'

It may be doubted if by this campaign Rājēndra added any new territory to his dominions. The Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries had been conquered by Rājarāja very early in his reign, and ' the many ancient islands ' towards its end. These islands were the Maldives; the obscure Śāndimattīvu of legendary fame is apparently to be sought also among the islands of the Arabian sea. The effective hold retained by Rājarāja on his southern conquests becomes clear from his numerous records in the Pāṇḍya country and from an inscription of the third year of Rājēndra[32] mentioning an endowment in Tiruviśalūr by the queen of a Pāṇḍya king called Śrīvaḷḷuvar. While the Tamil *praśasti* of Rājēndra mentions some new achievements of the king in Ceylon and Kēraḷa, the most considerable among them being the seizure of the regalia of the different kingdoms of the south, it has nothing to say on Pāṇḍyan affairs. The vague statements of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates that the Pāṇḍyan king fled to the Agastya hills and that Rājēndra took his pearls are too conventional to be accepted literally; a stone inscription of the tenth year,[33] however, confirms the statement of the copper-plates that the king established his own son in Madura as his viceroy with the title Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya and also states that Rājēndra built a palace in Madura 'by whose weight the earth became unsteady.' The same inscription implies

No new conquests.

Viceroy appointed at Madura.

that Rājēndra repeated his father's performance at Kāndaḷūr-śālai. This Pāṇḍyan viceroy, who was soon after placed in charge of the Kēraḷa country as well, was Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya to whose time belong the largest number of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions so far known.

Date of appointment.

An inscription[34] of Rājēndra informs us that in his twenty-fourth regnal year the emperor made a grant of land to the temple built at Mannārkōvil (Tinnevelly) by the Cēra king Rājasimha and called Rājēndra-Śōḷaviṇṇagar, and that this grant was to take effect from the fifteenth year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. Assuming that the fifteenth year of the viceroy fell either in the twenty-fourth year of the emperor or possibly a little earlier, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya must have been appointed viceroy about the sixth or seventh year of Rājēndra, a date which fits in with the indications furnished by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates taken along with the Tamil *praśasti*. The Mannārkōvil inscription is also valuable in other respects. It shows that the viceroys enjoyed almost regal status and were allowed officially to issue orders dated in their own years of office. It also indicates the close contact maintained between the headquarters of the empire, —Rājēndra was residing in his palace at Kāñcīpuram when this gift was made,—and the viceregal courts. Lastly, the jurisdiction of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy over the Cēra country is clearly seen in the Cēra king building a temple in the Pāṇḍya country and naming it after the Cōḷa emperor. From his inscriptions we see that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya ruled as viceroy for at least twenty-three years, up to about A.D. 1040. One of the latest[35] of these inscriptions opens with the *praśasti* of Rājēndra himself, (*tiru manni vaḷara*). Another states that Śucīndram in Nāñjināḍ (South Travancore) came to be called Sundara-śōḷa-caturvēdimangalam after the viceroy.[36] One curious fact not easy to explain is the record of a grant at Kōṭṭār (near Nagercoil) in south Travancore by an Eastern Cāḷukya prince who called himself Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja *alias* Cāḷukya Vijayāditya Vikkiyaṇṇa. The inscription is dated in the 11th year of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[37] *i.e.*, about A.D. 1029. Kōṭṭār was a strong fortress of strategic importance in those days and the Cōḷas maintained a strong garrison there; it is quite possible that an

Eastern Cāḷukya prince who held an important place in the army lived in Kōṭṭār for some years. But his identity is uncertain in the extreme.

Cāḷukya War.

In the years A.D. 1021 and 1022, Rājēndra resumed the war against the Western Cāḷukya power. Jayasimha, who had succeeded his brother Vikramāditya V about A.D. 1016, was displaying unwonted energy in recovering territory lost to the Cōḷas in previous wars. The Beḷagāmve inscription of 1019 describes him as defeating the Cōḷas and the Cēras,[38] and this is borne out by the presence of his inscriptions about this time in Bellary and the N. W. of Mysore.[39] Rājēndra's war against Jayasimha is described in his Tamil *praśasti* in the following terms:

> '(He captured) the seven and a half lakhs of Raṭṭapāḍi (which was) strong by nature, and vast quantities of treasure, together with the inestimable reputation of Jayasimha who, out of fear and to his great disrepute, turned his back at Muśangi and hid himself.'[40]

The assertion that the whole of Raṭṭapāḍi fell into the hands of Rājēndra is, of course, a gross exaggeration. In fact, in the Cōḷa inscriptions of this period, this is no more than a conventional way of recording some temporary advantage gained in the field against the Cāḷukyas. The rest of the statements in the *praśasti* seem to be true. There was an engagement at Muśangi or Muyangi, as it is spelt variously in the inscriptions, and Jayasimha certainly did not get the best of it. Muśangi has been identified with Uccangidrug in the Bellary district; but more likely it was Maski.[41] To a description of this campaign the Tiruvālangāḍu plates devote a considerable number of well-turned verses in the best Kāvya style, and though there are ten such verses,[42] we learn on the whole less about the actual occurrences in the war from these than from the few lines of the Tamil *praśasti* translated above. The king started from Kāñcīpuram on his march against the Raṭṭa country, there was fierce battle between the forces of the Cōḷa king and those of Jayasimha, the latter fled to the forests and Rājēndra returned to his capital with much booty. Typical of the turns of thought of the composer and suggestive of the date of composition is the verse:[43]

> 'It may be no wonder that the fire of his anger burst into a flame as it came into contact with the descendant

of Taila. This however, is strange that, having crossed the waters of all the oceans, it (the fire of his anger) consumed the enemy fuel (*dviṣadindhana*).'

Despite his defeat at Muśangi, and the consequent boast of Rājēndra that he captured Raṭṭapāḍi, Jayasimha was successful in retaining his hold on his territory up to the Tungabhadrā, if not beyond. The Mīraj grant dated in A.D. 1024 shows that Jayasimha was then in possession of Eḍedōre 2000 and affirms that he had regained it after driving out the strong Cōḷa, lord of the five Drāviḍas.[44] As a rule the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya wars in this period were waged on two fronts—the western front in which Mānyakheṭa and Kalyāṇi were the objectives of the Cōḷas and the Tungabhadrā the natural frontier between the two powers, and the eastern front which centred round Vēngī the possession of which was coveted by both the parties. Of the occurrences in the east during the war we derive little direct information from the Tamil *praśasti* of Rājendra I which omits them and details only the expedition to the Ganges as the next great event of the reign; but to understand this expedition in its proper setting we must consider the affairs of Vēngī.

Vēngī affairs and the Eastern Front

There Vimalāditya who had succeeded his brother Śaktivarman I died or retired in 1019; Jayasimha availed himself of the opportunity to obstruct the accession of Rājarāja (Narendra), the son of Vimalāditya by Kundavai, by supporting his step-brother Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya VII. Rājarāja could not celebrate his coronation and appealed for help to his maternal uncle Rājēndra I. A number of short but interesting inscriptions in Kannaḍa and Tamil from Kottaśīvaram (Anantapur district)[45] give us the clue to what happened. One of these is dated in the tenth year of Rājēndra. They mention a Cōḷa general Araiyan Rājarājan *alias* Vikrama-Cōḷa Cōḷiya-varaiyan who by his exploits in the Cāḷukya and Vēngī wars earned such high titles as Nālmaḍi Bhīma, Cōḷana-cakra, Sāmantābharaṇam, Vīrabhūṣaṇam, Edirttavarkālan (Tam. death to opponents) or Ahitaroṭṭaḷivan (Kan.), and Jayasingakulakāla. There is a Tamil verse among these records stating that he fought with Kalingas, Oḍḍas and Telungas. Another undated inscription[46] records the flight of the Vēngī king when he heard of the advance of this general ordered by the Cōḷa monarch. The king who fled must have been Vijayāditya, and

this flight must have taken place roughly about the same time as the battle of Maski. The rulers of Kalinga and Oḍḍa appear also to have joined Jayasimha II and his protégé Vijayāditya, and the Cōḷa commander had to deal with them also. And the expedition undertaken for their chastisement naturally developed into the celebrated march to the Ganges and the fetching of the holy waters to the new capital that Rājēndra was building. This is clearly implied by a verse in the Chārāla plates of Vīrarājendra.[47]

We may now turn to the second phase of the campaign—the march of the army through Kalinga and Oḍḍa to the Ganges, and the advance of Rājēndra himself to the Gōdāvari and beyond to protect the rear of the Ganges expeditionary force which was threatened by the sullen rulers of Kalinga and Oḍḍa who were acting under instructions from Cāḷukya Jayasimha II.[48]

In the words of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates:[49]

> 'The light of the Solar race (Rājēndra), mocking Bhagīratha who by the force of his austerities caused the descent of the Gangā, set out to sanctify his own land with the waters of that stream brought (thither) by the strength of his arm.'[50]

Judging from its duration, this campaign which lasted less than two years,[51] in which so many kingdoms of the north are stated to have felt the strength of Rājēndra's troops, could hardly have been more than a hurried raid across a vast stretch of country. And the Tiruvālangāḍu plates state explicitly that the expedition was led by one of the king's generals and that Rājēndra met him on his return somewhere on the banks of the Gōdāvari.[52] The events of the campaign as narrated in the same source may be summed up as follows: After crossing many streams by making the elephants in his army serve as bridges across them, the commander of Vikrama Cōḷa's[53] forces first fell upon the strong army of Indraratha and took possession of the territory of that ornament to the Lunar race of kings; then he captured the vast treasures of Raṇaśūra and entered the land of Dharmapāla and subdued him also; thereby, he reached the Ganges and caused the water of the river to be brought by the conquered kings to his sovereign lord Madhurāntaka, whom he met on the banks

of the Gōdāvari after conquering Mahīpāla and taking away his fame together with many precious jewels. Then the valorous Rājēndra struck the evil-minded Oṭṭa king and his younger brother and forced from him a tribute of rutting elephants.[54] Thereupon, after himself killing an elephant that charged him while he was seated on the back of another, the king returned to his own splendid capital.

The Tamil *praśasti* records the same transactions, almost in the same order, but with much more detail, as follows:[55]

> '(He seized) Śakkarakkōṭṭam, whose warriors were brave; Madura-maṇḍalam destroyed in a trice,[56] the prosperous city of Nā-maṇaik-kōṇam with its dense groves.[57] Pañcap-paḷḷi whose warriors (bore) cruel bows,[58] Māśuṇi-dēśa with its green fields[59]; a large heap of family-treasures together with many (other) treasures (which he carried away), after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon, together with (his) family, in a fight which took place (at) Ādinagar,[60] (a city) whose great fame knew no decline[61]; Oḍḍa-viṣaya which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence[62]; the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brahmins assembled; Taṇḍabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, (land which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Takkaṇalāḍam, whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vangāḷa-dēśā, where the rain water never stopped, (and from which) Gōvindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight in a hot battle-field the strong Mahipāla[63] by the sound of a conch from the deep sea; Uttiralāḍam (on the shore of) the expansive ocean (producing) pearls; and the Gangā whose waters bearing fragrant flowers [64] dashed against the bathing places (*tīrtha*).'

Position of Vēngī.

The facts that Śakkarakkōṭṭam was the first place taken by Rājēndra's army in the course of this campaign and that the king met his victorious general on the banks of the Gōdāvari on his way back at the end of the campaign imply that the Vēngī kingdom had

come back to the same relation of close subordinate alliance with the Cōḷa empire which it had held in Rājarāja's time.[65]

Śakkarak-kōṭṭam.

Śakkarakkōṭṭam has been identified with Cakrakōṭya which finds mention in a Nāgavaṁśi copper-plate grant from Bastar dated A.D. 1065, and its modern representative is probably Citra-kūṭa or Citrakoṭa, 8 miles from Rājāpura where the copper-plates were found. Rājāpura, the capital of Bastar, is itself 22 miles north-west of Jagadālpur, on the bank of the Indrāvati river.[66] Śakkarakkōṭṭam and the places that follow up to Māśuṇi-dēśam have thus to be sought in the territory contiguous to the Vēngī kingdom to the north-west of it. Māśuṇi-dēśam literally means the land of the snakes; the kings of the Chindaka family represented by the Rājāpura plates, called themselves Nāga-vaṁśo-dbhava (born of the Cobra race), and Bhōgavatī-pura-varēśvara (lord of Bhōgavatī, the best of cities); in a later stone inscription of Śaka 1140, one of them is called Śri-bhujagavara-bhūṣaṇa-mahārājulu,[67] the mahārāja who was the ornament of the race of the best of serpents. It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that by Māśuṇi-dēśam is meant the land ruled by these kings. On this assumption, Maduraimaṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkōṇam and Pañcappaḷḷi must be sought in the same region and held to be parts of Māśuṇi-dēśam. It may be noted that Cakrakōṭa is itself called a maṇḍala[68] like Madurai-maṇḍalam, and that the donor of the Rājāpura plates is called Madhurāntaka.

Indraratha.

Of Indraratha of the lunar race, whose defeat at Ādi-nagar led to the surrender of the Oḍḍa (Orissa) country and the (southern) Kōsala, nothing can be added to Kielborn's suggestion[69] that he might be the same as the opponent of Bhōja of Dhārā mentioned in the Udaipūr inscription.[70] The Tamil inscription says that after the capture of Kōśalai-nāḍu, the Cōḷa general attacked and overthrew in order Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, Raṇaśūra of southern Lāḍa and Gōvindacandra of Vangāḷa before he fought with Mahīpāla of Uttara-lāḍa and reached the Ganges. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates, on the other hand, state that the attack on Raṇaśūra preceded that on Dharmapāla, and that the overthrow of Dharmapāla led the Cōḷa general to the banks of the Ganges.

Daṇḍabhukti.

They also imply that the conquest of Mahīpāla was achieved on the return march. Obviously, both these accounts cannot be true, and as a choice has to be made, the Tamil *praśasti* which was recorded almost immediately after the campaign must be accepted as the more authentic. On this basis, 'most probably Daṇḍabhukti was the march-land between Orissa and Bengal'[71] and its ruler Dharmapāla, of whom we know nothing more than his name, may have been a relative of Mahīpāla, the powerful Pāla ruler of Bengal at the time. The language of the Tamil inscription appears to suggest,[72] what seems likely even otherwise, that Mahīpāla had a sort of supremacy over the other chiefs named in this context and that the overthrow of Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra[73] and Gōvindacandra led to the final struggle with Mahīpala. Lāḍa (Raḍhā) was the ancient name of a part of Bengal, which was bounded on the north by the Ganges, the divisions of Bengal across the river being known as Mithilā and Varēndra.[74] The conquest of Vangāḷa apparently deflected the course of the Cōḷa army a little to the east, and for the rest of it, its march was due north from the land of Southern Kōsala.[75]

The campaign historical.

There is nothing incredible in this record of an audacious raid into the northern countries ordered by Rājēndra and carried out so thoroughly by his *daṇḍanātha*. It is possible that small successes were magnified into great victories and that any reverses sustained were glozed over; it is likely that the statement of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates[76] that the water of the Ganges was carried to Rājēndra by the defeated kings of the north at the bidding of the Cōḷa general is a boast without foundation. But of the substantial correctness of the story in its essentials we can entertain no doubt whatever. Partly on account of his imperfect knowledge of the political geography of the period, and more on account of the embellishments introduced into the story by his own imagination, Venkayya greatly underrated the veracity of the inscriptions of Rājēndra, and held that the expedition was nothing more than a pilgrimage to the Ganges.[77] Though the fetching of the water of the Ganges was perhaps present from the beginning as the object of the expedition,[78] the motive behind it was undoubtedly an exhibition of the power of the Cōḷa empire and a demonstration of its strength

Its nature.

to the rulers of Northern India. Such *digvijayas* were undertaken by all powerful monarchs in India and were enjoined upon them by the political code of the country. The aim of the expedition was then not merely getting down the water of the Ganges to the Cōḷa capital, but doing so after establishing a right of way, so to say, across territories outside the empire by a strong show of force. This becomes clear from the statement that at the end of the expedition Rājēndra erected a 'liquid pillar of victory' (*gangā-jalamayam jayastambham*) in his capital with the waters of the Ganges in the form of the tank Cōḷaganga.[79] 'The invasion of the great southern conqueror Rājēndra Cōḷa I,' says R. D. Banerji, 'seems to have left some permanent marks in Bengal . . . . Some obscure Karṇāṭa chief seems to have followed Rājēndra Cōḷa I and settled in western Bengal . . . From him was descended Sāmantasēna, who is generally taken to be the founder of the Sēna dynasty.'[80] The Karṇāṭas of Mithilā probably had a similar origin. A commentary, of uncertain date, to the *Siddhāntasārāvaḷi* of Trilōcana Śivācārya mentions the fact that Rājēndra imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges into his own kingdom and established them in Kāñcīpura and in the Cōla country.[81]

Effects.

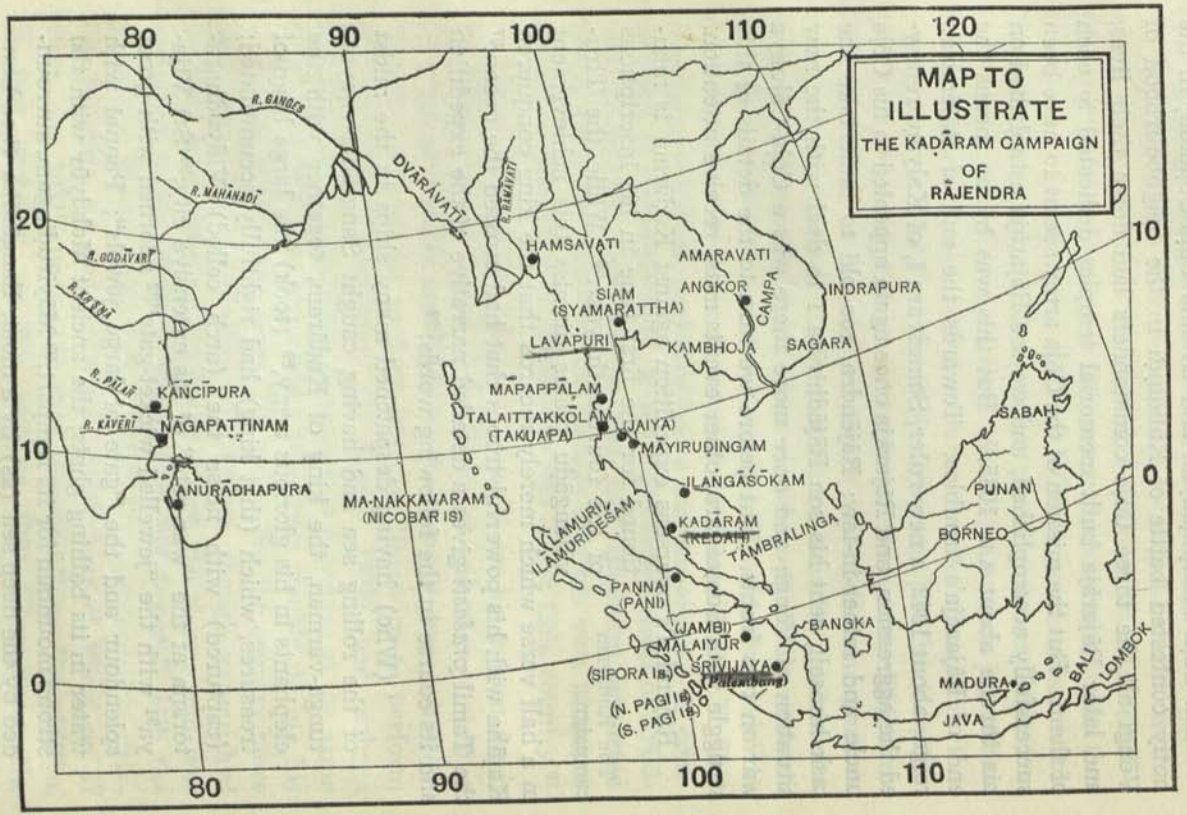
After he met his victorious general on his return from the Ganges on the banks of the Gōdāvari and after punishing the kings of Kalinga and Oḍḍa for their hostile demonstration, Rājendra enabled his nephew Rājarāja Narendra to perform his long-delayed coronation (16 August, 1922), and perhaps also gave him his daughter Ammangā in marriage at the same time. But Rājarāja was seldom free from trouble during his long reign of forty-one years. He had to flee the country more than once; his half-brother Vijayāditya, though vanquished in fight, never gave up his designs upon the throne and was unceasing in his efforts to bring about his downfall with the aid of the Western Cāḷukyas. Vijayāditya succeeded in driving Rājarāja out and crowning himself king of Vēngī on 27 June, A.D. 1031[82] under the title Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. It was probably on this occasion that Cāvaṇarasa, the W. Cāḷukya general, invaded Vēngī in force, captured the Vijayavāda fort and occupied most of the country.[83] Rājarāja once more appealed for Cōḷa help, and the sequel seems to be revealed by the undated Kaliḍiṇḍi plates of Rājarāja Naren-

dra.[84] Rājēndra sent a powerful Cōḷa army under the Brahman general Rājarāja Brahma Mahārāja and two other officers Uttama Cōḷa Milāḍuḍaiyān and Uttama Cōḷa-Cōḷakōn; in the hotly contested battle of Kalidiṇḍi in the neighbourhood of Vēngī all the three Cōḷa commanders laid down their lives, and later Rājarāja built memorial temples dedicated to each of them. But the mission of the Cōḷa army seems to have been successfully accomplished, and we see Rājarāja established on his throne about A.D. 1035.[85] But this was by no means the end of Rājarāja's troubles. Towards the end of Rājēndra's reign, about 1042, a new ruler, Someśvara I, of Kalyāṇi renewed the aggression, and Rājarāja once again appealed to his Cōḷa uncle and father-in-law; Rājēndra, too old to undertake the task himself, sent his son Rājādhirāja I to deal with the new situation of Vēngī; and once more there was a Cōḷa-Cāḷukya war on two fronts. But before we turn to the details of this struggle with Someśvara, other events must receive attention.

The Kaḍāram campaign.

Rājēndra's overseas expedition against Kaḍāram is mentioned for the first time in his inscriptions of the fourteenth year.[86] While the Tiruvālangāḍu plates dismiss this achievement in a half verse which merely records that the king conquered Kaṭāha with his powerful troops that had crossed the ocean,[87] the Tamil *praśasti* gives a detailed narrative of the expedition and its course in the following words:[88]

> ' (Who) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrāma-vijayōttunga-varman, the king of Kaḍāram, together with the elephants in his glorious army,[89] (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidyādharatōraṇa at the "war-gate" of his extensive city;[90] Śrī Vijaya[91] with the "jewelled wicket-gate"[92] adorned with great splendour and the "gate of large jewels"; Paṇṇai with water in its bathing ghats; the ancient Malaiyūr with the strong mountain for its rampart;[93] Māyiruḍingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilangāśōka (i.e., Lankāśōka) undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māpappāḷam having abundant (deep) water as defence; Mēviḷimbangam having fine walls as defence; Vaḷaippandūru having Viḷappandūru (?)[94]; Talaittakkōlam praised by great men


MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE KAḌĀRAM CAMPAIGN OF RĀJENDRA
80
90
100
110
120
20
10
0
R. GANGES
R. MAHĀNADĪ
R. GODĀVARĪ
R. KṚṢṆĀ
R. PĒṆĀṞ
R. KĀVĒRĪ
DVĀRĀVATĪ
R. NARMADĀ
HAMSAVATI
AMARAVATI
SIAM (SYAMARATTHA)
ANGKOR
CAMPA
INDRAPURA
LAVAPURI
KAMBHOJA
SAGARA
KAṆCĪPURA
NĀGAPATTINAM
MĀPAPPĀLAM
TALAITTAKKOLAM (TAKUAPA)
(JAIYA)
MĀYIRUḌINGAM
SABAH
ANURĀDHAPURA
MA-NAKKAVARAM (NICOBAR IS)
ILAṄGĀSŌKAM
PUNAN
(LAMURI) ILAMURIDESAM
KAḌĀRAM (KEDAH)
TĀMBRALINGA
BORNEO
PANNAI (PANI)
(JAMBI)
BANGKA
MĀLAIYŪR
(SIPORA IS.)
SRĪVIJAYA (Palembang)
MADURA
BALI
LOMBOK
(N. PAGI IS.)
(S. PAGI IS.)
JAVA

(versed in) the sciences; Mādamālingam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmuridēśam, whose fierce strength rose in war;[95] Mānakkavāram, in whose extensive flower gardens honey was collecting;[96] and Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea.'[97]

Progress in its elucidation.

No clearer measure can be required of the progress made in our knowledge of South Indian history than the difference between what was known of this expedition before and what we make of it now. The text of Rājēndra's inscription was recovered and published in 1891[98] by Hultzsch. The larger Leyden grant had been known already for some years, and Hultzsch recognised at once in Saṅgrāma-vijayōttunga-varman of Rājēndra's inscription, a successor of Māra-vijayōttunga-varman of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāram of the Leyden grant. But his search for this place extended no further than the southern districts of the Madras Presidency, and strangely enough, as it now appears, he overlooked the facts that Rājēndra's expedition was a naval war and that the Pāṇḍya country had been conquered and subjected to the Cōḷa sway several years before the date of this expedition; and he identified Kaḍāram with the 'headquarters of a talluqa of the Rāmnād zamindari in the Madura district.'[99] Even as late as 1903, though a great advance had been made by him from his original position, Hultzsch was still far from the mark when he said:[100] 'Of the numerous places which are mentioned in connection with this expedition, Mr. Venkayya has identified two, viz., Nakkavāram and Pappāḷam. The former is the Tamil name of the Nicobar islands,[101] and according to the *Mahāvamsa* (lxxvi, 63) Papphāla was a port in Ramaññā, i.e, the Talaing country of Burma. Hence Kaḍāram will have to be looked for in farther India.' For some years thereafter, Rājēndra's expedition was held to have been directed against the kingdom of Pegu, and the archaeologists of Burma even announced their discovery of two octagonal granite pillars near Pegu, which were identified by them 'with the Jayastambha or pillars of victory set up by Rājēndra Cōḷa who overran Pegu in A.D. 1025-27.'[102] It was only in 1918 that Coedès brought together in his cogent and lucid paper *Le Royaume de Śrī Vijaya*[103] evidence accumulated along various lines by several years of study on the part of many scholars, discussed fully the identification of the places men-

tioned in connection with Rājēndra's campaign, and laid the basis for an intelligible account of it. The Archaeological Department of Burma, though at first inclined to be rather critical of Coedès' scheme,[104] later acknowledged its substantial accuracy by removing the celebrated granite pillars from the list of the protected monuments of Burma.[105]

Unity of the campaign.

One fact to which Hultzsch himself drew pointed attention has sometimes escaped the notice of later authors who have discussed this campaign. It is that the inscription clearly implies that all the places named were taken from the king of Kaḍāram and in the course of a single campaign. In the words of Coedès:[106] 'The text says in effect that Rājēndra Cōḷa, I, after having vanquished the king of Kaḍāram, seized his treasures, then a certain number of countries and lastly Kaḍāram. It is a question, then, of one and the same campaign, and it is *a priori* infinitely probable that the different countries enumerated must have been either vassal states of the king of Kaḍāram, or even simply the different towns or provinces of his kingdom.' Once this is recognised, the identification of the different places mentioned would be rendered easier by that of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya, the two places ruled by the same king in the reign of Rājarāja, and conquered by Rājēndra from Sangrāmavijayōttunga-varman.

Chinese annals on San-fo-tsi.

'Now, the annals of the Song (dynasty of China) mention, in 1003 and 1008, two embassies from the country of San-fo-tsi, the first sent by the king Sseu-li-tchoulo-wou-ni-fo-ma-tiao-houa and the second by the king Sseu-li-ma-lo-pi. It is not necessary to be a sinologue to recognise in the first name a magnificent transcription of Śrī-Cūḷāmaṇi-varmadēva, and in the second the transcription of the first syllables of *Śrī-Māravi* jayōttunga-varman'[107] (Coedès). As these two monarchs are exactly those mentioned in the larger Leyden grant, we may conclude that the kings of the San-fo-tsi of the Chinese annals were the rulers of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya. San-fo-tsi was first used by the Chinese writers of the Song period for the place called Che-li-fo-che or Fo-che in the earlier literature of China; all Chinese writers have identified this name with Palembang, on the eastern coast of Sumatra. And Coedès

Called Fo-che earlier.

has shown good reason for restoring the name San-fo-tsi, Che-li-fo-che, into Śrī Vijaya, rather than the usual but meaningless form Śrībhōja.[108] It thus becomes clear that Śrī Vijaya, which is the first among the places taken by Rājēndra from the king of Kaḍāram, is the name of the kingdom of Palembang in Sumatra. The great part played by this kingdom from about the eighth to the thirteenth century A.D., in the affairs of the Malay peninsula and Archipelago, and the relations of Southern India with this important kingdom still await full elucidation. The epigraphs of Rājēndra's reign which narrate his invasion of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya furnish much welcome information on the affairs of the kingdom at the beginning of the eleventh century. Writing towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. or the beginning of the thirteenth,[109] Chau Ju-kua gives a list of fifteen *chou* (provinces or towns) over which the rule of San-fo-tsi extended;[110] and as Coedès has observed, there is a partial coincidence between this list and that of Rājēndra's inscriptions.[111] The identification of Kaḍāram presents more difficulty; this may be discussed after we have dealt with the other places.

Śrī Vijaya.

In the *praśasti* of Rājēndra the name mentioned after Śrī Vijaya is Paṇṇai which has been identified with Pani or Panei on the east coast of Sumatra.[112] Ancient Malaiyūr was a principality 'at the southern end of the Malay peninsula, and precisely on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait where, besides the Malāyu river, time-worn traditions of a Malaya country and people confront the enquirer.'[113] As for Māyiruḍingam which had the deep sea for its moat, this place is quite obviously the same as *Ji-lo-ting* mentioned by Chau Ju-kua among the dependencies of Śrī Vijaya. The same author also states that Ji-lo-ting and Kia-lo-hi 'are of the same kind' as Tan-ma-ling.[114] Coedès has proved by decisive epigraphical evidence that Kia-lo-hi is the same place as Grahi at Jaiya and that consequently Ji-lo-ting (Yi-ru-ḍingam) which formed one of the northern dependencies of Śrī Vijaya must be sought somewhere in the region of Jaiya towards the centre

Paṇṇai.

Malaiyūr.

Māyiruḍingam.

of the Malay peninsula.[115] Ilangāśōkam has been very properly identified with Ling-ya-sseu-kia of Chau Ju-kua's list of dependencies, and its locality was to the south of the state of Kedah in the Malay peninsula.[116] Māpappāḷam, as was shown by Venkayya, is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*[117] under the name Papphāḷama,[118] as the place where the Tamil general Ādicca landed when he was sent on an expedition against Rāmaññadēśa by Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon about A.D. 1165. From this Venkayya concluded that Māpappāḷam must be a place in the Talaing country of Lower Burma, and he has been followed by other writers who have proceeded to make other identifications on this basis.[119] In fact it seems at first sight that this mention of Pappāḷam in an expedition against Rāmaññadēśa violently contradicts the assumption that all the places captured by Rājēndra were dependent on Palembang and within easy reach of it. Coedès however, draws attention to the fact that the long list of the grievances which Parākrambāhu had against the ruler of Rāmañña ends with his capture by force of a Sinhalese princess whom the ruler of Lankā had sent to the Kāmbhōja country;[120] and suggests that 'as it is infinitely probable that the messengers going from Ceylon to Kāmbhōja passed by the isthmus of Kra, it is in this region that the abduction (of the princess) must have been committed, and consequently, the authority of the king of Pagan might have extended so far.'[121] In the beginning of the eleventh century, however, the suzerainty of Palembang extended up to the Bay of Bandon, and there is no difficulty therefore in assuming that Māpappāḷam was a locality in the region of the isthmus of Kra, though its exact identity cannot now be made out. In any event, the presence, among the conquests of Rājēndra Cōḷa I, of a locality which became part of Pegu in the 12th century, is not sufficient to invalidate the identification of these conquests with the vassal states of Palembang. Mēvilimbangam and Vaḷaippandūru[122] do not lend themselves to any identification at present. Talaittakkōlam, most probably the same place as Takkōla of the *Milinda-Pañha* and Takkōla of Ptolemy, is localised by Gerini in the modern Takuapa district south of the isthmus of Kra and identified with its chief town, also called Takuapa.[123] Others are inclined to lo-

Ilangāśōkam.

Māpappāḷam.

Talaittakkōlam.

cate it somewhat higher up, in the isthmus itself; in any case, there is general agreement that it is a place on the West Coast of the Malay peninsula. Mā-Damālingam, firm in battle, can easily be recognised in the name Tan-maling which figures in Chau Ju-kua's list of the dependencies of San-fo-tsi. The same authority says:[124] Ling-ya-sseu-kia (Ilangāśōkam) 'can be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights; there is also an overland route (between the two countries).' Gerini identifies Tan-ma-ling with Temiling or Tembeling at the mouth of the Kwān-tan river in Pahang, on the East coast of the Malay peninsula;[125] on this identification the learned translators of Chau Ju-kua observe: 'As our author states that a land route existed between Tan-ma-ling and Ling-ya-ssi-kia, which we have good reason to believe was about Kedah on the West coast of the peninsula, it seems safe to conclude that Tan-ma-ling cannot have been very far from where Gerini has located it.' Blagden points out as against this view, that six days would be rather a short time for sailing between Kedah and Kwāntan considering the weak monsoon of the straits of Malacca; Coedès overcomes the difficulty by supposing that the country of Tāmralinga or Lankāśuka or perhaps both occupied the peninsula in all its width and faced the gulf of Siam as well as the Straits.[126] Ilāmuridēśam is quite obviously the country in the northern part of the island of Sumatra, known to Arab geographers under the name Lamuri, called Lambri by Marco Polo, and figuring as Lan-wou-li in Chau Ju-kua's enumeration of the subject states of San-fo-tsi. Mānakkavāram, it is equally clear, applies to the Nicobars. This discussion of the place names mentioned in the campaign against the king of Kaḍāram distinctly points to the conclusion that the campaign of Rājēndra was directed against the Sumatran Empire of Śrī Vijaya and its dependencies in the Malay peninsula and Archipelago.

Mā-Damālingam.

Ilāmuridēśam.

Nakkavāram.

We have, however, still to explain why the king ruling over the empire is called the king of Kaḍāram and to locate it. This is a place which is mentioned under the name of Kaṭāha in Sanskrit literature and epigraphy,[127] and of Kaḍāram or Kiḍāram in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* besides the Leyden grant (Tamil part) and

Kaḍāram.

Rājēndra's inscriptions. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* clearly states that Kaḍāram was laved by the waves of the ocean.[128] The word Kāḷagam in the *Paṭṭinappālai*, according to the commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, designates the country known as Kaḍāram,[129] an interpretation which has the sanction of old lexicons like the *Pingaḷam*. From these references to Kāḍaram especially the one in the *Paṭṭinappālai*, we may conclude that it was an important port on the ocean route along which the trade between India and the East passed. 'Now there is a country,' says Coedès,[130] 'known to the Chinese of which the name seems to correspond very well with Kaṭāha, that is, Kie-tch'a where I-tsing stayed on two occasions.' The same place is called in later Chinese works Kie-t'o. These different names represent phonetically and geographically the modern Kedah, on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. Ancient Kedah would appear to have been more to the south than modern Kedah which as has been shown above was occupied by Lankāśuka. At any rate, a study of I-tsing's itineraries proves to us that Kie-tch'a was the last stage in Malay before the pilgrim started to cross the Bay of Bengal on his outward voyage, and, inversely, the first place he touched after crossing the Bay on his return from India. In this fact is perhaps to be found the explanation for the Cōḷas calling the ruler of Śrī Vijaya the king of Kaḍāram. For if, as seems most probable, Kaḍāram was at the time a dependency of Śrī Vijaya, and if it was also the first place which the Tamils touched in their passage into that kingdom, nothing could be more natural for them than to describe the ruler of the country as the king of Kaḍāram. And this port was then from a commercial point of view enjoying the same importance which the port of Penang is gaining in the same region to-day.[131]

The nature of the expedition.

Why was this expedition against the king of Kaḍāram undertaken and what were its effects ? As we can get no direct answer to these questions from contemporary records, we have to depend on the probabilities suggested by the known and relevant facts. The view that the overseas invasion was a continuation of the war for the complete subjugation of Kalingam[132] obtains no support from the records of Rājēndra's reign. That the Cōḷa empire of South India was in constant communication with

the islands of the Archipelago and with China in this period is very clear. The construction of the Cūḍāmaṇi-vihāra in Negapatam by Māra-vijayōttunga-varman of the Śailēndra dynasty of Śrī Vijaya could not have been an isolated undertaking all by itself, but one of the normal results of a growing intercourse between the Eastern islands and South India for purposes of trade. As in ancient times, this trade was part of a flourishing maritime commerce between the countries of the Western world and China, in which Arabs, Indians and the people of the Malay peninsula and Archipelago acted as intermediaries. At the end of the tenth century A.D.[133] the Chinese government awoke to the value of the foreign trade which was just then reviving after a long interruption owing to the troubles which broke out in China in the latter part of ninth century, and with the object of increasing this trade 'a mission was sent abroad by the Emperor with credentials under the imperial seal and provisions of gold and piece-goods to induce "the foreign traders of the South Sea and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea to trade" to come to China.' It must have been in response to such friendly invitations that the kings of Śrī Vijaya sent the embassies of the years 1003 and 1008 to which we have already made reference. The annals of the Song dynasty record that the first mission to China from Chu-lien (Cōḷa) reached that country in A.D. 1015 and state that the king of their country was Lo-ts'a-lo-ts'a (Rājarāja).[134] Another embassy from Shi-lo-lo-cha Yin-to-lo-chu-lo (Śrī Rāja Indra Cōḷa) reached China in 1033, and a third in 1077 from Kulōttunga-Cōḷa-Dēva. The commercial intercourse between southern India and China was therefore continuous and extensive. Writing in the latter half of the twelfth century, Cou-ku-fei states of San-fo-ts'i (Śrī Vijaya):[135] 'It is the most important port-of-call on the sea-routes of the foreigners, from the countries of Sho-po (Java) on the east and from the countries of the Ta-shi (Arabs) and Ku-lin (Quilon) on the west; they all pass through it on their way to China.'

At the date of Rājēndra's expedition (c. A.D. 1025) therefore, well over a quarter of a century must have elapsed from the renewal of active trade with the East consequent on the increased energy of the Cōḷa empire under Rājarāja and the improved conditions in China, and knowledge about the

Malay country and Archipelago must have been common in the Cōḷa country. The larger Leyden grant, by stating[136] that after his father's death Rājēndra confirmed in perpetuity the original grant of Ānaimangalam to the Cūḍāmaṇi-vihāra in Negapatam, clearly implies that in the beginning of Rājēndra's reign the relations of the Cōḷa kingdom with Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya continued to be friendly. We have no means of deciding the exact cause of a quarrel, if there was one. We have to assume either some attempt on the part of Śrī Vijaya to throw obstacles in the way of the Cōḷa trade with the East, or more probably, a simple desire on the part of Rājēndra to extend his *digvijaya* to the countries across the sea so well-known to his subjects at home, and thereby add lustre to his crown. Whatever the actual cause of the expedition, it is difficult to believe that, even if all the facts narrated in the inscriptions of Rājēndra are accepted as literally true, the campaign led to any more permanent result than a vague acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the invader on the part of the ruler of Śrī Vijaya. We shall see later that one of the successors of Rājēndra, Vīrarājēndra I, claims to have conquered Kaḍāram and restored it to its ruler who supplicated for it before the conqueror. In any case, there is no evidence to show that the Cōḷas made any attempt to rule these lands as provinces of their empire.[137] At best they might have received a periodical tribute. The fragmentary Tamil inscription in Sumatra dated A.D. 1088[138] proves only the presence of Tamil merchants in the island, a fact even otherwise well-established.

The Karandai (Tanjore) plates (v. 48) state that the king of Kāmbhoja solicited the friendship of Rājēndra by sending him for the protection of his royalty (*atmalakṣmīm*) the victorious war-chariot with which he had overcome in battles the hostile armies of his own enemies. This is clearly another reference to the overseas contacts of the Cōḷa empire at this time. Kambuja (Kāmbhoja) is the name of the kingdom of Angkor in Indo-China ruled at the time by the illustrious king Sūryavarman I (1002-50). This fact now known for the first time furnishes proof that the friendly relations between Kambuja and the Cōḷa kingdom, already well attested for the reign of Kulottunga I, began much earlier than Kulottunga's reign.

By a tacit assumption, the rest of Rājēndra's reign, which lasted for about twenty years after the campaign against Kaḍāram, has been treated by modern writers as an era of unbroken peace.[139] A careful study of the inscriptions of his sons, especially of Rājādhirāja I, shows, however, that the empire did not enjoy such unbroken peace and that there was much fighting in different parts of it carried on by his sons. It is conceivable that after the *digvijaya* of his early years was completed and his greatness in war proclaimed to the world beyond peradventure, the emperor refrained in his later years from taking the field in person, allowing his sons every chance of winning distinction and glory for themselves.

Remaining years of Rājēndra's reign.

Not altogether peaceful.

In any case, the records of Rājādhirāja dated before his twenty-seventh year fall clearly within the reign of Rājēndra I, and a study of Rājēndra's reign will not be complete without an account of the transactions recorded in these inscriptions.

Rebellions in the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms called for severe action, and the extensive campaign undertaken by Rājādhirāja for the suppression of these risings is described in the following terms:[140]

Rebellion in the south.

> 'Among the three allied kings of the South (Pāṇḍyas[141]) (he) cut off on a battle-field the beautiful head of Mānābharaṇan, (which was adorned with) large jewels (and) which was inseparable from the golden crown; seized in battle Vīra-Kēraḷan whose ankle-rings were wide, and was pleased to get him trampled by his furious elephant Attivāraṇa; and drove to the ancient Mullaiyūr, Sundara Pāṇḍyan of endless great fame, who lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol, the branches (of hairs) of the white yak, and the throne, and who ran away,—his crown dropping down, (his) hair dishevelled and (his) feet tired. (He) sent the undaunted king of Vēṇāḍu to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the Senior (chief) of Irāmakuḍam.[142] While the strong Villavan (Cēra), in his terror[143] hid himself in the jungle, (the Cōḷa) put on a fresh (garland of) Vañji flower,[144]

and forthwith destroyed the ships at Kāndaḷūrśālai on the never-decreasing ocean.

The exact date of this invasion of the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries is unknown. As there are no Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of this period, we have only the story as given by the victors, and lack the means of checking it from independent sources. Strangely enough, none of the numerous Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the period throws any light on these transactions. Sundara Pāṇḍya was perhaps the chief of the whole confederacy which organised the rebellion.[145]

One version of Rājādhirāja's *praśasti* (*tingaḷēr*) mentions, as an introduction to the war with the three Pāṇḍyas, a conflict with and subjugation of a certain Vikramanāraṇa who had opposed the prince's father (*tādai mun vanda*); the conflict lasted for about ten days and at its end Rājādhirāja is said to have assumed the title Bhūpendra-Cōḷa.[146] From the context one might be led to think that Vikramanāraṇa was a southern prince; but the account of the second war against the Cāḷukyas given later in the same *praśasti* shows that he was a Cāḷukya commander and was for some reason known as Cakravarti Vikramanāraṇa.[147]

In the course of the southern expedition, on his way from the Pāṇḍya country to Kāndaḷūr, Rājādhirāja is said to have attacked the king of Vēṇāḍ whom he 'sent to heaven,' and broken the strength of the king of the Kūpakas, a local chieftain of south Travancore.[148]

At the time of this expedition, the country of Kēraḷa was in the same political condition in which it was found centuries afterwards by the Portuguese and the Dutch. It was cut up into a number of petty principalities which, with their endless feuds and alliances, more or less formed a world apart. Irāmakuḍam (Tamil), Rāma-ghaṭa (Skt.) was one of the principalities which centred round Mt. D'Eli, the *Mūṣaka* hill or Eli-malai (rat-hill), and ruled over by the Mūṣaka kings whose annals form the subject-matter of the *Kāvya* called *Mūṣakavamśam*.[149] According to the legend recorded in this work, a certain Kṣatriya prince, born and brought up in secret after Paraśurāma's great war on the Kṣatriyas, was produced before Paraśurāma, when in the course of a sacrifice performed by him in Mount Eli,

Mūṣaka kings.

he was on the look out for a Kṣatriya for performing a rite which was an essential part of the sacrifice and had to be performed only by a Kṣatriya. This prince was afterwards made king of the Mūṣaka country by Paraśurāma who crowned him after an *abhiṣēka* with pots (*ghaṭa, kuḍam*) of water; hence the name of the family, Rāma-ghaṭa, or Irāma-kuḍam in Tamil. A Vaṭṭeḻuttu record[150] of the eleventh century in the neighbourhood of Eli-malai is dated in the fifty-ninth regnal year of a Mūṣaka king, Kaṇḍan Kārivarman *alias* Rāma kuḍa Mūvar Tiruvaḍi; the inscription also mentions Rājēndra-śōḻa-samaiya-sēnāpati. Most probably this Mūvar Tiruvaḍi was the ruler against whom Rājādhirāja's expedition was directed.

Mildness of Cōḻa imperialism.

The presence of the traditional rulers of the Paṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries long after the Cōḻa conquest of these areas, and the capacity they retained for making trouble for their suzerain in the face of powerful viceroys, deserve attention as proof of the comparatively mild character of Cōḻa imperialism which was in conformity with the precepts of the *arthaśāstras* on the policy that a conqueror should adopt towards conquered countries.

Ceylon.

In some of the early inscriptions[151] of Rājādhirāja, he is said to have invaded Ceylon after the victory at Kāndaḷūr-śālai and to have beheaded 'the king of Lankā, the Vallava (wearing) a garland; and the lord of Kannakucci (Kanauj)'. It is quite possible that this campaign of Rājādhirāja was conducted in his father's life-time, and was described with greater elaboration in his later records.[152] But as the dates of the two records of Rājādhirāja cited at the beginning of this paragraph[153] are not beyond cavil, and as one other record of Rājādhirāja[154] definitely of his twenty-seventh year, does not mention the Ceylon war, it seems best to reserve discussion of this campaign till the reign of Rājādhirāja. We shall see, however, that according to the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa*, some of the incidents of Rājādhirāja's Ceylon war, at least those connected with the Sinhalese king Vikramabāhu I, must have taken place before the death of Rājēndra Cōḻa I. The war itself dragged on into the reign of Rājādhirāja and even his brother Rājēndra II apparently took some part in its closing stages.

War against Cāḷukya Āhavamalla.

Another war had to be waged against the Western Cāḷukyas by Rājādhirāja as we have seen, and of this war we have several detailed accounts in his inscriptions which supplement one another and give a fair idea of the course of the campaign. This war, which was directed against Āhavamalla, must have occurred sometime after A.D. 1042, the last known date for Jayasimha II, [155] and consequently in the last years of Rājēndra's reign. We have seen that after the battle of Muśangi (*c.* A.D. 1021), Jayasimha II made himself master of the Raichūr doab and reached the Tungabhadrā. In the remaining twenty years or so of his reign, he seems to have been left alone by Rājēndra who was engaged in other directions. Some inscriptions in the Bellary district[156] show that Jayasimha II even crossed the Tungabhadrā in the period and annexed parts of the Bellary district to his dominions after displacing the Cōḷa control over the tract. One of his vassals, Jagadēkamalla Udayāditya Noḷamba Pallava Perumānaḍi, claims in A.D. 1033 to have ruled the Noḷamba-vāḍi 32000 among other districts;[157] this seems to be an exaggeration, if it is not a mere repetition of a traditional title of the Noḷambas. But after the long interval during which the Cāḷukyas were left free to pursue their plans, and after the accession of Trailōkymalla Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I who renewed the aggression in Vēngī, the Cōḷa monarch might have felt the need for a fresh assertion of his supremacy. Sōmēśvara had to face a fresh Cōḷa invasion led by Rājādhirāja for the relief of Vēngī. Cōḷa inscriptions state that, in the war that followed, the Cōḷa forces[158] overwhelmed the Cāḷukya army in the battle of Dannāḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka) and killed its leaders Gaṇḍappayya and Gangādhara together with a large number of elephants; that the celebrated warriors Vikki and Vijayāditya were forced to retreat like cowards along with Sangamayya; and that a vast amount of treasure, horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Cōḷas, who set fire to the city of Koḷḷippākkai. Vikki and Vijayāditya were no doubt respectively the son of Sōmēśvara, who afterwards became Vikramāditya VI, and Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. If these claims in the Cōḷa inscriptions are true, Rājarāja must have been greatly relieved and found himself once more undisputed master of his kingdom of Vēngī. But the success of the Cōḷas does not appear to have been so complete, and the Western Cāḷukyas seem to

have held their own after offering stout resistance at Koḷḷippākkai. Several records attest Someśvara's rule over Vēngī in this period. Sobhanarasa, a feudatory of Someśvara, styles himself *Vēngī-puravareśvara* in 1044, and this title is continued by others after him. An unpublished inscription dated 1047 preserved in the Hyderabad museum states that Someśvara pulverised in battle the kings of Vēngī and Kalinga. But it is doubtful if the whole of Vēngī changed hands, because Rājarāja has an inscription dated 1047 at Drākṣārāma[159] recording an endowment to the Bhīmeśvara temple. In fact it would seem that very soon Rājarāja had to give up his dependence on Cōḷa support, and reach an understanding with Someśvara. Accordingly we find Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, one of the *pradhānis* of Someśvara resident in Rājarāja's court and getting a grant of a village (Nandampūṇḍi) for assisting Nannayya Bhaṭṭa in composing the *Āndhra Bhārata* (1051-2), and Nārāyaṇa's daughter Kuppama makes a gift to the Bhīmeśvara temple of Drākṣārāma in 1055-6. We shall see later that Cōḷa inscriptions affirm that the immediate successors of Rājēndra neglected their hereditary interest in the Vēngī kingdom.[160]

Closing years of Rājēndra I.

The closing years of Rājēndra's reign formed the most splendid period of the history of the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line. The extent of the empire was at its widest and its military and naval prestige stood at its highest. There remained the necessity, ever present in military empires, of carrying out punitive expeditions to suppress outbreaks and keep the conquered territories under control. The emperor was ably assisted by his talented sons and other members of his family, and the tasks of imperial administration were thus put in commission. Large undertakings, like the Pāṇḍya war against Sundara Pāṇḍya and his confrères, or the Cāḷukya war against Āhavamalla, were carried out in these years by the heir-apparent Rājādhirāja, while a host of feudatories looked after minor affairs like the war of Cōreya in the Nambihaḷḷi region of the Mysore country in which 'cows were carried off and women's girdles were unloosed.'[161] Among such feudatories a few naturally stand out more prominently than the rest in the records of the reign and of these a brief account may be given here.

Feudatories.

That even the Pāṇḍyas normally accepted such a position of subordination and reconciled themselves to it is shown by the queen of the Pāṇḍya King Śrīvallabha making gifts to the Tiruviśalūr temple early in the reign, possibly when Rājarāja was still alive.[162] A part of the modern North Arcot district lying round about Brahmadēśam was under the jurisdiction of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, the chief of the *Sāmantas* as he is called and husband of Rājarāja's elder sister Kundavai. Two other wives of this person are mentioned, Indaḷadēvi[163] and Mandaragauravanār Kundādēviyār[164] who, despite the second part of her name, appears to have been different from Parāntakan Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār, the Cōḷa princess said to have been residing in the palace at Paḷaiyāṟu in the fourth and fifth years of the reign.[165] A *nāḍu* came to be called Vallavaraiyar-nāḍu after this chief of the *Sāmantas* and part of it lay in the modern Salem district.[166] A certain Yādava Bhīma, also called Uttama Cōḷa Milāḍuḍaiyār, was in charge of a part of the hilly tracts in the modern South Arcot district in the fourth year.[167] Seven or eight years later, we find a Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḷa-milāḍuḍaiyār, possibly in charge of the same division, but only mentioned in the inscriptions as making an endowment for a lamp to be maintained in the temple at Kāḷahasti.[168] Daṇḍanāyakan Narākkaṉ Kṛṣṇan Rāman who built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple under the orders of Rājarāja continued to serve Rājēndra I almost till the end of his reign as he is mentioned as late as 1044.[169] His son, Mārāyan Aṟumoḷi, also called Uttamaśōḷa Brahma-mārāyan, was also a *sēnāpati* who assisted Rājēndra about 1033 in building a temple for the Piḍārī of Kōlār.[170] It may be observed that of the two names of this *sēnāpati*, the first was the personal name implying his social rank in the nobility (*mārāyam*) and the fact that his father called him after the ruling sovereign at the time of his birth; the second was the official title of the man in his public career in the king's service in the army. A Nimbaḷadēvi, the wife of certain Indaḷadēva of Taḷaigrāma in Virāṭa-dēśa, the country round Hangal, made a grant to the temple of Tiruvorriyūr about 1042.[171] We cannot be sure that Indaḷadēva was an official or a feudatory of the king, as he might have been a merchant, who, like several others of his profession in those days, might have travelled great distances. In any event, Rājēndra's claim to have conquered the Mysore country and parts of Raṭṭapāḍi

is largely substantiated by such instances. Lastly, there were the Cangāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas of Mysore and Coorg. We have traced the rise of Kongāḷvas into prominence under Rājarāja who, in appreciation of the heroism of Maṇija, conferred on him the title Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi Kongāḷva and an estate at Māḷambi (Coorg). The Cangāḷva territory, Canganāḍ, lay in the Arkalgūḍ taluq of Mysore and the Yēḷusāvira country in Northern Coorg. Both the Cangāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas had Cōḷa prenomens from this time, evidently because the Cōḷas imposed their names on the provinces they conquered and on the rulers who accepted a vassal position in the empire.[172] In the course of a few years, however, the Kongāḷvas began to claim that they were themselves actually descended from the Cōḷas and joined the ranks of the numerous Telugu and Kannaḍa local dynasties that traced their descent, in a mythical manner, from Karikāla and the Sun, through Jaṭācōḷa.

Birudas.

Like his father, Rājēndra bore a number of fine *birudas*. Noteworthy among them are, Muḍigoṇḍa-Cōḷa[173] and Paṇḍita-Cōḷā;[174] he is also once called Vīrarājēndra;[175] but above all these in the estimation of the king himself was the title Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa, a name signalised by being attached to the new capital founded by the king and sometimes called Gangāpurī in Sanskrit.[176] In the ruins of this celebrated city the earliest inscription that can now be traced seems to be one of Rājakēsarivarman Vīrarājēndradēva.[177] The large irrigation tank to the north of the city, the Cōḷa-gangam of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, has long gone out of use, its extensive bed overgrown with thick jungle.[178] Among the records of the reign of Rājēndra I himself, the new capital is mentioned rarely, and apparently not earlier than the seventeenth regnal year.[179] This city has often been confused with Muḍigoṇḍa-śōḷapuram, and the suggestion has been made that this was the earlier name of what later came to be called Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram.[180] There is no support for the suggestion in the epigraphy of the reign. On the other hand, Mudigoṇḍa-śōḷapuram is clearly stated to be the alternative name of Paḷaiyāṟu,[181] now a small village on the banks of the Muḍigoṇḍān, within easy reach of Kumbakōṇam; Paḷaiyāṟu possesses an ancient Śiva temple of remarkable construction in the late

The new Capital.

Cōḷa style which contains, however, no inscription; and there remain no traces of the palaces at Paḻaiyāṟu in which Kundavai[182] and Rājēndra[183] are said to have lived in the early years of the reign.

In several inscriptions of his reign and of the reigns of his successors, Rājēndra is described briefly as the conqueror of Pūrvadēśam, Gangai and Kaḍāram; this must be taken to be a summary statement of his most distant conquests, and on this assumption Pūrvadēśam is best understood to be, not the Vēngī country as was suggested by Venkayya,[184] but Pūrvarāṣṭra, the country to the east of the Maikal range,[185] roughly corresponding to the Southern Kōsala country.

Queens.

The following are the queens of Rājēndra who figure in the inscriptions: Tribhuvana or Vānavan-Mahādēviyār,[186] Mukkōkkiḻān,[187] Pañcavan-Mādēviyār[188] and Vīra-mādēvi who apparently performed *satī* at the king's death.[189] Of his sons we shall see that three followed him on the Cōḷa throne in succession, Rājādhirāja, Rājēndra and Vīrarājēndra, and we cannot decide if any of these was identical with the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. Other sons are known also. A daughter of Rājēndra, Arumoḻi-nangaiyār or Pirānār, made a present of a costly umbrella of pearls to the temple at Tirumalavāḍi early in the reign of her brother Rājādhirāja.[190] Another daughter was the well-known Ammangādēvi, the queen of the Eastern Cāḷukya Rājarāja I and mother of Kulōttunga, the first Cōḷa-Cāḷukya monarch. The latest regnal year mentioned in Rājēndra's inscriptions is 33[191] and this accords well with the fact that his death is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhirāja dated in his twenty-sixth[192] year. Rājēndra's death occurred, therefore, some time in A.D. 1044.

Note A

ON MAHĪPĀLA

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has discussed the Ganges campaign at some length in his essay on *Gangaikoṇḍa-Cōḷa* and I must explain why I am unable to accept some of his conclusions. Our differences are partly due to the different estimates we have of the value of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates (*op. cit.* p. 554). I agree with Mr. R. D. Banerji that 'the order in which the names of the countries are mentioned (in Rājēndra's Tamil inscriptions) prevents us from supposing that Bihar is' Daṇḍabhukti. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says: 'As the name itself indicates, Bihar must have been on the frontier of some important empire or kingdom, which on that side required protection against a powerful enemy'; I do not see how. Nor is any tangible evidence brought forward by him in support of his position (p. 558) that Magadha was ruled by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth till it was wrested from them by the Pāla opponent of Rājēndra, Mahīpāla, who installed Dharmapāla viceroy over his new conquest. Banerji has satisfactorily explained the western expansion of the Pāla kingdom in the early years of Mahīpāla by the condition of the Gurjara kingdom after the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. (*Pālas of Bengal* p. 70).

Banerji seems to me to be clearly wrong in quoting the evidence of the *Caṇḍakauśikam* of Kṣēmīśvara who probably lived in the tenth century A.D. at Kānyakubja under king Mahīpāla, the Gurjara ruler, (Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature* p. 366 ; Keith, *Sanskrit Drama* p. 239 and n.) against the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājēndra, and in discovering a defeat of Rājēndra in Mahīpāla's defeat of the Karṇāṭas mentioned in the drama. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* pp. 559-62.

Taking his stand on the order in which the events are narrated in verses 116-24 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar distinguishes a Mahīpāla of Oṭṭa (N. Orissa) from the famous Pāla king of Bengal, and holds that 'Rājēndra's general did not come into direct contact with Mahīpāla of Bengal at all.' (p. 565). He says that the Tamil records

'properly understood' support the same position. To prove this, he relies on the edition of Rājēndra's Tamil inscriptions in *Epigraphia Carnatica* and finds that No. 84 of Channapaṭṭaṇa (Bangalore Dt.) 'gives apparently the correct reading': *Toḍu-kaḍar-Śangamoṭṭa-Mahīpālanai;* this he translates into: 'Oṭṭa-Mahīpāla of Sagnama (Sangama ?) which touches the sea.' He adds: 'the first three words in full in Tamil would be *Toḍu-kaḍar-changamam* which means the river mouth which touches the sea' (pp. 564-5). Ignoring the tautology of such a phrase for a moment, one should like to know how *Śangamam* followed by *Oṭṭa* becomes *Śangamoṭṭa* instead of '*Śangamavoṭṭa*' as it should be. I have already pointed out that the Tanjore inscription (*SII.* ii No. 20 l. 7) reads distinctly: '*Toḍu-kaḷaṟ-cangu-voḍaḍal-mayipālanai*' which Hultzsch somewhat arbitrarily changed into: '*Toḍu-kaḷarcanguvoṭṭal*' (*EI.* ix p. 232 n. 6). The real reading doubtless is that of the Tanjore inscription; and its correct meaning is that the strong Mahīpāla was captured by some means. Though we know nothing of the means, there is little room for doubt that, as Kielhorn suggested years ago, the 'strong Mahīpāla' must be the same as the Pāla ruler of Bengal. It seems that Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has, unconsciously, gone too far in reacting against Mr. Banerji's claim, based on a misquotation from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, that Mahīpāla of Bengal defeated Rājēndra, or at least successfully stopped his crossing the Ganges. But the *alibi* sought to be established on behalf of the Cōḷa general appears to rest on very flimsy grounds. I must, however, note that a single inscription from Tirukōyilūr (128 of 1900) gives the reading 'Śangoḍ-Oṭṭa-Mahīpālanai.' This solitary instance out of over a hundred inscriptions I have consulted cannot, I think, be regarded as anything but a mistake of the engraver.

Of verses 116-24 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, I think the first four complete the account of the campaign undertaken by the general in quest of the Ganges including the overthrow of Mahīpāla (119). The rest are devoted to a narration of other achievements of Rājēndra. Verses 120 and 121 state that the king personally undertook a campaign against the Oṭṭa—note particularly that there is no mention of Mahīpāla here—and his younger brother, before his return to the capital (122). In this campaign the king killed or defeated

(*vinihatya*) the Oṭṭa and his brother and collected a tribute of elephants; the Mahēndragiri stone inscription (396 of 1896) states that Vimalāditya, the Kulūtēśvara, was defeated by Rājēndra and compelled to give up a number of his elephants to the conqueror. Both the references appear to be to the same campaign; but it is not easy to decide whether the campaign took place in Rājarāja's life-time and has been mentioned here out of its proper place or whether it occurred sometime about the tenth year of Rājēndra and is, for some reason, omitted in the Tamil *praśasti*. I am inclined on the whole to the latter hypothesis. It must be noticed also that verse 122 states that the king returned to his capital before he undertook the campaign against Kaṭāha (verse 123); Dr. S. K. Aiyangar reverses the order in his summary (p. 564) and holds that the expedition against Kaḍāram started from 'the coast region of Kalingam' (p. 566). He adds that all Rājēndra's records uniformly state that, having reached the mouth of the Ganges and subjugated Orissa, the overseas expedition set sail from there; in saying this he overlooks the fact that we have to distinguish the different campaigns of Rājēndra's reign by the stages through which we can trace the growth of the *tiru manni vaḷara* introduction; records of the 12th year stop with the conquest of the Ganges, and the overseas expedition does not find mention before the year 14; and it cannot be a mere accident that at each of these stages the Tiruvālangāḍu plates state that the king returned to his capital. On Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's method of interpretation, we shall have also to admit that Rājēndra started against Ceylon from Mālkhēd, an obviously impossible assumption.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1928 Vol. xiv pp. 512-20) R. D. Banerji examines the opinions of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar on Rājēndra's Ganges campaign. On the location of Daṇḍabhukti and the difficulty of postulating the existence, as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar does, of a body of Karṇāṭas holding a military fief in Bihar, I find myself in agreement with Banerji. He seems to me to be justified also in his view that the composer of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates 'had very hazy notions of the position of these places in the map of India,' and that 'Prof. Aiyangar, who relies entirely on the Tiruvālangāḍu plates in preference to the Tirumalai rock inscription, has been clearly non-plussed.' He clinches

his arguments about the route of the Cōḷa army by saying: 'An army approaching Bengal and Bihar from the South must follow the natural line of communication through Orissa, Midnapur, Hoogly and Howrah to reach Vanga and Uttara Rāḍha, and this is exactly the route described in the Tirumalai rock inscription.' Banerji's statement, however, that the Cōḷa army followed the coast line from near the Chilka lake and debouched into the interior only once when it went into Kōsala, clearly overlooks the data on the earlier stages of the campaign furnished by the Tirumalai rock inscription. He also observes that Gōvindacandra of the Candra dynasty of Eastern Bengal 'had most probably become a vassal of Mahīpāla I and therefore a flanking movement may have been expected of him,' and this was possibly the reason why he had to be dealt with before Mahīpāla was attacked. This statement from one so well-versed in Pāla history is valuable as affording support to our position on the general relation between Raṇaśūra, Dharmapāla and Gōvindacandra on the one side, and Mahīpāla on the other. It also constitutes a virtual abandonment by Banerji of the interpretation he had put on the Tirumalai rock inscription in his monograph on the *Pālas of Bengal* that it depicts Bengal as cut up into a number of independent small states, a view that has been cited and commented on in the preceding chapter.

As against S. K. Aiyangar, whom he does not hesitate to accuse of betraying 'the spirit of a partisan and not that of a critical historian,' Banerji seeks to buttress his position in regard to the *Caṇḍakauśikam* by arguments which do not stand critical examination, and which make it easy, for anyone so minded, to bring with more reason against Banerji himself the charge of uncritical partisanship. Banerji surmises that Prof. Aiyangar has forgotten the existence of the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. And the history furnished by these plates is summed up by Banerji with more rhetoric than fidelity in the following terms: 'Very shortly afterwards (i.e. after the accession of Mahīpāla I) the Gurjara-Patihāra empire was shattered by the onslaught of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Indra III. In fact this young prince dealt the death-blow to Gurjara-Partihāra supremacy in India. He invaded Māḷva, captured Ujjain, crossed the Jumna near Kālpi, devastated Kanauj and compelled Mahīpāla to flee before his

general, the Cāḷukya chief, Narasimha, to Allahabad. Mahīpāla I returned to Kanauj after the retirement of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces were fast becoming independent under the feudatories and governors. No Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty ever defeated any Karṇāṭaka army or chief and therefore it is cruel of Professor Aiyangar to postulate the production of the drama *Caṇḍakauśikam* before this unfortunate king.'

Now, the Cambay plates of Gōvinda have been edited by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who had no preconceived notions about either Rājēndra or Mahīpāla of Bengal to uphold, and it is interesting to see how he makes out the relations between Indra III and Mahīpāla I, the Pratīhāra king, as revealed by these plates and other contemporary inscriptions. In a succinct and full discussion of the historical significance of verse 19 of these plates,[193] he points out: 'But the complete devastation of Mahōdaya, which Indra III is spoken of as having brought about, is merely poetical. For the poet's object appears to be to introduce a play on the words *Mahodaya* and *Kuśasthala*. * * * This is also seen from the consideration that, as a matter of fact, for long after the event recorded in this verse took place, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes, ruling over northern India. What Indra III actually did beyond attacking Mahōdaya or Kanauj, cannot be inferred from the verse itself. But we can ascertain it with the help of other inscriptions.' After a careful examination of other inscriptions, which is too long to be reproduced here, Prof. Bhandarkar reaches the conclusion that though Indra succeeded for a time in depriving Mahīpāla of his kingdom, he was soon restored to the throne by the combined efforts of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and the Chaṇḍella king Harṣadēva. Here, then, it seems we have all the elements needed to satisfy the requirements of the verse in the prologue to the *Caṇḍakauśikam* which ascribes to Mahīpāla, by a natural exaggeration, the repulse of the Karṇāṭas from Kanauj brought about by his allies. In fact by recalling the story of Kauṭilya's expulsion of the Nandas for the sake of Candragupta, the verse in the *Caṇḍakauśikam* implies what was an essential feature in the restoration of Mahīpāla, viz., the large place taken by diplomacy and foreign invasion in bringing about the restoration.

The history furnished by the Cambay plates and other records of the time seems therefore to establish conclusively that the *Caṇḍakauśikam* was enacted before the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahīpāla I, nearly a century before the time of the Pāla Mahīpāla to whose reign Mr. R. D. Banerji would assign the play. See also Sten Konow, *Indische Drama* p. 87, and *JOR.* vi pp. 191 ff.

Note B

GANGAIKOṆḌA-CŌḶA-PURAM

The following interesting account of this place appeared in a local publication of 1855 which is not easily accessible now. It was reproduced once in the *IA.* iv p. 274, and may well find a place here.

'It may also be mentioned that in the Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam tālūkā there is an embankment 16 miles long, running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India. This large tank or lake was filled partly by a channel from the Kolerūn river, upwards of 60 miles in length, which enters it at its southern end, and partly by a smaller channel from the Veḷḷār, which entered it on the north. Traces of both these channels still remain. The tank has been ruined and useless for very many years, and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful, and the act of an invading army. Near the southern extremity of the *band* there is a village, now surrounded by jungle, called Gangākuṇḍapuram. Immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of a very large size and costly workmanship; and close by, surrounded by jungle, are some remains of ancient buildings, now much resembling the mounds or heaps which indicate the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence, Gangākuṇḍapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a monarchy, and the great tank spread fertility over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. It has often been pro-

jected to restore that magnificent work, but the scheme has remained in abeyance for want of engineer officers. At some future time it may be successfully prosecuted, but till then this most fertile tract must remain a jungle, and the few inhabitants will still point with pride to the ancient *band* as a monument of the grand and gigantic enterprise of their ancient sovereigns, and compare it contemptuously with the undertakings of their present rulers. Speaking of the noble temple of Gangākuṇḍapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Kolerūn *anikat* was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their utmost to prevent this destruction and spoliation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government that could show no title to it; but of course without success; they were only punished for contempt. A promise was made indeed, that a wall of brick should be built in place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed.'

1. *EI.* viii p. 260.
2. See *ante* p. 183 and n. 76.
3. 196 of 1917.
4. 271 of 1927 (Yr. 7).
5. 363 of 1917.
6. 118 of 1888 (*SII.* iv No. 223).
7. See 117 of 1888, *SII.* iv. No. 222.
8. *ARE.* 1906 II 13. This is true also of the Sanskrit part of the Karandai (Tanjore) plates.
9. *EI.* ix p. 218.
10. Hultzsch observed: 'Rājādhirāja appears to have been co-regent of his predecessor (Rājēndra Cōḷa I) and cannot have exercised independent royal functions before the death of the other. It is in perfect accordance with this conclusion that his inscriptions which have been discovered so far are all dated in the later years of his reign viz., between the 26th and 32nd years.' *SII.* iii. p. 52. When Hultzsch said this, 172 of 1894 (Tirukkaḷukkuṇram) of the 26th year was the earliest record available. Since then, the *tingaḷēr* introduction has been reported as found in 484 of 1925 (Year 10) and 392 of 1921 (Year 18), but on examining the impressions of these records, I have found that they are both dated in the thirty-sixth year. It is possible, however, that some records (with earlier regnal years) which, though containing no *praśasti*,

give imperial titles to Rājādhirāja e.g., Tribhuvanacakravartin (241 of 1927) and Cakravartigaḷ (124 of 1922), really belong to Rājādhirāja I. See also 244, 245 of 1929.

11. 75 of 1895 ll. 2-4. (*SII.* v. 633). These lines seem to have been taken to mean no more than that Rājādhirāja inherited his kingdom from his father—*ARE.* 1913 II 26.

12. Fleet, *EI.* xii pp. 295-6.

13. *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society,* 1916, pp. 14 ff. See also *IA.* xliv pp. 213-5.

14. v. 70.

15. Fleet ascribes this to Sōmēśvara I, *Bom. Gaz.* I, ii pp. 427, 440; *EI.* xiii pp. 180-2. The transfer may have occurred earlier.

16. 515 of 1912.

17. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar apparently finds no difficulty here. He says: 'Having mastered possession of this debatable frontier of all South Indian history (Raichūr doab), he proceeded *northwards* into the *southernmost* districts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa country,' (italics mine-*Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḷa* p. 544). It is possible that more than one army took the field at the same time.

18. 103 of 1912.

19. 50 of 1897; 439 of 1907.

20. 4 of 1890; 257 of 1903, 585 of 1906 from Embāḍi (also fifth year) carries the conquests further up to Śāndimattīvu. But as the inscription mentions the 25th year of the reign, it was engraved much later and is to be accepted with caution.

21. *CV.* ii p. xiii.

22. Hultzsch (*SII.* iii p. 28) translates: 'the crown of the king of Īḻam (who was as tempestuous as) the sea in fighting.' But in the phrase: '*poru-kaḍal-Īḻattaraśar-tamuḍiyum,' porukaḍal* is an attribute, not of *'araśar,'* but of *'Īḻam'*. See *EI.* ix p. 233. The plurals in *'araśar'* and *'avar dēviyar'* are meant to show that the hereditary crown is intended. See extract from the *CV.* which follows.

23. *CV.* Ch. 55 vv. 16 ff. The three preceeding verses talk of a horse-dealer informing the Cōḷa king of the confusion in the island and bringing about the invasion: this part of the story perhaps applies to Rājarāja's invasion which is not otherwise noticed by the *CV.*

24. *Chinnapaṭṭikādhātuka* which Geiger thinks might have been a Buddha relic, highly prized, among the regalia of the Sinhalese kings. Wijesimha translates: 'and the Sacred foreheadband.'

25. 642 of 1909 (yr. 7).

26. 595, 618 of 1912 (*SII.* iv 1389; 1414).

27. 22 of 1895; 211 of 1911.

28. *Eṟipaḍai* means 'victorious army'; *Śengadir-mālai* may be taken more literally as above instead of being understood as meaning the sun. *Contra* Hultzsch *EI.* ix p. 233.

29. 29 of 1897 (*SII.* ii 82); 74 of 1907 (yr. 8).

30. 363 of 1917.
31. vv. 89-97.
32. 46 of 1907.
33. 363 of 1917.
34. 112 of 1905.
35. 617 of 1916 .
36. *TAS.* iv pp. 134-5.
37. 44 of 1896.
38. Fleet *DKD.* 436.
39. Rangachari-Bellary 279, 471; *EC.* vii Sk. 220, 307.

40. Hultzsch translates—'*payangoḍu paḷimiga*' into 'out of fear and full of vengeance.' (*EI.* ix p. 233). *Paḷi* means 'vengeance' in some contexts; but here it has surely another meaning: 'disrepute.' The idea is that by his flight he lost his reputation as king or warrior. The phrase '*navanidikkulap-perumaligaḷum*' is not clear. Hultzsch understands this independently of the Raṭṭapāḍi campaign, and translates: 'the principal great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubēra).' This flawless literal rendering is not intelligible, and Hultzsch has not explained what he understands by it. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is inclined, on the other hand, to see a place name of unknown identity in Navanidhi-kula, like Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, Pañcappaḷḷi and Māśuṇi-dēśa. (Sewell-*Historical Inscriptions* p. 65, n). But unlike *kōṇam, paḷḷi* and *dēśa,* an ending in *kula* seems most unlikely for a place name. I think the whole expression is a rhetorical way of stating that much treasure fell into the hands of Rājēndra. '*Kulap-peru-malaigaḷ*' suggest, by recalling the 'Kulaparvatas' of legend, the vastness of the treasure; and '*navanidhi,*' though usually employed of the insignia of Kubēra, is introduced here to suggest the variety of the treasures of the Cāḷukya monarch. *cf. kula-dhanam-akhilam yaśaśca muktvā bhayam avalambya palāyanam cakāra* (v. 105) of the same context in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates.

41. *SII* ii p. 94-5. n. 4. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thinks Maski more likely and so does Hultzsch, *Aśoka Inscrr.* pp. xxvi.
42. 99-108.
43. v. 101, *SII.* iii p. 423. cf. Karandai v. 62.

44. *IA* viii 18; Fleet *DKD.* 436; *EI.* xii pp. 295-6. Krishna Sastri's translation of verse 103 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates is wrong in implying that the Raṭṭarāja lost his life in the war; *parikhaṇḍita* means 'defeated,' *not* 'cut to pieces.'

45. 23 of 1917; the others are 24, 30 and 31 of the same collection.
46. 751 of 1917.
47. V. 71 *EI.* xxv p. 261. See *Eastern Cāḷukyas,* pp. 221-2 *n.* 2 for a clarification of the verse.
48. In the Tiruvālangāḍu plates Jayasimha is described as 'the very abode of Kali' (*svayam kalerāśrayam, SII.* iii p. 399 v. 100) and the king of Oḍḍa is distinctly described as carrying out the orders of Kalirāja (ibid v. 120 p. 400); see also *Eastern Cāḷukyas,* pp. 223-4.

49. v. 109. Cf. Karandai v. 64 saying that the Ganges water was brought upon the heads of kings residing on its banks. Also Chārāla pl. v. 71.

50. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is fond of the notion that the scholarly Rājēndra, Paṇḍita-Cōḷa as he was, had his imagination fired by a study of the Cēra Śenguṭṭuvan's exploits as narrated in the *Śilappadikāram*. (*Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa* p. 548). We may wonder whether Rājēndra was such a Quixote! The poet Nārāyaṇa has made another guess (*utprēkṣā*), not less plausible, of Rājēndra's motive. And we have no record of the table-talk of Rājēndra or of his reminiscences. But is there anything calling for an explanation? The ideal of ancient Indian monarchy was *utthāna* and *vijigīṣā;* the power of a king was held to be in proportion to the extent of territory conquered and the number of victorious raids led by him into foreign territory.

51. 476 of 1911 (year 11) mentions it; records of the tenth year do not. The detailed account first appears in the twelfth year *SII.* i, 68; 467 of 1908.

52. vv. 110, 118.

53. Note this surname of Rājēndra.

54. The two Mahendragiri inscriptions of Rājendra Cōḷa (Skt.) and Rājendra-śōḷa-pallavaraiyan (Tamil)—nos. 396 and 397 of 1896—*SII.* v. nos. 1351 and 1352—are usually referred to this war of Rājendra I against Kalinga and Oḍḍa. *ASI.* 1911-2, pp. 171-2; *TAS.* iii pp. 119-20. Dr. Venkataramanayya's objection to this (*Eastern Cāḷukyas,* p. 225 *n.* 1) does not seem to be well-founded.

55. See *EI.* ix p. 233. The notes below explain the variations in my rendering.

56. Hultzsch has: 'whose forts (bore) banners which (touched) the clouds,' which has no support from the text.

57. The translation here is based on the reading in 176 of 1923: *'Kāmiḍai vaḷanagar Nāmaṇaikkōṇamum.'*

58. Another form has *'veñjina vīrar'* for *'veñjilai-vīrar.'*

59. Read: *'pāśaḍaip-paḷana- māśuṇi-dēśam'* (*SII.* ii 20 l. 5 and p. 108) for *'pāśuḍaip-paḷa-nan-māśuṇi-dēśam'* (Hultzsch) of the Tirumalai rock; *or* translate 'Māśuṇi-dēśa celebrated for fruits (amidst) green foliage.'

60. Read: *'Ādi-nagar-vaiyir̲-candira'* etc., where *vaiyin* is the locative case ending, not to be read *'nagaravaiyil'* as has been done.

61. This seems better for *'ayarvil vaṉ-kīrtti Ādinagar'*, than 'which was famous for unceasing abundance' (Hultzsch), perhaps reading *śīrtti* for *kīrtti*..

62. *'Miḷai'* is a synonym for *kāvar̲kāḍu'; Maṇimēkalai,* xxviii, l. 25.

63. Read—*'toḍu-kaḷar̲-cangu-voḍaḍal Mayipālanai'* (Tanjore *SII* ii 20 plate). Hultzsch's talk of 'ear-rings, slippers and bracelets' of Mahīpāla is entirely out of place. Often also *'toḍu-kaḍar̲-cangoḍ-aḍal Mahipālan'* (478 of 1902), where 'śangu' may mean conch (*śankha*).

64. *'Ver̲imalar'* for *'ver̲i-maṇal'* in some copies.

65. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar suggests that this campaign started from Kulpak, the northern limit of Rājēndra's earlier campaigns, or 'from somewhere not far off,' (*Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa* p. 549). There is no evi-

dence, however, to show that at any time Rājēndra became master of the W. Cāḷukya territory in the present Hyderabad state so as to organise and despatch a large army from there on a campaign of aggressive warfare into foreign territory. And the Tiruvālangāḍu plates are explicit, as Dr. Aiyangar has himself noticed (*ibid.* p. 547), that the expedition started from the Cōḷa capital.

66. *EI.* ix pp. 178-9.
67. *ibid.*, p. 163.
68. *ibid.*, p. 180, l. 29.
69. *EI.* vii, *List* p. 120 n. 3.

70. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that 'Śādinagar of Tamil, hitherto read Ādinagar, Jājnagar of the Muhammadan historians,' is no other than Yayātinagar, identified with Binka by Hiralal and said to have been founded by one of the early Kēsari kings of Orissa. (*Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa* p. 550). But he does not say how he gets his new reading Śādinagar. The Tirumalai rock inscription clearly has *'vaṇkīrtti-yādinagar'* (*EI.* ix p. 232, plate l. 8) and the Tanjore record equally clearly *'vaṇkīrtti Ādinagar'* (*SII.* ii plate 3, l. 5, end); *'vaṇkīrttiy-yādinagar'* is often found (77, 78, 78 A of 1895) and *'vaṇkīrtti-Ayādingar'* in 171 of 1894—all of years 16 and 17. One may doubt also whether the rather colourless *'pūśurar śēr'* applied to Kōśalai-nāḍu is susceptible of bearing the interpretation put on it by Dr. Aiyangar who sees in it some of the consequences of the invasions of Mahmūd of Ghazni (*ibid*).

71. R. D. Banerji- *Pālas of Bengal* p. 71.

72. *Contra* R. D. Banerji: 'The Tirumalai inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa I shows that the ancient Gauḍa and Vanga had become divided into a large number of small kingdoms' (*ibid.* p. 69).

73. A Lakṣmīśūra was *samast-āṭavika-sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi* in the reign of Rāmapāla, (*ibid.* p. 72).

74. *ibid.* pp. 72-73; cf *Prabodha-candrodaya*, Act ii, where we have: *nūnamayam dakṣiṇarāḍha-pradēśā-dāgato-bhaviṣyati;* and *Gauḍam rāṣṭram-anuttamam nirupamā tatrāpi Rāḍhāpurī.*

75. See note A at the end of the chapter.
76. vv. 117, 119.

77. *ASI.* 1911-12 pp. 173-4. Venkayya makes a gratuitous assumption that the water of the Ganges was taken at Allahabad, and identifies Lāḍa with Berar. He says: 'As we cannot imagine that all Northern India was conquered by Rājēndra Cōḷa's general in about a year, the only reasonable alternative seems to be that a few previously chosen tracts of country were actually invaded and if the inhabitants offered any resistance, a regular war was gone through. The names of the remaining territorial divisions with their rulers were ascertained and included in the list of kings overcome. . . . The exact course which these roving pilgrims followed in Northern India cannot be easily traced at present' (p. 174).

78. v. 109 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates.
79. *ibid* v. 124.
80. *Pālas of Bengal* pp. 73, 99.

81. Verse 111, end of Anantaśambhu's gloss (Madras Mss. Library). In two verses introduced by the glossator with the words *'atra pūrva-kathā-prasangaḥ,'* Rājēndra is said to have himself gone to bathe in the Ganges. Krishna Sastri wrongly ascribes these statemente to the *Siddhāntasārāvali* itself and suggests that the work was composed in Rājēndra's time and under his patronage. *SII.* iii introduction p. 22.

82. Pāmulavāka plates—*JAHRS*, ii, p. 287 l. 63.

83. *EI.* xvi, p. 77.

84. *Bharati*, xx, p. 439; *Eastern Cāḷukyas*, pp. 241-4.

85. 482-K of 1893 (*SII.* v. no. 82), and *Eastern Cāḷukyas*, p. 229, *n.* 1.

86. 213 of 1911. I am not sure of the correctness of the date in a record from Maḷūr of the 13th year (*EC.* ix cp. 84) which also gives the full introduction. There is a fragment dated in the 11th year from Kurubūṟu (Mysore) mentioning the conquest of Kaḍāram (*EC.* x ct. 47). But the date is obviously too early; perhaps an instance of a gift of the 11th year recorded some years later.

87. v. 123, Cf. Karandai v. 62.

88. *SII.* ii p. 109. The notes that follow explain my differences with Hultzsch.

89. The conjecture *'vākiyam'* (p. 107 n. 5) does not help. The reading in other records *'vāgaiyam'* is quite good, *'vāgai'* victory, *'am'* is expletive. *Porukaḍal*, 'fighting ocean' is a common expression for 'army'. *'Kumbakkari'* means 'elephant with the *kumba*, the globular front.'

90. Hultzsch has: 'extensive city of the enemy.' The Tanjore text *'ārttavanahanagar'* can hardly give his meaning. I take it to be 'ārttu + avan + ahanagar'. The tempting suggestion of Coedès that this and the following phrases may be attributes of Śrīviṣaya (*BEFEO*, xviii No. 6 p. 5 n. 1) has been partly accepted by me.

91. See *EI.* ix p. 231.

92. *'Pudavam'* is a 'small gate-way' in a larger door, a wicket.

93. This translation seems more literal than '(with) a fort situated on a high hill' for *'van-malai-ūreyil.'*

94. 'Possessing (both), cultivated land (?) and jungle' Hultzsch. Though *'tūṟu'* means 'low jungle,' the meaning of the whole phrase is by no means clear.

95. 'Was subdued by a vehement (attack)', Hultzsch. The text is *'kalāmudir- kaḍundiṟal'* which means that the fierce strength (*kaḍundiṟal*) increased (*mudir*) in fighting or war (*kalām*).

96. 'Whose flower gardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymph) of the southern region,' Hultzsch. Though I am not sure how this curious translation was reached by Hultzsch, I suspect that he took the phrase *'tēnakkavārpoḻil'* to be composed of 'ten + nakkan + vār + poḻil', and even so the translation is forced. In truth it is tēn + nakka + vār + poḻil, the terms meaning respectively 'honey', 'laughing' 'long' and 'flower-garden.'

97. *'Toḍu-kaḍal'* is rendered by Hultzsch into 'the neighbouring sea.' But *'toḍu'* in the sense of 'touch' is a late form; and *'toḍu-kaḍal'*

is a classic phrase containing an allusion to the story of the sea being dug out by the sons of Sagara; '*toḍu*' means 'to dig.'

98. *SII.*, ii, 20.

99. *ibid*, p. 106.

100. *SII.*, ii, p. 195.

101. This had been noted in *Hobson-Jobson*, *BEFEO*, xviii, 6, p. 6, n. 5.

102. *ARB.* 1908, paragraph 25.

103. *BEFEO*, xviii No. 6. The extensive *Researches* (1909) of Gerini (Asiatic Society Monographs vol. 1), also deserves grateful acknowledgement from all students of the historical geography of Eastern Asia.

104. *ARB.* 1919, paragraphs, 46–47.

105. *ibid.*, 1922, paragraph, 14.

106. *op. cit.* p. 5.

107. The Chinese habit of abridging foreign names, especially when they are long, is well-known.

108. *Op. cit.* pp. 23-4. See also Ferrand, *L'Empire Sumatranais de Śrī Vijaya JA.* 1922, pp. 163 ff.

109. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua* p. 35; Coedès, *op. cit.* p. 13.

110. pp. 60-2.

111. *Op. cit.* p. 25.

112. Gerini, *Researches* p. 513.

113. *Ibid.*, pp. 533-4. Coedès (p. 9) leaves the question undecided whether Malaiyūr was on the Eastern or Western Coast of Sumatra or in the South of the Malay peninsula, and observes that, in any case, it must have been a state near Palembang which, according to I-tsing, annexed Malāyu between A.D. 672 and 705, (also Gerini pp. 530-1).

114. *Chau Ju-kua* p. 67.

115. Coedès *op. cit.* pp. 10-11; 33-6. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says: 'Māyiruḍingam may be Besinga (Ṛṣi Śṛnga), the modern Rangoon' (*op. cit.* p. 576). *Contra.* Gerini—pp. 76-7. We cannot, of course, go so far afield for finding Māyiruḍingam.

116. Coedès, *op. cit.* pp. 11-13.

117. Geiger, *CV.* ch. 76, v. 63.

118. *ARE.* 1898-9 paragraph 47; *ARB.* 1909-10, p. 14, paragraph 40.

119. Eg. Kaḍāram with (Śrī)-khettara, ancient Prome (Kanakasabhai); Mādamālingam with Martaban (Smith); cf. Coedès *op. cit.* p. 6.

120. Geiger, *CV* (ii p. 67) ch. 76 v. 35.

121. Coedès, pp. 14-5. The argument has been advanced (*ARB.* 1919 paragraph 47) that Pappāḷam and Kusumi, the two ports mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* account of the Ceylonese expedition against Ramaññadēśa must both be identified together; and that as Kusumi is clearly Bassien, the former must be either Dagan or Rangoon, the neighbouring port. This argument clearly underrates the express statement in the *Mahāvamsa* that the fleet was scattered by a storm and that different

parts of it drifted to different ports (Ch. 76 vv. 56, 59, 63), which need not have been adjacent.

122. Mēviḷimbangam is sought in Perak by Rouffaer, and in Karmaranga (Kalaśapura) by Lévi *pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian* (Bagchi) pp. 110-2. The former also identifies Valaippandūru with Pāṇḍuranga in Campā. Krom observes: 'All these conjectures depend on our opinions, not on sufficient grounds.' See Krom *Hindoe-Javansche-Geschiedenis* pp. 251-2.

123. Coedès, p. 15; *Researches* p. 93, Sylvain Lévi *Ptolemi, le Niddēśa et la Bṛhatkathā, Etudes Asiatiques* ii.

124. *Chau Ju-kua* p. 68.

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-8 n. 1. *JRAS.* 1905 p. 498.

126. *Op. cit.* pp. 16-18. The name Tāmralinga which Coedès obtains from a Sanskrit inscription from Jaiya (*ibid.*, p. 32) is near enough to Tan-ma-ling and Tamāliingam, or Tamalingam, and there should be no difficulty in accepting the view that all the three forms are variants of the same name. Coedès' suggestion that the Tamil name might be read 'Tamaralingam' (p. 17) is therefore unnecessary; it is inadmissible as 'Mādamālingam' (or Mādamalingam) alliterates with the first half of the line *'titamāvalvinai'* in the Tamil inscriptions, and the sound *'ra'* is, by the rules of Tamil prosody, quite impossible in the second half of the line; but *tidamar val-vinai mā Damarlingam* is a possible reading of the Tamil line, according to Desikavināyakam Pillai.

127. Tawney's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, i 87, 92, 552; ii 44, 598 where Kaṭāha is called an island; and the Leyden grant. Also Karandai v. 62.

128. vv. 138, 189.

129. *Pattuppāṭṭu* p. 550 (3rd Edn.). Skt. Kaṭāha and Tamil Kaḍāram are, as pointed out by Coedès (*op. cit.* p. 20; also Ferrand, *JA.* 1922 pp. 5-1), semantically related, and mean 'a copper cauldron'; Tam. Kaḍāram has also the sense of 'brown colour bordering on the black', and Kāḷagam the sense of 'blackness.' Apparently this synonymity has induced Naccinārkkiniyar and the lexicographers to gloss Kāḷagam by Kaḍāram. Kaḍāram and Kiḍāram are evidently different readings of the same toponym; they have, however, no phonetic connection with Kaṭāha or with Kāḷagam.

130. *op. cit.* pp. 20-2.

131. Ferrand says that Kaḍāram, Kaṭāha and Kāḷagam cannot represent Kedah on the W. coast of the Malay peninsula (*JA.* 1922 p. 51). 'Geographically,' he says, 'Kaḍāram and Kiḍāram are situated in Sumatra according to Tamil texts,' and he cites the authority of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions 588 of 1916 and 356 of 1906 as summed up in the epigraphical reports. These texts by no means imply anything more than that the king of Śāvakam was also the king of Kaḍāram in the thirteenth as in the eleventh century. The political position of Śrī Vijaya and Kaḍāram in relation to Jaiya in the thirteenth century has been dealt with by Coedès in *Bijdragen Tot de Taal Land* etc. Deel 83 (1927) pp. 459 ff. in the paper *'A propos de la chute Du Royaume de Śrī Vijaya,'* where he reiterates his view that Kaḍāram is Kedah.

Though Ferrand was inclined in 1922 (*JA.* p. 51) to locate Kaḍāram in the south of Sumatra or on its east coast, it must be mentioned that he left the question open as he himself felt the weakness of the texts he relied on. Gerini's brief discussion (at p. 833 of his *Researches*) on which Dr. S. K. Aiyangar bases his identification of Kaḍāram with Kerti on the N. E. coast of Sumatra (*Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḷa* pp. 568 ff.) has now been superseded.

132. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* pp. 566; 571.

133. Hirth and Rockhill-*Chau Ju-kua* pp. 18-9.

134. Gerini-*Researches* p. 609 n. 2 unduly abridges the length of Rājarāja's reign to 985-1002 and imagines difficulties which do not exist. Even if Rājarāja's reign did not extend beyond the 29th year (1014), the embassy to China may have left in his life-time and reached China in the succeeding year after some delay *en route* in the Malay region. See also *Chau Ju-kua* p. 100.

135. Cited *Chau Ju-kua* p. 63.

136. *ASSI.* iv. p. 208 ll. 86-88. *EI.* xxii.

137. cf. Coedès, *op. cit.* p. 8.

138. *ARE.* 1892 p. 12.

139. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Ancient India* p. 108; *Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḷa: SII.* iii. Intr. p. 21.

140. *SII.* iii p. 56. I have altered Hultzsch's translation at some points.

141. Though '*tennavar*' may mean Pāṇḍyas it seems possible that here it means only 'kings of the south,' an alliance between Ceylon (Mānābharaṇa) (*SII.* iii 29, l. 13), Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya being meant.

142. This event is omitted in some records *e.g.*, 6 of 1890. Hultzsch translates differently; but see *ARE.* 1930 II. 46.

143. Lit 'was attacked by pains in the bowels.'

144. The symbol of an aggressive invasion.

145. *PK.* p. 113.

146. 221 of 1894—*SII.* v. No. 520 ll. 15-19.

147. ibid. ll. 75-6. I accept Dr. Venkataramanayya's suggestion (*Journal of the Madras University*, xvi, p. 6) that this incident was introduced into the *praśasti* after the second Cāḷukya war.

148. 75 of 1895, *ARE.* 1913 II. 26.

149. *TAS.* ii 87 ff.; *JRAS.* 1922 pp. 161 ff.

150. 523 of 1930.

151. 172 of 1894; 92 of 1892.

152. *SII.* iii. 28.

153. 92 of 1892-date lost; 172 of 1894 dated (2)6, the first figure being doubtful.

154. 54 of 1893.

155. Fleet *DKD.* p. 436.

156. Rangachary-Bellary 185, 229, 285.

157. 253 of 1918.

158. Hultzsch says that the Cōḷa forces were led by a commander

named Kēvudan; this is due to his failure to split correctly the words *añjarku, évu, tan.* See e.g. 54 of 1893 and 6 of 1890.

159. 183 of 1893 (*SII.* iv. No. 1008); other references in *Eastern Cāḷukyas.*

160. *Eastern Cālukyas,* p. 237; 185 of 1893, *SII.* iv. No. 1010.

161. *EC.* x Sp. 14.

162. 46 of 1907.

163. 191 of 1915.

164. 243 of 1915.

165. 350 of 1907; 639 of 1909.

166. 157 of 1915.

167. 20 of 1905.

168. 291 of 1904.

169. 217 of 1911.

170. 480 of 1911, (*EC.* x Kl. 109-a).

171. 138 of 1912.

172. *EC.* i, Intr. 12-13; v Intr. vii.

173. A name which is applied to many places and buildings in the period, and to a branch of the Kāvēri to our own day. The Tāmbraparṇi is called Muḍigoṇḍasōḻap-pērāṟu in Cōḷa records from Śermādēvi.

174. *ARE.* 1901, i. 12; *SII,* iii, 127.

175. 61 of 1914.

176. *EI.* xv. p. 49 *n.* 3 where Gopinatha Rao quotes an interesting reference from the *Īḍu* possibly reminiscent of this foundation.

177. 82 of 1892.

178. A nineteenth century description of the site is quoted in Note B at the end of this Chapter.

179. 61 of 1914; 203 of 1925; 510 of 1926. The curious composite record 118 of 1888 dated in the 24th year of Rājakēsari Rājēndra mentions Gangāpurī.

180. *SII.* iii. Index s. v. Muḍigoṇḍa-śōḻapuram; also S. K. Aiyangar—*South India and her Muhammadan Invaders,* p. 44, n. 2.

181. 271 of 1927.

182. 639 of 1909.

183. Tiruvālangāḍu plates ll. 6-7 (Tamil part), 463 of 1908 (Yr. 3).

184. *ASI.* 1911-12 p. 172 n. 1.

185. Fleet *Gupta Inscriptions* p. 192 n. 1; *EI.* ix. p. 283.

186. 624 of 1920.

187. 73 of 1921.

188. 464 of 1918.

189. 260 of 1915.

190. 71 of 1920.

191. 79 of 1909.

192. 260 of 1915.

193. *EI.* vii, pp. 30—33.

Chapter XI

THE SUCCESSORS OF RĀJĒNDRA (A.D. 1044-70).

The sons of Rājēndra I.

Under Rājarāja I, the real founder of the Cōḷa empire, and his talented son Rājēndra I, the usual line of conquest, which was from North to South, had been reversed, and the victorious tiger-banner carried far into the North. Rājēndra's sons, three of whom succeeded their father, one after another, on the Cōḷa throne, inherited an extensive empire, and on the whole, ably maintained its extent and prestige during their reigns. There was much hard, and occasionally fierce fighting, particularly against the Cāḷukyas across the Tungabhadrā frontier, and the first of these three kings died on a battle-field in which the second was crowned immediately after his steadiness and valour had converted an almost certain defeat into a brilliant victory. There was trouble also from the south, the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa being always in league with the Ceylonese rulers, and waiting to take the fullest advantage of the difficulties that beset their suzerains elsewhere. Towards the end of this period, these troubles, together with others of a dynastic and possibly religious nature, brought about a political revolution which proved the salvation of the empire for well over a century thereafter. As will be shewn later, the exact circumstances under which the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa, Rājēndra, came to occupy the imperial Cōḷa throne are not easily determined; but there can be no two opinions on the consequences to the Cōḷa power of this turn of events. By introducing a fresh, and possibly more vigorous, yet closely related stock of kings to the rule of the empire, and by amalgamating, at a critical time the resources of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom with the Cōḷa, it ensured a continuous and active life for the empire of Rājarāja at a time when his descendants in the main line were overwhelmed in desperate conflicts of which they saw no end.

Order of succession.

The Kanyākumāri inscription[1] of Vīrarājēndra states expressly that Rājādhirāja was the eldest of the three sons of Rājēndra who succeeded him in order; this statement is confirmed by the

inscriptions of the three reigns taken together; one record of the thirty-fifth year[2] of Rājādhirāja mentions the significant name *tambit-tuṇaiccōḷa-vaḷanāḍu* which recalls distinctly the *praśasti* of Rājēndra II beginning *tirumagaḷ maruviya*. This *praśasti* gives a succinct account of how Rājēndra co-operated with his elder brother Rājādhirāja in the prolonged Cāḷukya war of the reign. Vīrarājēndra was doubtless identical with Vīra-Cōḷa,[3] the younger brother of Rājēndradēva on whom he conferred the title Karikāla Cōḷa; in fact the W. Cāḷukya inscriptions call him generally Vīra. An inscription of Vīrarājēndra from the Ramnad district[4] refers to his father (*ayyar*) who conquered Gangai, Pūrvadēśam and Kaḍāram. From a study of the dates of the inscriptions, it is seen that there is a large measure of overlapping among the reigns, a feature which should cause no surprise after the conjoint rule for over twenty-five years of Rājādhirāja with his father. The latest regnal year of Rājādhirāja mentioned in his records is the thirty-sixth,[5] falling in A.D. 1053-4. The approximate date of the accession of Rājēndra II has been fixed from his inscriptions as May 28, A.D. 1052.[6] Likewise, the highest regnal year of Rājēndra II is twelve, taking his rule up to A.D. 1064. Vīrarājēndra's accession, however, took place sometime in A.D. 1062-3[7] which is counted in his records as his first year.[8] Rājakēsari Rājamahēndradēva, whose inscriptions do not carry his reign beyond the third year, must be found a place before the accession of Vīrarājēndra-dēva. His brief *praśastis* tell us little beyond the fact that he upheld the code laid down by Manu for the administration of the land; but even this statement is not altogether valueless as it is closely corroborated by the *Kalingattupparaṇi*[9] which says just the same thing even more forcibly, without mentioning any other fact, about a king whom it places between the sovereign who crowned himself on the field of Koppam (Rājēndra II) and the victor of Kūḍal-śangamam (Vīrarājēndra). Further confirmation of the position assigned to Rājamahēndra is found in a single inscription of his stating that the king 'by a war-elephant caused Āhavamalla to turn his back (on the bank of) the winding river.'[10] It seems possible that Rājamahēndra was the son of Rājēndra II mentioned in an inscription of the ninth year of that king[11] under

Overlapping reigns.

Rājamahēndra.

the name Rājēndra, and that when, soon after, he was chosen heir-apparent he assumed the title Rājamahēndra to distinguish himself from his father Rājēndra-dēva and his grandfather Rājēndra-Cōḷa-dēva. Here again, the succession of two Rājakēsaris, Rājamahēndra and Vīrarājēndra, must be explained as due to one of them having died as heir-apparent without ever ruling in his own right, and that the other was chosen to fill his place.[12] This period is brought to a close by the short and troubled reign of Parakēsari Adhirājēndra, one of whose records dated in his third year[13] mentions the eighth year of Vīrarājēndra. The succession and chronology of the period may, therefore, be summed up as follows:

(1)	Rājādhirāja I Rājakēsari	A.D. 1018-1054
(2)	Rājēndra II Parakēsari younger brother of (1)	A.D. 1052-1064
	Rājamahēndra Rājakēsari son of (2) died as crown-prince	A.D. 1060-1063
(3)	Vīrarājēndra Rājakēsari (younger brother of 1 and 2)	A.D. 1063-1069
(4)	Adhirājēndra Parakēsari son of 3 (?)	A.D. 1067|8-1070

Rājādhirāja's *praśastis.*

Rājādhirāja's *praśastis* are usually found in two forms, one of them rather short, commencing *tingāḷēr-peṟa-vaḷar,* which records only the earlier achievements of the king and seems to have been stereotyped about the twenty-sixth year of his rule and repeated in that form in some of his later records. The longer form *tingaḷēr-taru* has many variations and in fact it is seen to have gone through several editions, so to say, some giving more details of transactions only briefly mentioned in others.[14] A few of the inscriptions of the later years mention fresh transactions not found in the earlier records;[15] others simply repeat the older forms without making them up-to-date. Further, there is a *praśasti* beginning *tirukkoḍiyoḍu tyāgakkoḍi* giving no new information and confirming some of the details of the Cāḷukyan war found in other records.

Two doubtful inscriptions.

That Rājādhirāja assumed the title Vijayarājēndra after his triumphant entry into Kalyāṇapura has already been mentioned. There are, however, two records of Parakēsari Vijaya-

rājēndra which at first sight seem to present a baffling problem.[16] In one of them, a Kōlār record[17] of the thirty-fifth year, we must necessarily assume that Parakēsari is a mistake for Rājakēsari: for the high regnal year and the identity of the short *praśasti* in this record with that of Rājādhirāja beginning *Vīrapāṇḍiyan talaiyum*, the last variety of the *praśastis* found in Rājādhirāja's records, leave no room for any alternative. The other record from Pedda-Tippasamudram[18] falls into the reign of Rājēndra II, the younger brother and successor of Rājādhirāja, as it is dated in Śaka 981, or A.D. 1057-8, and as we have no clear proof of Rājādhirāja having reigned beyond his 36th year, which would be A.D. 1054-5. Rājēndra II was a Parakēsari, and though this record appears to be unique in giving him the Vijayarājēndra title, it may be his. It should, however, be noticed that a Rājādhirāja inscription, doubtfully dated in the 38th year, from Tiruvorriyūr,[19] just renders it possible that this record is also his. The battle of Koppam, in which Rājādhirāja lost his life, took place according to Fleet 'shortly before the 20th January, A.D. 1060,' as a record dated in Śaka 981 (expired) mentions that Sōmēśvara had then returned from 'a conquest of the southern countries and of the Cōḷa.'[20] Therefore, the Pedda-Tippasamudram record of Śaka 981 may also be, after all, another instance of a Rājādhirāja record giving him the Parakēsari title by a mistake. In any case we have no reason to assume that there was an alteration in the official title of the king from Rājakēsari to Parakēsari,[21] as there are many other records of the 35th and 36th years with the former title.

Ceylon war.

The Ceylon war of Rājādhirāja briefly mentioned in the last chapter may now be considered in more detail. Some of the earlier inscriptions[22] of Rājādhirāja briefly record that the king of Lankā, the garlanded Vallava, and the king of the Kannakucciyar (people of Kanauj), suffered decapitation at the hands of Rājēndra. The more detailed account of the occurrences as found in some of the later records[23] is as follows: —

In Cōḷa inscriptions.

'With a single unequalled army (he) took the crown of Vikramabāhu, the king of the people of Lankā on the tempestuous ocean; the crown of large jewels, (belonging to) the lord of Lankā, Vikrama-Pāṇḍyan, who, having

lost the whole of the southern Tamil country out of fear of himself (Rājadhirāja)[24] had entered Īḷam (surrounded by) the seven oceans; the beautiful golden crown of the king of Simhaḷa, Vīra-Salāmēghan, who, believing that Īḷam (surrounded by) the ocean was superior to the beautiful Kannakucci (Kānyakubja) which belonged to him, had entered (the island) with his relatives and (those of) his countrymen who were willing (to go with him),[25] and had put on the brilliant crown; who, having been defeated on the battle-field and having lost his black elephant, had fled ignominiously; and who, when (the Cōḷa king) seized his elder sister along with (his) wife[26] and cut off the nose of (his) mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (caused) thereby, and, having fought hard with the sword, had withered[27] in a hot battle; and the extremely brilliant crown of large jewels, (belonging to) Śrī Vallavan (Śrī Vallabha) Madanarājan, who had come of the family of Kannaran (Kṛṣṇa) and had become the proud king of Īḷam.'[28]

In the *Mahāvamsa*.

The *Mahāvamsa* shows clearly that the years following the deportation of Mahinda V by Rājēndra and the annexation of 'the whole of Īḷa-maṇḍalam' to the Cōḷa empire A.D. 1017 were filled with risings on the part of the Sinhalese subjects against the new Cōḷa rulers followed by reprisals on their part. The independent testimony of the Ceylonese chronicle not only confirms the account of Rājādhirāja's records in its essential features, but furnishes much welcome assistance in fixing the chronology of events which, though spread over several years and apparently connected with more than one campaign, seem to have been grouped together to form a convenient section in the *praśasti* of Rājādhirāja. The *Mahāvamsa* affirms[29] that the first outbreak of the opposition to the Cōḷa rule in Ceylon occurred about twelve years after the capture of Mahinda V, when the Cōḷa wanted to gain control of Mahinda's son Kassapa, and that this revolt centred round Kassapa; Kassapa and his confederates succeeded in maintaining a contest for six months with the Cōḷa forces said to have been 95,000 strong; they 'killed a great number of Damilas' and compelled the rest to retire and take up 'their abode

Six months war of Vikkamabāhu.

as before in Pulatthinagara.' Thereupon, Kassapa began to rule the south-eastern portion of the island of Ceylon, the division known as Rohaṇa, under the title of Vikkamabāhu.[30] This war of six months preceding the accession of Vikkamabāhu took place about A.D. 1029, in the reign of Rājēndra I; but there is nothing to show that Rājādhirāja actually took part in it, though he might have done so.

His death.

The Cōḷa inscriptions affirm that Vikkamabāhu lost his life in the Cōḷa war,[31] and that his diadem fell into the hands of Rājādhirāja; the *Mahāvamsa*, however, says that he suddenly died of a disease in the twelfth year of his reign A.D. 1041 in the midst of extensive preparations for a Cōḷa war. It is possible that the Cōḷa panegyric is more boastful than true, though his crown may have been among the booty of the Cōḷas.[32] Despite Rājēndra's success against Mahinda V, therefore, the whole of Ceylon was held by the Cōḷas only for a short while, a period of about a decade, after which the province of Rohaṇa asserted its independence, and kept up a perpetual war against the Cōḷa province. In Rājādhirāja's reign this struggle became very acute as every ruler that came after Vikkamabāhu was actuated by the desire to expel the Damiḷas from Ceylon. Neglecting the eight days' rule of Kitti (A.D. 1041)[33] the 'mighty Mahālānakitti' who became king of Rohaṇa, 'was vanquished in his third year (A.D. 1044) in battle against the Cōḷas, and with his own hand he cut his throat and so died a sudden death.[34] Thereupon the Damiḷas took the chief treasures, such as the diadem and the like and sent them to the Monarch of the Cōḷa land.' It is not easy to identify Mahālānakitti with any of the four Sinhalese rulers mentioned by name in the Cōḷa inscription quoted above. Vikkamapaṇḍu (A.D. 1044-47) was according to the *Mahāvamsa*[35] the only son of Mahālānakitti, who, having left his country through fear and lived for a time in the Dulu country, returned to Rohaṇa when he heard of the fate of his father, and was killed, after a short rule, in a fight with Jagatīpāla. The Cōḷa inscription, on the contrary, implies that he was a Pāṇḍya prince who had once ruled over the southern Tamil country, and was compelled by Rājādhirāja himself to abandon Southern India and seek his fortune in Ceylon, where he became king. As the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese dynasties were at this time in close political and dynas-

tic alliance with each other and with the Kēraḷas, and were united in their common opposition to Cōḷa ascendancy,[36] we have perhaps to assume that the two accounts supplement each other. Vikrama Pāṇḍya had apparently a Sinhalese father and a Pāṇḍya mother: his early career in the Pāṇḍya country is represented, not quite accurately, by the *Mahāvamsa,* as a sojourn in the Dulu country, or possibly, this sojourn in the Dulu land was an interlude between the Pāṇḍyan and the Ceylonese phases of his career. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that the Cōḷa inscriptions and the *Mahāvamsa* speak of one and the same prince here, and that while the Ceylonese account of the manner of his death is not contradicted by the Cōḷa records, it is quite possible that his diadem also fell into the hands of the Cōḷas as is claimed by them. Of Jagatīpāla (A.D. 1047-51), the *Mahāvamsa* says[37] that he was 'a sovereign's son' from Āyōdhyā, and that after coming to Ceylon he 'slew Vikkamapaṇḍu in battle and ruled as a mighty man in Rohaṇa for four years. Him also the Cōḷas slew in battle and sent the Maheśi with her daughter and all the valuable property to the Cōḷa kingdom.' If we overlook the discrepancy about the place of origin, Kānyakubja according to the Cōḷa records and Ayōdhyā according to the *Mahāvamsa,* there is a striking similarity in the fortunes of Jagatīpāla of the chronicle and Vīra-Salāmēghan of the inscriptions, and it may be concluded that we have here only one prince mentioned under two different names in our sources.[38] But this conclusion is not unassailable; the death of Vīra-Salāmēghan is mentioned in an inscription dated towards the end of A.D. 1046;[39] the most critical study of the *Mahāvamsa* has led to the conclusion that Jagatīpāla began to rule in A.D. 1047 and went on till four years later. So that, after all, the differences in the names and the places of origin of these two princes may mean that they were two different persons who had little in common with each other besides having attained some celebrity in Ceylon as opponents of the Cōḷa regime and met very similar fates at the hands of their antagonists. How these adventurers from Northern India came to Ceylon in search of a career is not easy to explain satisfactorily at present. Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the fourth and last of the princes mentioned in the Cōḷa inscriptions, has been identified with king Parakkama of the *Mahāvamsa* who was slain in fight with the Cōḷas.[40] This identification is also to be accepted with caution.

Madanarāja was a Vallabha (of the line of Kannara) by descent; Parakkama, on the contrary, was the son of the Paṇḍu king, i.e., Vikkamapaṇḍu. Moreover, the death of Parakkama occurred about A.D. 1053, nearly seven years after the date of Rājādhirāja's inscription (A.D. 1046) in which Madanarāja is mentioned.[41]

Summary.

This comparison of the epigraphical account of the Ceylonese war in the records of Rājādhirāja with the events as chronicled in the *Mahāvamsa* thus points to the need for caution in working the two accounts into a continuous story of the relations between the Cōḷa empire and that part of Ceylon which was maintaining a vigorous struggle for its independence against great odds. Only two of the kings in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja can be recognised in the *Mahāvamsa* viz., Vikramabāhu and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya. Vīra-Salāmēgha and Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja are known only to the Cōḷa inscriptions, but apparently are not mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*. On the contrary, Jagatīpāla and Parakkama of the *Mahāvamsa*, who figured in the later stages of the war of independence and laid down their lives in that war, do not find a place in the Cōḷa inscriptions.[42] The inscriptions of Rājādhirāja's successor Rājēndra II show that he too had a hand in the suppression of the Ceylonese risings. Records of his fourth year,[43] A.D. 1055, state that 'he despatched an army to Ceylon, where the king Vīra-Salāmēgha was decapitated and the two sons of the Ceylon king Mānābharaṇa were taken prisoners.' Later records of Rājēndradēva mention only Vīra-Salāmēgha.[44] Rājēndradēva's claim is proved by the presence of an inscription of his reign at Sangili-Kanadarāva in Ceylon.[45] Despite Vīra-Salāmēgha being called 'King of the Kalingas of the strong army,'[46] there is no reason to distinguish him from the *'Kannakucciyarkāvalan'* of the Rājādhirāja inscriptions. Surviving the disgrace inflicted on the members of his family, his sister and mother and wife, by the forces of Rājādhirāja, and the defeat in the 'hot battle' that followed thereafter when he sought to avenge the disgrace, this unfortunate prince apparently fell a victim to another Cōḷa inroad possibly led by Rājēndradēva some years later.[47] The identity of Mānābharaṇa, the king of the Ceylonese, whose two sons were captured by Rājēndra, is not easy to make out, though the suggestion may be offered that he

was no other than the king who joined the confederacy of three southern kings whose opposition to Cōḷa rule in the Pāṇḍya country was suppressed by Rājādhirāja in the lifetime of his father, in one of his early campaigns.[48] It may be observed that Indian coins found in Ceylon include issues of Rājādhirāja and Rājēndra,[49] and that Cōḷa inscriptions found in Ceylon, though not numerous or well preserved, carry us right to the end of the period covered in this chapter.[50] We may, therefore, conclude that the bulk of the island of Ceylon constituted an administrative division of the Cōḷa empire, while the south-western part of the island, called Rohaṇa in the *Mahāvamsa,* kept up an incessant warfare for the restoration of Sinhalese independence. Prince Kitti who assumed the title Vijayabāhu in A.D. 1058 was the leader of this effort. The *Mahāvamsa* and the inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra give some account of it.[51] Like all conquerors, the Cōḷas were only exasperated by the most natural desire of the Sinhalese to be rid of them, and seem often to have adopted savage methods of repression such as transportation, decapitation and mutilation, even against the women of the royal family of Ceylon. After the accession of Kulōttunga to the Cōḷa throne in A.D. 1070, Vijayabāhu I succeeded at last where so many of his predecessors had failed and restored the independence of Ceylon; a detailed account of the steps leading to the success of Vijayabāhu belongs to the reign of Kulōttunga.

Cōḷa coins and inscriptions in Ceylon.

Repressive policy.

And its failure.

A second war against Sōmēśvara was undertaken by Rājādhirāja between A.D. 1044 and 1046. The Maṇimangalam inscription[52] of 3 December, A.D. 1046 gives a short account of this campaign stating that the Cōḷa king defeated in battle several subordinate chieftains[53] of the Cāḷukya forces, and destroyed the palace of the Cāḷukyas in the town of Kampili. Other inscriptions, of which the earliest is dated in the thirtieth year of Rājādhirāja, furnish some additional information about what followed the destruction of the palace at Kampili.[54] Another engagement, said to be the third of its kind, followed at Pūṇḍūr, described as a *kaḍakamānagar* or cantonment city, on the left bank of the Kṛṣṇā

Second war against Cāḷukyas.

river, in which several Telugu chieftains including the brothers of Telinga Viccaya, his mother and son, vassals of Sōmēśvara, were made prisoners of war together with numberless women; thereupon, the city of Pūṇḍūr was sacked by the Cōḷā army and razed to the ground, its site being ploughed with asses and sowed with *varāṭikai*, a kind of coarse millet; finally, the large palace at Maṇṇandippai was consigned to the flames, and a pillar of victory erected, bearing the emblem of the tiger. These occurrences, no doubt considerably exaggerated in the partial report of the Cōḷa records, must have taken place before A.D. 1048.

Other records of the same period[55] give more details of this campaign. They mention the hot battle at 'Pūṇḍi with the swelling waters' in which Viccaya[56] fled in fear, abandoning his father and mother to the mercies of the Cōḷa army; when Āhavamalla, in his fear, sent messengers (for opening negotiations), they were rudely handled by the Cōḷa and were forced to carry on their persons inscriptions proclaiming the flight of Āhavamalla in fear; then, followed by his forces, the Cōḷa took his herd of elephants for bathing them in the three bathing ghats (*tuṟai*)—Śiṟuturai, Perunduṟai and Daivabhīmakasi, and engraved the emblem of the fierce tiger on hills marked by the boar sign of the enemy, and planted the pillar of victory;[57] he played games[58] with the kings who prostrated themselves at his feet, and raised aloft the banner of charity with that of the tiger distributing among the needy the ancient treasures captured from the enemy; he then defeated several leaders of enemy forces such as the Nuḷamba, Kālidāsa, Cāmuṇḍa, Kommaya and Villavarāja, beheaded the Gurjara king, sparing only those who sought his protection and restoring to them their diadems and their positions. At this point some records[59] introduce particulars not found in others. Though the gaps in the text are an obstacle to their full understanding, their trend is quite clear and they record the manner in which the messengers of Āhavamalla were rough handled. Two persons who accompanied a Peṟkaḍai, a high Cāḷukya official, were made the media of a studied and barbarous insult to the Cāḷukyas—one of them being compelled to wear a woman's dress and the other having his head shaven so as to show five tufts; then they were named 'the miserable Āhavamalli and Āhavamalla' and sent adrift along

with the Perkaḍai. The ancient city of Kalyāṇapuram was sacked soon afterwards, and its royal palace razed to the ground after its guards had been overpowered. And Rājādhirāja assumed in that city the title of Vijayarājēndra and performed a *vīrābhiṣeka;* this is confirmed by another inscription of a later date in Rājādhirāja's reign with a unique *praśasti* beginning *tirukkoḍiyoḍu.*[60] This record lays stress on the victory against Āhavamalla followed by the *vīrābhiṣeka* and the assumption of the Vijayarājēndra title. Again, at Dārāsuram in the Tanjore district can be seen even to-day a fine image of a *dvārapālaka* very different in the style of its workmanship from similar Cōḷa images, and bearing the inscription:

1. *Svasti Śrī Uḍaiyār Śrī Vijayarājēndra-Dēvar*
2. *Kalyāṇapuram Erittu Koḍuvanda Tuvārapālakar*

i.e. The door-keeper brought by Uḍaiyār Śrī Vijayarājēndradēva after burning Kalyāṇapuram.[61]

There is, however, no mention in Sōmēśvara's inscriptions either of this campaign of Rājādhirāja or of the later war which, as we shall see, led to his death on the battle field of Koppam,[62] and for all the vaunted successes of the Cōḷas, the Cāḷukyas seem to have retained their power unbroken. The provenance of the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara, of which several are dated records, shows that the extent of the Cāḷukyan empire on the side of the Tungabhadrā continued undiminished. From the Haḍagalḷi taluq of the Bellary district comes an inscription[63] of Trailōkyamalladēva (Sōmēśvara I) dated (Śaka 968) early in A.D. 1047 recording a gift by the chieftain Kāḷidāsa, whose name figures also among the Telugu princelings[64] repulsed by the Cōḷa troops in one of the numerous fights of the time. Two other records[65] from the same region are dated in the next year, Śaka 969, of which one records a gift of land to a Viṣṇu temple by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarādityarasa, 'lord of Māhiṣmatīpura,' ruling the Sindavāḍi 1000, Beṇṇevūru 12 and Nuruganḍa as a vassal of Śōmēśvara. This chieftain may perhaps be identified with Kaṇḍar-dinakaran of the Cōḷa inscriptions.[66] Even if we do not accept the rhapsodies of Bilhaṇa over Sōmēśvara's conquest of Kāñcī or Vikramāditya's *digvijaya,* we must assume that the repeated incursions of the Cōḷas into Cāḷukyan territory, however annoying to the king and detrimental to the

Effects.

happiness of his feudatories and subjects, resulted in no permanent loss of territory. On the other hand, the bulk of the fighting is on Cāḷukyan territory, and in the course of the wars many large cities seem to have suffered considerable damage from the destructive fury of the invader. The aim of the Cōḷas was apparently to reduce the Cāḷukyas to political subjection such as that of the Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and Vēngī kingdoms in this period. In this endeavour they failed totally. It would seem moreover that Sōmēśvara succeeded in extending his influence, at least temporarily, over Vēngī. His Mulgund inscription[67] dated A.D. 1053 speaks of one of his sons, Sōmēśvara-dēva, ruling over Beḷvōla 300 and Puligere 300, as bearing the title Vēngīpura-varēśvara. And there is found in Drākṣārāma, as already noted, a record of the same king[68] dated two years later (Śaka 977) registering a gift by a daughter of one of his ministers, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa by name.

War continued.

Rājādhirāja undertook another expedition against the Cāḷukya in which he was accompanied by his younger brother Rājēndra, whom he had chosen as heir-apparent in preference to his sons who, though not mentioned by name, are said to have occupied fairly high positions in the administration of the empire.[69] We get a vivid and obviously true description of the occurrences in this campaign from the records of Rājēndra II. The earliest mention of these events is in a record[70] of his second year A.D. 1054; more details are given in the Maṇimangalam record of his fourth year, A.D. 1055. This inscription records[71] that the Cōḷa king sought an occasion for war, invaded the Raṭṭamaṇḍalam and began ravaging the country; the proud Cāḷukya Āhavamalla became furious when he heard of this, and marching out with his forces he met the Cōḷa in pitched battle at Koppam, a celebrated *tīrtha* on the 'Great River'. Fleet identified it with Khidrāpūr on the right bank of the river about thirty miles east by south from Kolhāpūr.[72] That the Kṛṣṇā is the Great River *par excellence* and that Rājēndradēva advanced to Kolhapūr soon after the battle are factors in favour of this identification. But Kopbāḷ on the Hire-haḷḷa (great river) near Maski is now considered the more likely scene of the battle,[73] which was long and fiercely fought on either side. For determining its exact course we have to combine infor-

Battle of Koppam.

mation furnished by some of Rājēndradēva's later inscriptions[74] with that of the Maṇimangalam record mentioned above. In the early stages of the battle, Rājādhirāja himself led the fight, Rājēndradēva apparently holding himself in reserve. At this stage, the Cāḷukya forces concentrated on the elephant on which the Cōḷa king was riding and wounded him mortally, so that he 'went up into the sky and became a sojourner in the country of Indra, where he was welcomed by the women of the sky.' Then the vast ocean-like army of the Kuntalas dashed themselves against the Cōḷa forces which, unable to withstand the onslaught, broke up and began to retreat in disorder. At this stage, Rājēndradēva entered the fray shouting out to his retreating forces: 'Fear not,' and pressed forward on his elephant like very Death against the Karṇāṭaka forces, restored order in his army and won a brilliant success by further fighting.[75] Once more, the enemy concentrated on the Cōḷa king's elephant, and 'the shower of (Āhavamalla's) straight arrows pierced the forehead of his elephant, his royal thigh, and (his) shoulders which resembled hillocks,' and many warriors who had mounted the elephant with him perished in the action. But Rājēndra was more fortunate than his brother; he succeeded in putting to death several leaders of the Cāḷukyan army including Jayasimha, the brother of the Cāḷukya[76], Pulakēśin, Daśapanman and Nanni-Nuḷumban. At last, 'the Śaḷukki was defeated,—with Vanniya-Rēvan[77], Tuttan, (who had) a powerful army, Kuṇḍamayan, whose army spoke (i.e., threatened) death, and other princes,—fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking round, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean.' The elephants and horses and camels, the victorious banner of the boar and other insignia of royalty, together with the peerless Śattiyavvai, Śāngappai and all the other queens, a crowd of women and many other things abandoned by Āhavamalla on the field, became the booty of the Cōḷa king. Rājēndra then did a thing not known before,[78] and crowned himself king on the battle-field, when the wounds he had received in the fight were still fresh on his body. According to some of the inscriptions,[79] Rājēndra pressed on to Kolhāpūr, where he planted a *jayastambha*, before he returned to his capital Gangāpurī.[80]

Rājēndra's coronation.

Such is the account of this celebrated fight at Koppam as narrated in the Cōḷa inscriptions.[81]

Cāḷukya inscriptions silent on Koppam,

The Cāḷukya inscriptions of the reign of Sōmēśvara tell us nothing of the battle of Koppam, and specific references to his warfare with the Cōḷas are few. In Śaka 981 (expired) he had returned from a conquest of the southern countries and a victory over the Cōḷa, and was camping in the Sindavāḍi country,[82] a province ruled by a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ciddaṇa Cōḷa-Mahārāja. In Śaka 987

in Sōmēśvara's reign,

Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya was encamped at Aṟasiyakere on his way to the conquest of the south under orders from the king.[83] Bilhaṇa's account has, as has been pointed out already, apparently no relation to facts and seems to be pure fabrication. Shortly after the close of Sōmēśvara's reign, however, we get two inscriptions,[84] both dated about A.D. 1071, giving an

though not later.

account of the Cōḷa invasion and the death of Rājādhirāja. Though the date is late and the Cōḷa king is not named, it is easy to infer from the Cōḷa inscriptions that the transactions recorded here relate to the war that led to the battle of Koppam and the death of Rājādhirāja.[85] The vigorous language employed by these records against the Cōḷa shows that the silence of the epigraphs of Sōmēśvara's reign is really due to a reluctance to record publicly in his life-time unfortunate events that caused so much misery and suffering in his country at the hands of the foreign invader. The *mahāpātaka* (great sinner) Tamilian known as Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa, we are told, took to an evil course (*nele geṭṭu*) and abandoning the ancestral observances of his family, entered the Beḷvōla country, burned several temples including Jinālayas erected by Gangaperumānaḍi, and was promptly punished for his wicked deeds by losing his life in battle and yielding his head to Sōmēśvara I. The Cōḷa account of the war, we may therefore conclude, is not by any means a greatly overdrawn picture of their achievement on this occasion.

Ānaimēṟṟuñjina title of Rājādhirāja.

From the manner of his death Rājādhirāja came to be known as 'the king who died on the back of an elephant,' and he is so styled in the inscriptions of his successors.[86] From the

time he was chosen as heir-apparent by his father to the day when he laid down his life on the field of Koppam, Rājādhirāja led the life of a warrior king and led many campaigns in person. His record strikes one as that of a born fighter and his warlike energy found full scope in the task of maintaining intact an overgrown empire that had risen on the ruin of old ruling families which never reconciled themselves to subjection to the Cōḷas. Some of this fighting, like the fatal expedition that led to Koppam, was of his own seeking. Rājādhirāja was first and foremost a soldier, and possibly his great military talent formed the reason for his being preferred for the succession against an elder brother of his. His performance of the *aśvamēdha* apparently in his father's life-time goes a long way to confirm this view.

A great warrior.

Briefly and without much detail, Rājadhirāja's *praśastis* tell us that he employed his father's brother, his own brothers, elder and younger, and his sons, in important offices of state and constituted them into subordinate rulers of particular regions. The star of Rājādhirāja's nativitiy was Pūrva-Phālguni.[87] Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram was his capital.[88] His queens do not figure as prominently in his records as in those of other reigns; Trailōkyam Uḍaiyār was the title, rather than the name, of one of them,[89] who, if she was the same as the *nambirāṭṭiyār* mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Rājēndra II,[90] may be taken to have survived her husband. Besides the title Vijayarājēndra assumed by him at Kalyāṇapuram, Rājādhirāja had other surnames like Vīrarājēndra-varman,[91] Āhavamalla-kulāntaka,[92] and Kalyāṇapurangoṇḍaśōḷa.[93] Mention is made of a spiritual preceptor (*gurudēvar*) of the king by name Adhikārikaḷ Pārāśaryan Vāsudēvanārāyaṇan, also called Ulagaḷanda-śōḷa Bramamārāyan;[94] one wonders if Ulagaḷanda-śōḷa was also a title of Rājādhirāja, and whether a revenue survey was undertaken, in his reign, of a part of the country.[95] Among the feudatories of Rājādhirāja mentioned in his records may be noticed Daṇḍanāyakan Śōḷan Kumaran Parāntaka Mārāyan *alias* Rājādhirāja Nīla-gangaraiyar[96]; a certain Piḷḷaiyār Śōḷavallabha-dēva whose wife was called Pañcavan-mahādēviyār[97]; Daṇḍanāyaka Appimayya,[98] governor of Mahārājavāḍi 7000,

Queens.

Titles.

Feudatories.

who had Vallūru in the Cuddapah district as the seat of his government, and who may or may not be the same as Rājarāja Brahmādhirāja[99] who is mentioned in the very next year as ruler of the same province; and Piḷḷaiyār Viṣṇuvardhana-dēva, doubtless Rājarāja I of Vēngī, whose queen Ammangādēvi was the daughter of Rājēndra I and the sister of Rājādhirāja, and who is said to have presented, in A.D. 1050, three hundred Rājarāja-māḍas, gold coins of the Vēngī kingdom, to the temple at Tiruvaiyāṟu in the Tanjore district.[100] There was also Sēnāpati Rājēndraśōḷa Māvalivāṇarāyar, an official who apparently took his title from Rājēndra I under whom his public career might have begun, and who made a large endowment for higher education, of which more will be said in another place.

Rājēndra II.

Turning now to an account of the reign of Rājēndradēva, whose independent rule must have commenced some time in A.D. 1054-5, his inscriptions contain, like those of his predecessor, a variety of forms of his *praśastis*. The shortest form is a summary narration of his successes beginning *Iraṭṭapāḍi* and found in his records from his second year[101] onwards. Having much in common with this, but slightly more elaborate, is the form which begins *tiru (magaḷ) maruviya* also dating from his second year.[102] But the chief *praśasti* of the reign is the long account beginning *tirumādu* (or *mādar*) *puviyenum*, first appearing in the fourth year,[103] and undergoing a revision in a subsequent edition, so to say, about the ninth year.[104] The main differences between the two forms in the treatment of the celebrated battle of Koppam have been dealt with in our account of that fight. The other points in which the later version differs from the earlier are: the omission of all other particulars of the Ceylon war except the mention of Vīra Salāmēghan; the definite statement that after proclaiming himself king on the battle-field in an unprecedented manner, Rājēndra returned to Gangāpurī; a slightly different account of the disposition of the administrative places held by the members of the royal family, given not at the beginning of the record as in the earlier version, but at a later stage; and an account, altogether new, of a fresh war with the Cāḷukyas.

His *praśastis*.

His part at Koppam.

Both the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā* make pointed reference to Rājēndra's part in the battle of Koppam. The former records that the king fought fiercely in the battle and saved 'the world' by his success and celebrated his coronation on the field of battle.[105] The *ulā*, with intelligible hyperbole, says[106] that with the aid of a single elephant he captured a thousand of the enemy at Koppam.

Employment of relatives in offices

Among the king's relatives installed in different posts in the empire, the Maṇimangalam inscription of the fourth year mentions no fewer than thirteen persons,—a paternal uncle (*śiṟiya-tātai*) of the king, four younger brothers of his, six sons and two grandsons.[107] The later records of the reign give a shorter list of only six persons so employed comprising the paternal uncle of the earlier record, his son—a new figure, only three of the four younger brothers mentioned before, and one son of the king Rājēndra-śōḷan; why the rest are omitted it is not easy to explain. One wonders if they had all died in the interval, or were found unfit even for subordinate employment. There seems to be no evidence whatever by which this can be settled. The fact deserves to be noted, however, in view of somewhat hasty statements which, on very slender evidence, fasten on Kulōttunga I a series of cold-blooded political murders calculated to clear his way to the Cōḷa throne.[108] The date of the shorter list would fall about A.D. 1061, nine years before the accession of Kulōttunga. Among the titles conferred on these members of the royal family, some like Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyan, Cōḷa-Gangan and Cōḷa-Kēraḷan perhaps connoted the charge of the administration of the particular provinces named; others seem to have been merely titles of personal distinction giving no idea of the spheres of their duties, if any. Such titles are Irumaḍi-śōḷan, Karikāla-śōḷan, Uttama-śōḷan, Vijayālayan, and even names like Śōḷa-Ayōddhirājan and Śōḷa-Kannakucciyan. Only the Cōḷa-Paṇḍya viceroys seem to have left behind a number of inscriptions of their own in the land over which they held sway; but even in their case, it is extremely difficult to identify the particular viceroy from his records, the first viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara alone excepted.[109]

In fewer numbers in the later years.

Rājamahēndra.

Rājēndra's son, also called Rājēndra-śōḷa in the records noticed above, was perhaps chosen heir-apparent some time about A.D. 1059, and assumed the title Rājakēsari Rājamahēndra. One inscription[110] of his third year claims a victory for him against Āhavamalla at Muḍakkāṟu, and furnishes valuable confirmation of the events relating to another Cāḷukya war narrated in more detail in the inscriptions of the ninth year of his father. We learn from these latter[111] that the Cāḷukya, anxious to wipe out the disgrace that befell him on the field of Koppam, advanced with numerous forces led by Daṇḍanāyaka Vālādēva and other chieftains of the army, and a battle ensued on the banks of the Muḍakkāṟu (winding river) in which the Daṇḍanāyaka and his followers fell, Irugaiyan and others were forced to retreat together with their king and the proud Vikkalan, unable to resist the vigorous attack of the Cōḷa forces. The inscription of Rājamahēndra says, likewise, that by a war-elephant, he caused Āhavamalla to turn his back on the Muḍakkāṟu. As it often happened that in the Cāḷukya wars several Cōḷa princes fought together on the same field, the inscriptions of successive rulers also often supplement each other. It is possible, therefore, that the future Vīrarājēndra was also present on this field; and if that was so, this battle must be treated as identical with that of Kūḍal-Śangamam of the records of Vīrarājēndra. A long description of this battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, with some details not found in Rājēndra's records, is given in Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions even of the second year[112] (A.D. 1063-4). It seems hardly likely that two first-class engagements took place on the same field in less than three or four years. In some of his later inscriptions[113] occur expressions which imply that Vīrarājēndra had taken part in the fight at Muḍakkāṟu before he became king, and that, in consequence, he came to be called Iraṭṭarāja-kula-kālan. If this view is correct, at least three Cōḷas were present at the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and took part in the fight: the king Rājēndradēva, the heir-apparent Rājamahēndra, and the king's brother Vīra-Cōḷa Karikāla (Vīrarājēndra), whose achievements came to be recorded in his inscriptions in detail when, after the death of Rājamahēndra, he became heir-apparent and later king.

Battle of Muḍakkāṟu.

Same as Kūḍal-Śangamam?

Description of battle in Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions.

The account of the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and its antecedents given in the early inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra is as follows:[114]

'(He) drove from the battle-field in Gangapāḍi into the Tungabhadrā the Mahāsāmantas, whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows, along with Vikkalan who fought under (his) banner at the head of the battle.[115] (He) attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (viz., Vikkalan) had again despatched into Vēngai-nāḍu; fought the Mādaṇḍanāyakan Cāmuṇḍarājan and cut off his head;[116] and severed the nose from the face of his (viz., Cāmuṇḍarāja's) only daughter, called Nāgalai, (who was) the queen of Irugaiyan and who resembled a peacock in beauty.

'The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (him) yet a third time, hoping that (his former) defeats would be revenged. (The king) defeated countless *sāmantas*, together with these (two) sons of Āhavamalla, who were called Vikkalan and Śingaṇan, at Kūḍal-Śangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave van-guard in advance, and having himself remained close behind with the kings allied to him, he agitated by means of a single *mast* elephant that army (of the enemy), which was arrayed (for battle), (and which) resembled the northern ocean. In front of the banner troop,[117] (he) cut to pieces Śingan, (the king) of warlike Kōsalai; along with the furious elephants of his van-guard. While Kēśava-daṇḍanāyaka, Kēttaraśan, Mārayan of great strength, the strong Pōttarayan and (Irēccayan) were fighting, (he) shouted "(Follow) Mūvēndi, (who wears) a garland of gold!" and cut to pieces many *sāmantas*, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Maduvaṇan, who was in command, fled; Vikkalan fled with dishevelled hair; Singaṇan fled, (his) pride (and) courage forsaking (him); Aṇṇalan and all others descended from the male elephant on which they were fighting in battle, and fled; Āhavamalla, too, to whom (they were) allied, fled before them. (The king) stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, (seized) his (viz., Āhavamalla's) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols,

trumpets, drums, canopies,[118] white *cāmaras*, the boar-banner, the ornamental arch (*makara-tōraṇa*), the female elephant (called) Puṣpaka,[119] and a herd of war-elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and, amidst (general) applause, put on the crown of victory, (set with) jewels of red splendour.'

Compared to that in Rājēndra's records.

Irugaiyan is said in Rājēndradēva's records to have fled with Āhavamalla, Vikramāditya and others from the battle of Muḍakkāṟu; his wife suffered mutilation in the Vēngī fight of Vīrarājēndra with Cāmuṇḍarāya just before the battle of Kūḍal-Śaṅgamam. And Vīrarājēndra is said to have 'seen the back of the hostile Śaḷukki' at Muḍakkāṟu[120] before he became king, and there seems to be no other campaign narrated in Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions that will explain this last reference unless it be the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, described in such detail and said to have taken place before his second year. It is difficult to resist the conclusion, already suggested, that the Muḍakkāṟu of the records of Rājēndradēva and Rājamahēndra and the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the early records[121] of Vīrarājēndra refer to one and the same engagement. The same event is apparently once at least mentioned under the name of Muḍakkāṟu in the inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra himself.

Where Rājēndra's records simply state that Āhavamalla desired to avenge himself for the defeat at Koppam and advanced in great force, those of Vīrarājēndra show us the extent of the progress made by the Cāḷukyas by recording the necessity for chasing them through Gangapāḍi to the banks of the Tungabhadrā and thereby indicate how little the Cāḷukyas had suffered in the actual extent of the territory ruled by them even after Koppam. They also imply, by what they say about Cāmuṇḍarāya's movement against Vēngī, that an important, but unsuccessful, attempt was made by the Cāḷukyas to divide the attention of the Cōḷas between two fronts. This is noteworthy as evidence of the interest of the Western Cāḷukyas in Vēngī apart from any complications arising with regard to the succession after the death of Rājarājanarēndra.[122] We have already had some evidence, though

The place of Vēngī.

slight, of the eagerness of the Western Cāḷukyas to court the friendship of their Eastern cousins. In fact the possession of Vēngī made the Cōḷas formidable to the Western Cāḷukyas; the Cōḷas well understood the importance of Vēngī to them and took care to marry their princesses to the rulers of Vēngī for generations together and otherwise to keep on friendly terms with them. For the same reason, the Western Cāḷukyas, who looked upon Vēngī as a lost dominion, sought to build up their power there.[123]

Kūḍal-Śangamam.

Kūḍal-Śangamam must be located at the junction of the Tungabhadrā and Kṛṣṇā rivers.[124] The first battle at this place, the one with which we are now concerned, took place after the Cāḷukyas were driven across the Gangapāḍi up to the banks of the Tungabhadrā, and after the failure of an expedition sent into Vēngī by the Cāḷukyas. On a later occasion, when the Cāḷukya failed to meet Vīrarājēndra at the same place as previously arranged, the Cōḷa planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadrā before he retired.[125] The Śangamam meant by the inscriptions must, therefore, be some confluence of rivers on the course of the Tungabhadrā. The choice lies between Kūḍali at the junction of the Tungā and Bhadrā in Mysore, or that of the Tungabhadrā and the Kṛṣṇā. While the name Kūḍali points to the former as the site of Kūḍal-Śangamam, the Vēngī interlude seems to make the latter more probable; a satisfactory identification of Kāndai or Karandai, where the Cōḷa awaited the Cāḷukya for about a month on the second occasion, may decide the choice more definitely.[126]

Close of Rājēndra's reign.

The latest regnal year in Rājēndra's records is the twelfth,[127] corresponding to A.D. 1063. He was succeeded by Vīrarājēndra already heir-apparent for sometime after the death of Rājamahēndra. Gangāpuri continued to be the Cōḷa capital under Rājēndra II and is mentioned as such in an inscription from Kanyākumāri,[128] while another from Kuttālam makes mention of a big bazaar within the fort of this capital city.[129] Of the queens of Rājēndra, only one is mentioned by name in his records, a Kiḻānaḍigaḷ. His daughter Madhurāntaki was the wife of the Eastern Cāḷukya prince Rājēndra II, afterwards Kulōttunga I.[130] Among the feudatories of Rājēn-

dradēva II, prominent mention is made in his records of the Milāḍa chieftain Narasimhavarman who is said to have ruled Milāḍu 2000 after his *abhiṣēka* and coronation under this title.[131] Others were Sēnāpati Araiyan Kaḍakkan-goṇḍa-śōḷan,[132] and Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāḷvān who is mentioned in an inscription from Ceylon,[133] and who may be identical with Araiyan Rājarājan *alias* Vīrarājēndra Jayamurināḍāḷ-vān of another inscription from Karuvūr.[134]

The *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā*[135] records that Rājamahēndra made for Ranganātha, the god of Śrīrangam, a serpent-couch set with many precious stones; and the *Kōyiloḷugu*, a late work on the antiquities and traditions of the Śrīrangam temple, though it knows nothing of the serpent-couch, mentions[136] many structural alterations in the temple as the work of Rājamahēndra, commemorated in the name Rājamahēndran-tiruvīdi. An inscription[137] of the twelfth year of Kulōttunga I from the Salem district states that in Rājamahēndra's reign there was a land revenue assessment in Kollimalai-nāḍu. The name of Rājamahēndra's queen, Lōkamahādēvi, seems to be preserved in a fragmentary inscription from Cidambaram.[138]

Vīrarājēndra.

For a study of the reign of Rājakēsari Vīrarājēndra I, (accession A.D. 1062-3), we possess a considerabe number of inscriptions with *praśastis* in two main forms and in various redactions, which fit into one another with remarkable correctness.[139] The longer *praśasti* beginning *Tiruvaḷar-tiraḷ-puyattu* gives in its earlier form a list of the king's relations on whom he conferred various official positions,[140] but omits this list in its later editions.[141] The *praśasti* grows in length as the reign advances, and new events are incorporated in it. The shorter introduction beginning *Vīramē-tuṇaiyāgavum* passes through many changes and attains in the seventh year an altogether new cast, and records facts not otherwise known. These changes will be noticed subsequently when they are of any historical importance. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā* record no events of the reign of Vīrarājēndra other than the battle of *Kūḍal-Śangamam*. The *Takkayāgapparaṇi*,[142] on the other hand, mentions his friendship with Vikramāditya VI.

Early in his reign, the king appointed[143] Madhurāntaka, described as his son *tan-tirup-pudalvan*, to rule over Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam with the title Cōḻēndra; another Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḻa, also called son, *tiṇḍiṟal maindan*, was made the Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya viceroy over the Pāṇḍya country. It is difficult to decide, in the light of subsequent events, whether the terms *pudalvan* and *maindan* are to be understood literally or only as terms of endearment applied to mere feudatories. Nor, on the former assumption, can it be decided if either of them was the son who was the brother-in-law of the Cāḻukya Vikramāditya VI and who had a short rule, on Vīrarājēndra's death, as Parakēsari Adhirājēndra. The kings's elder brother Āḻavandān and a certain Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḻan also received titles and recognition; but though they too seem to have been placed in administrative charge of parts of the empire, the inscriptions do not tell us what exactly were the areas so entrusted to them.

Early Wars.

The early wars of Vīrarājēndra against the Western Cāḻukyas, which resulted in the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam so graphically described in the inscription of his second year from Tiruveṇkāḍu,[144] were fought by him, as already observed, perhaps before he came to the throne or was even recognised as the successor to his elder brother Rājēndradēva. The bitterness that characterised the Cāḻukya wars of this period becomes clear from the eagerness of Vīrarājēndra to count up every little victory gained by him or his lieutenants as a personal affront to Śōmēśvara I Āhavamalla. 'In perfect accordance with the longer redaction of the introduction, in which the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam is stated to have been the third encounter with the Cāḻukyas, the Tirunāmanallūr inscription of the fourth year attributes to Vīrarājēndra I the *biruda* "who saw the back of Āhavamalla three times."'[145] The Kanyākumāri inscription also gives a general description of the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, not very different in character.[146] In the Karuvūr inscription of the fourth year,[147] we hear for the first time that Vīrarājēndra killed the king of Pottappi, the Kēraḷa, the younger brother of king Jananātha of Dhārā, and Vīra-kēsari, the son of the Pāṇḍya Śrī Vallabha. The Maṇimanga-lam inscription[148] of the next year adds to this list an expedi-

tion against Udagai and the Kēraḷas, from which Vīrarājēndra returned after collecting a large tribute in the form of elephants. Whether these achievements, altogether obscure in their nature and origin, were part of the continuous war with the Cāḷukyas that forms the central feature of this reign, or were minor punitive expeditions which had nothing to do with this war, there is no doubt that the 'hot battle' which is next mentioned as having taken place by previous engagement on the banks of a river, of unknown name, did form part of the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya hostilities. For in this battle seven Cāḷukya generals who are named and the kings of the Gangas, the Nuḷumbas, the Kāḍavas and the Vaidumbas are said to have suffered decapitation; and before the Cōḷa king could get their heads nailed to the gates of his capital, Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram,[149] the Cāḷukya king, stung by the intolerable disgrace that had befallen his troops on this field, was roused to a greater effort against his Cōḷa opponent. Sōmēśvara, we learn, reproached himself saying: 'It is much better to die than to live in disgrace,' and wrote and despatched a letter to the Cōḷa king in which he assigned as the field for the next battle the very spot at Kūḍal whence his sons and himself had fled before in utter rout, and declared that whoever did not come, through fear, to the appointed field, should thenceforth be no kings but outcastes[150] who had incurred disgrace in war. This message from the Cāḷukya, when it was delivered to Vīrarājēndra, greatly pleased him. Accordingly he set out for the fight, and awaited at Kāndai the arrival of the Cāḷukya king for one full month beyond the date fixed by him. The Cāḷukya ran away and hid himself in the Western ocean; and the Cōḷa king subdued all resistance in Iraṭṭapāḍi by putting to flight Dēvanātha, Śitti and Kēśi, each in a separate direction, and by setting fire to towns; he also planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. Then the Cōḷa monarch seems to have made an effigy of Sōmēśvara and subjected it to various indignities,[151] before turning his attention to Vēngī.

Kūḍal-Śangamam again.

The question why Śomēśvara I failed to keep an engagement fixed by himself and thus suffered once again the imputation of cowardice at the hands of his Cōḷa enemy cannot be

Absence of Sōmēśvara.

answered with certainty. The date of the occurrence was some time in the fifth year of Vīrarājēndra, and from the details preserved in the record the exact day which is mentioned in the Maṇimangalam inscription is seen to have been Monday 10 September A.D. 1067.[152] Sōmēśvara sought relief from an incurable disease by religious drowning in the Tungabhadrā and the date of this occurrence was March 29, A.D. 1068.[153] The assumption has generally been made that Sōmēśvara's absence from Kūḍal-Śangamam on this occasion was due to his illness and death.[153a] It should, however, be observed that as early as 10 September A.D. 1067 we find recorded not only the absence of Sōmēśvara from Kūdal-Śangamam but the subsequent campaign of Vīrarājēndra in Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa which resulted in the restoration of the Vēngī kingdom to Vijayāditya VII. On the other hand, Bilhaṇa states distinctly that Vikramāditya VI was encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā[153b] on his way back home after his conquests when the news of his father's death reached him. And his language, though we cannot be sure about it, seems to rule out the protracted illness of Sōmēśvara I, who was suddenly taken ill, in the midst of his rejoicing over his son's successes in the *digvijaya*. Unsatisfactory as it seems, we can, for the present, only assume that if Śōmēśvara's absence was due to illness, his ailment was of a rather longer duration than Bilhaṇa's account implies.

Vēngī affairs.

The conflicting nature of our sources and the fecundity of modern research, carried out sometimes under the subtle influence of the nascent patriotism of the Andhra country, have greatly obscured the course of events in the Vēngī kingdom during this period; one can hardly be too cautious in dealing with this phase of our subject. A more detailed consideration, however, tentative, of the course of events in Vēngī will become necessary when we reach the problems connected with the accession of Kulōttunga I to the Cōḷa throne. Here we may note simply the facts as they are gathered from the inscriptions and the *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita* which seem to speak for themselves. The Maṇimangalam inscription records that from Kūḍal-Śangamam Vīrarājēndra proceeded to Vēngī, after issuing a challenge to the Cāḷukya, saying: 'We do not intend to return (home) till after we reconquer the good Vēngī country,

once ours; listen! if you are a Vallava,[154] come and defend.' This challenge to the Cāḷukya is a clear indication that the Vēngī country had passed into the hands of the W. Cāḷukyas. The rhapsody of Bilhaṇa on Vikramāditya's *digvijaya* during the life-time of his father seems to furnish the clue to the real situation by including Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa[155] in an otherwise impossible list of conquests attributed to him. Apparently Vikramāditya did succeed in transferring Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa from their rulers to himself and adding them to his father's dominions. Attention has been drawn already to the evidence from some Western Cāḷukya records of this period showing their eagerness to gain control of Vēngī. But if the Maṇimangalam record speaks truly, the success of Vikramāditya in the east was shortlived; for it states that in a decisive battle on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, in the neighbourhood of Bezwāda, Vīrarājēndra inflicted a crushing defeat on the Western Cāḷukya forces commanded by Jananātha,[156] Rājamayan and others compelling them to flee into the jungle for refuge. After this, the Cōḷa crossed the Gōdāvari, marched across Kalingam up to the Mahendra mountain and beyond Cakkarakkōṭṭam.[157] Having thus regained Vēngī, he bestowed it on Vijayāditya who had sought his protection, before he returned to his capital Gangāpurī, adorned by the splendour of victory gained in many a fight.[158]

Battle of Bezwāda.

The second engagement at Kūḍal-Śangamam, which Āhavamalla failed to keep, and the resumption of the Vēngī country, which followed, are briefly alluded to in the shorter *praśastis* of the fifth year of Vīrarājēndra I.[159] These imply that, by the reconquest of Vēngī, Vīrarājēndra fulfilled some vow made by his elder brother;[160] though we cannot be sure of it, this perhaps means that the Cōḷa control over Vēngī had been lost some time during the reign of Rājēndradēva II and that he had died without being able to recover it; if this view is correct, the Western Cāḷukya occupation of Vēngī must have been more complete and lasted longer than has so far been believed, and Śōmēśvara I must have recompensed himself for the defeat at Koppam by substantial success in another direction. The Kanyākumāri inscription[161] also states that Vēngī and Kalinga, though part of the hereditary dominion of the Cōḷas, had been neglected by his brother and

allowed to fall under the occupation of hostile kings, and that Vīrarājēndra regained them for the empire.

Ceylon War.

Vīrarājēndra had his attention drawn to Ceylon by the efforts made by Vijayabāhu to extend his power from Rohaṇa and to expel the Cōḷas from the island. The *Mahāvamsa* and the only inscription of Vīrarājēndra which gives an account of this war are agreed that Vijayabāhu did not succeed in attaining his object. In the details, the two accounts differ. The *Mahāvamsa* says[162] that when the Cōḷa king heard of Vijayabāhu's designs, he sent off his Sēnāpati who was then in Pulatthinagara against the Sinhalese ruler. The Cōḷa general entered Rohaṇa, plundered Kajaragāma and returned to his province. Vijayabāhu sent 'numbers of people and much costly treasure' to the king of Rāmañña (Burma), and got many ships in return laden with 'various stuffs, camphor, sandalwood and other goods', which he gave to his soldiers to gain their goodwill. Then he supported opposition to Cōḷa rule in Rājaraṭṭha (N. Ceylon); the Cōḷa monarch sent a great army to quell the revolt. It 'landed in Mahātittha, slew many people there and subdued the inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha'. After this, the Cōḷa commander entered Rohaṇa, and was joined by deserters from Vijayabāhu. 'When the general saw them accompanied by a great troop of adherents, he believed Rohaṇa would shortly be in his power.' Vijayabāhu saw the strength of the Cōḷa forces and was distracted by rebellions and treachery in his own camp. So nothing came of his effort. The inscription of Vīrarājēndra dated in his fifth year, A.D. 1067, states that the king sent a large army which crossed the sea in a number of ships without erecting a causeway, defeated the Sinhalese forces, compelled Vijayabāhu to seek refuge in flight, made his queen captive and restored the whole of Ceylon to Vīrarājēndra's sway.[163] We cannot accept the last statement literally; Vijayabāhu renewed the struggle with better results three or four years later, and he could not have done this if he had lost his hold on Rohaṇa.

Kaḍāram.

For the transactions of the rest of Vīrarājēndra's reign we have to depend exclusively on the shorter *praśasti* in its later editions. Records of the seventh year[164] mention that Vīrarājēndra conquered Kaḍāram on behalf of a king who had come in

search of his aid and protection, and handed it over to him. If the place of this event in these records indicates its chronological position in the reign, it must have occurred before the sixth year, c. A.D. 1068. We know as yet little of the relations between the Cōḷas and the empire of Śrī Vijaya, which no doubt is signified by the term Kaḍāram, in the interval that elapsed between Rājēndra's campaign against Saṅgrāma-Vijayōttunga-varman and the reign of Vīrarājēndra. Consequently we have no means of elucidating this brief reference to a second expedition against Kaḍāram in this reign.

War with Sōmēśvara II.

On the death of Sōmēśvara I, Sōmēśvara II came to the Cāḷukyan throne in A.D. 1068 (11 April), and Vīrarājēndra took the occasion to renew the ancient feud. The inscriptions of Sōmēśvara II state this fact clearly and imply that the Cōḷa began by attacking the fortress of Gutti and ended by retreating in haste before Sōmēśvara.[165] The Cōḷa inscriptions and Bilhaṇa tell another story. The former state that before Sōmēśvara could untie his *kaṇṭhikā*, that is, on the occasion of his coronation as king,[166] Vīrarājēndra burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍigal, a village in the Lingsagar Taluk of the Raicūr district,[167] and that he forced Sōmēśvara to abandon the Kannara country, and invested the Śaḷukki Vikramāditya with the *kaṇṭhikā* and Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country conquered on his account, because he had come and sought the aid of the Cōḷa monarch.[168] This occasion is no doubt the one mentioned in the *Takkayāgapparaṇi* which says that the Cōḷa king, here called Rājagambhīra, took away the fillet of royalty from the Piraṭṭan and conferred it on the Iraṭṭan for the protection of the celebrated seven and a half lakh country.[169] And the *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita* tells the same story, embellished from the standpoint of the hero of the poem. Soon after his father's death and brother's accession, Vikramāditya VI quarrelled with his brother who had fallen into evil courses, and left Kalyāṇa with his younger brother Jayasimha and destroyed the troops sent by his elder brother Sōmēśvara in pursuit of him. He reached the Tungabhadrā and rested his army for a time.[170] Then he became desirous of war with the Cōḷas and started on the expedition after spending some time in Banavāsi. Jayakēśi and the Āḷupa king did him obeisance,[171] and

the Cōḷa himself, unable to resist the advance, sent an ambassador and offered his daughter in marriage to the Cāḷukya prince, and Vikrama agreed to retire to the banks of the Tungabhadrā, where the Cōḷa king subsequently met him, the marriage was celebrated and the alliance between the two kings concluded.[172] It may be noted that Jayakēśi I, the Kaḍamba king of Goa who was ruling in this period, is said in Kaḍamba inscriptions to have placed the Western Cāḷukya firmly on his own throne, and to have brought about peace between the Cōḷa and the Cāḷukya at Kañcī.[172a] All these lines of evidence point to the conclusion that soon after the death of Āhavamalla, trouble arose between Sōmēśvara II and Vikramāditya on some matters of importance if not about the succession itself, that Vikramāditya's younger brother Jayasimha, and the Kaḍamba Jayakēśi of Goa took his side in the dispute, that Jayakēśi officiated as Vikrama's ambassador to the Cōḷa, seeking Vīrarājēndra's aid for his ally, and that as a consequence of the powerful intercession of the Cōḷa monarch, Sōmēśvara II was compelled to part with portions of his hereditary dominions to Vikramāditya almost immediately after his accession to the throne. Though we have no other evidence for it than that of Bilhaṇa, the marriage of Vikramāditya with a Cōḷa princess may be accepted as a fact. Vikramāditya's inscriptions with the title Trailōkyamalla and bearing dates earlier than A.D. 1076, which marked the commencement of the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era, are found in the southern parts of the Cāḷukyan empire;[173] and this goes far to confirm the hypothesis of a division of territory between the Cāḷukya brothers. It was not many years before the younger brother completely displaced the elder, as we shall see. In fact the alliance between Vīrarājēndra and Vikramāditya is part of a diplomatic revolution which will be elucidated in the next chapter.

Alliance with Vikramāditya VI.

In summing up the earlier achievements of Vīrarājēndra, his later inscriptions which record the transactions just noticed, mention at the outset the beheading of the Pāṇḍya, the collection of tribute from the Kēraḷa and the subjugation of Ceylon,[174] events which recall the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja and Rājēndra. It is quite possible that as in the fight at

Summary of Wars.

Muḍakkāṟu, (which we have identified with the first battle of Kūḍal-Śaṅgamam and which is mentioned at the end of this *praśasti* and the beginning of the grant portion), Vīrarājēndra took part in the campaign conducted by his brothers in the southern countries, long before any idea of his accession to the throne dawned on his mind. The wars against Sōmēśvara in which Vīrarājēndra took part are briefly summed up in this form of the *praśasti* in the statement that the Cōḷa king saw the back of Āhavamalla, that is to say, put him to flight, on five different occasions.[175]

Titles.

From the Tirunāmanallūr inscription of the fourth year, and the Yōgi-mallavaram and Kanyākumāri records of the seventh,[176] Vīrarājēndra is seen occasionally to have appropriated the full regal titles of the Western Cāḷukyas such as Sakala-bhuvanāśraya, Mēdinī-vallabha and Mahārājādhirāja, besides specially Cōḷa titles which, like Āhavamallakulakāla, recall the victories won against the Cāḷukyas. He also styled himself Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Rājāśraya, and Rajarājēndra, titles which, together with Vallabhavallabha, Vīra Cōḷa, and Karikāla, are found in the Kanyākumāri inscription as well.[177] The same inscription tells us that Vīrarājēndra presented a fine ruby called Trailōkyasāra for being mounted on the crown of the Dancer of the Golden Hall, Naṭarāja of Cidambaram[178] and that he endowed many *brahmadēyas* in the countries of Cōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gangavāṭi, and gratified forty thousand Brahmans, learned in the Vedas, by gifts of land.[179] We have already noticed that Gangāpurī was the capital of the Cōḷa empire in this reign as well, and that at the end of his wars he returned to it in state. A palace in Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram called Śōḷakēraḷa-māḷigai and a throne in it called Rājēndraśōḷa Māvali-vāṇarājan are mentioned in a record of the fifth year.[180] The latest regnal year of Vīrarājēndra that is found in inscriptions is the eighth, which is mentioned in a record[181] of the third year of Parakēsari Adhirājēndradēva, the son and successor of Vīrarājēndra, and the brother-in-law of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI. Vīrarājēndra's death must have occurred, therefore, early in A.D. 1070. Śrāvaṇa Āślēṣā was the asterism of his birth.[182] One of his queens, Arumoḷinangai, survived till the fifteenth year of Kulōttunga I; her name is

mentioned in an incomplete inscription of that year from Tanjore.[183] The presence of Buddhism in the Cōḷa kingdom in the reign of Vīrarājēndra, and the influence of Buddhist scholarship on Tamil literature, are attested by the *Vīra-śōḻiyam*, a curious work on Tamil grammar conceived on ultra-Sanskritic lines by Buddhamitra, who calls himself chieftain of Ponperṟi. This place is identified by Venkayya with Ponpetti in the Paṭṭukkōṭṭai tāluq of the Tanjore district.[184]

1. Verse 73.
2. 30 of 1919.
3. *SII.* iii p. 195; *EC.* vii *Sk.* 136.
4. 110 of 1908.
5. 129 of 1912 dated (3)8 is doubtful. It is a solitary record and the first figure in the date is not secure.
6. *EI.* vi p. 24.
7. *EI.* vii p. 9.
8. 87 of 1895 of year 9 of Rājēndra II is said to mention a gift of year 3 of Vīrarājēndra *ARE.* 1895 I 9. If this is correct, Vīrarājēndra's accession must be placed earlier. But the published text (*SII.* v, 647 ll. 52-3) does not seem to mention any such gift in Vīrarājēndra's reign though the name Vīrarājēndra does occur.
9. viii 28; *SII.* iii, p. 113.
10. 119 of 1902 cited at *SII.* iii p. 191.
11. *'tan-tirumagan'*: 87 of 1895. (*SII.* v 647, l. 26). Another record of the same date mentions a Rājamahēndra-road. *SII.* iii p. 41 (l. 6).
12. Cp. *EI.* xviii pp. 30-1.
13. 15 of 1890; *SII.* iii 57.
14. For a succinct study of the variations by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, see *Journal of the Madras University*, xv, pp. 1-22.
15. e.g. *SII.* iii 28 (Yr. 29); 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 81 of 1895; 221 of 1894 (Yr. 32).
16. See the discussion *ARE.* 1907, II 38; 1908 II 56.
17. 135 of 1892; 477 of 1911; *EC.* x Kl. 112 (b).
18. 534 of 1906.
19. 129 of 1912.
20. *BG.* I, ii, 441. But this rather late date for the death of Rājādhirāja is contradicted by the inscriptions of his successor Rājēndra; see *infra*.
21. *Contra ARE*, 1908 II 56.
22. 92 of 1892; 172 of 1894.
23. *SII.* iii 28, p. 56.

24. Text: *'mun-tanakkuḍaindu,'* apparently rendered by Hultzsch into 'which had previously belonged to him.'

25. *'Īḷañjiridenṟeṇṇi uḷangoḷ tannāḍu tannuṟavoḍum pugundu'* is the text.

26. Or daughter. The text has *kādali.*

27. Text *'ularnda.'* Hultzsch has 'perished'; but see later.

28. The text is *'Kannaran-vaḷi-vanduṟai-koḷa-vīḷat-taraiśan-āgiya,'* which Hultzsch translates into 'who had come to Kannaran (Krishna) and ṭaken up (his) abode (with him).' *Uṟai* means in the context 'pride,' 'glory.' The point seems to be that Madanarāja, though a Rāṣṭrakūṭa or, more generally, a Karṇāṭa by descent, became king of Ceylon.

29. Ch. 55 vv. 24-29.

30. *CV.* Ch. 56, vv. 1-6.

31. 92 of 1892 where he is only called 'king of the Ceylonese.' 221 of 1894.

32. Geiger *CV.* ii. p. xxi.

33. *CV.* Ch. 56, v. 7.

34. *ibid,* vv. 8-10

35. *ibid,* vv. 11-14.

36. *PK.* p. 113.

37. *CV. ibid.,* vv. 13-15.

38. Cf. Hultzsch *SII.* iii, p. 53.

39. *ibid.* 3 Decr. A.D. 1046.

40. *ibid;* also *CV.* 56, v. 16.

41. Cf. Hultzsch—*JRAS.* 1913, pp. 519-21 where the opinions expressed by him in *SII.* iii are withdrawn.

42. Jagatīpāla's queen and her daughter Līlāvatī escaped later on from their captivity in the Cōḷa country, *CV.* Ch. 59 vv. 23-4.

43. *SII.* iii. 29. *JRAS,* 1913, p. 519.

44. 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year.

45. *SII.* iii p. 59; 612 of 1912, (*SII.* iv 1408).

46. *Viṟaṟpaḍaik-kalingar-man,* l. 12 of *SII.* iii 29.

47. Supposing that a Vīra-Salāmēgha 'perished in a hot battle' (*SII.* iii p. 56) with Rājādhirāja, Hultzsch distinguishes from him the *'kalingar-man'* of the same name of the Rājēndra inscriptions (*JRAS.* 1913 p. 520), and connects the latter with Trilōkasundarī, a Kalinga queen of Vijayabāhu I, A.D. 1054-1109, and suggests that her nephew Kitti-sirī-mēgha may have been named after Vīra-Salāmēgha. He also suggests that the Pāṇḍya Mānābharaṇa who was decapitated by Rājādhirāja was the ancestor of that Mānābharaṇa who was the nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I; and that Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the Ceylonese opponent of Rājādhirāja, was the ancestor of his namesake Śrī Vallabha, a third nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I. Arguments from the similarity of common names cannot be final; and Hultzsch has not considered the relation between the Mānābharaṇa whose sons were captured by Rājēndra and his namesakes.

48. Vide p. 221 *ante.*

49. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins* pp. 84-5.

50. Cf. *SII.* iii 84 (266 of 1901) of the 7th year of Vīrarājēndradēva, claiming the subjugation of Ceylon among the king's achievements and 594 of 1912—*SII.* iv 1388 (Yr. 3 of Adhirājēndradēva).

51. *CV.* Ch. 57 vv. 65 ff. *EZ.* ii. p. 207; 182 of 1915.

52. *SII.* iii 28.

53. The text is: *'Kaṇḍar Dinakaran Nāraṇan Gaṇavadi vaṇḍalar teriyal Madiśūdanan.'* Hultzsch takes this to be four names; perhaps there are only three. In any case their identity cannot be made out fully though some of them seem to figure in the Western Cāḷukya inscriptions of the time.

54. 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 221 of 1894; 81 of 1895 (Yr. 32).

55. 172 of 1894, Yr. 36 not (2)6; 96 of 1892 (n.d.)—resp. *SII.* v, no. 465 and iv no. 539.

56. This was not Vijayāditya, but Telugu-Cōḍa Bijjana ruling from Ētagiri (Yadgir) on the Bhīmā—430 of 1923; *SII.* ix (1) no. 147; Telingana inscrr. p. 113. Pūṇḍi or Pūṇḍūr is in what was the 'Gadval state' on the left bank of the Kṛṣṇā river.

57. Cf. *Kalingattupparaṇi,* viii 26.

58. *Śeṇḍāḍi*—some game with a ball seems to be meant.

59. 172 of 1894.

60. 244 of 1925 (Yr. 36).

61. Cf. *Yaḥ Kalyāṇapuram dadāha* of v. 73 of the Kanyākumārī inscription.

62. The vague phrase *'balavac-cōḷa-narendra-darpa-dalanam'* at the beginning of a stereotyped Kannaḍa verse in some of his records means little; it is repeated of his son Sōmēśvara II, and as Barnett has observed of the conquests detailed in this verse, the list 'seems to be more epic than historical'. (*EI.* xv. p. 86 *n.* 6; pp. 87, 97). The inscriptions noticed by Fleet (*DKD.* p. 441) are of a later date and will be considered in the proper place. I find it impossible to attach any value to the poetry of Bilhaṇa who in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* makes Sōmēśvara enter Kāñcīpuram in victory, (I. 114-7). It was more or less the poet's job to do it as Sōmēśvara was the father of Bilhaṇa's more fortunate hero Vikramāditya VI.

63. 484 of 1914.

64. 92 of 1892 (*SII.* iv 539) l. 31.

65. 41 of 1904 (*SII.* ix (i), no. 106); 711 of 1919. Also *SII.* ix(i) nos. 98-102; 104-25 for other records ranging from 1044 to 1061.

66. *Contra* Hultzsch, *SII.* iii p. 57, n. 1.

67. *EI.* xvi p. 53.

68. 185 of 1893.

69. *SII.* iii 28. l. 1, which also mentions an elder brother of the king, possibly passed over by Rājēndra I.

70. 214 of 1911. *SII.* iii, 55; ii p. 304 A (of Yr. 3).

71. *SII.* iii 29.

72. Fleet *EI.* xii pp. 296-8. Lat. 16°36', Long. 74°44'. For an earlier discussion of the identity of Koppam, *EC.* ix Introduction p. 16 n. 3, where attention is drawn to the reading in 168 of 1911—*tirthakkoppattahavayil.* Hultzsch rendered *'sepparundiratta'* into: 'The strength (of whose position is) hard to describe' (*SII.* iii p. 63). We must now read the phrase as: *'śepparundirtta,'* meaning 'a *tirtha* (whose merits are) hard to describe.' Rājēndradēva's introductions beginning *Tirumagaḷ maruviya* use the phrase: *'pērārṟangaraik-koppattu-vandedirtta Āhavamallan.'*

73. *HAS.* no. 12, pp. 1-5.

74. 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year. A study of these records by the side of the Maṇimangalam inscription clearly shows that the latter has omitted the earlier stage of the battle in which Rājēndra took no part and Rājādhirāja met his fate.

75. From this point the two accounts agree closely.

76. This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years.

77. Perhaps same as Rēvarasa, ruling in the neighbourhood of Kembhāvi in A.D. 1054-55. Fleet, *BG.* I. ii p. 439; *SII.* iii p. 59:

78. 87 of 1895.

79. *SII.* iii 55, ii p. 304 c.

80. 87 of 1895.

81. In the *Tirumagaḷ maruviya* form of Rājēndra's *praśastis*, the clause that occurs is: *'Tan munnōn śēnai pīnnaduvāga munnedir śenṟu * * * Iraṭṭapāḍi-yeḷarai-yilakkamun-goṇḍu'*, often contracted into *'pinnadu vāga Irattapāḍi.'* This is rendered by Hultzsch generally into 'while the army of his elder brother was at his back.' In the light of other records (esp. 87 of 1895) which clearly state that Rājādhirāja began the fight and Rājēndra entered it after he died, we must, it seems amend Hultzsch's translation and say—'while the army of his elder brother began to retire' a translation which is also required by the phrase employed in the fuller of the two forms quoted above, viz *'munnedir-śenṟu'*, 'going to the front in opposition', as also by the reading *'munnēr śēnai pinnaduvāga,'* 'when the advancing army began to retreat' found in some records (*SII.* ii p. 305, F and G) and amended by Hultzsch into *'munnōn śēnai.'* It is perhaps hardly conceivable, according to Indian notions of precedence, that while the elder brother was present in person on the battle-field, the younger took the lead; but this consideration need not be pressed as the cumulative force of all the inscriptions taken together is, doubtless, very clear. I may also observe that some records omit the word *'tan'* in *'tan munnōn'* e.g., *SII.* iii 55; on this account, it should not be assumed, as Hultzsch seems to do, that the phrase *'Tirumaruviya śengōl vēndan'* refers to the elder brother, (*SII.* iii p. 112—English translation).

It may also be observed, in passing that the words: *'tannānaiyil munnānai śella munnānai tavirttu' SII.* iii 55 (ll. 1-2), which occurs between *'Iraṭṭapāḍi-yēḷarai-yilakkamum-goṇḍu'* and *'Kollā-purattu jayastamba-nāṭṭi,'* has been translated by Hultzsch into: 'when the first elephant (of the enemy) went at his elephant, (his) elder brother

stopped (it).' But this seems hardly satisfactory, as the words '(of the enemy)' introduce into the meaning a concept not warranted by the original, and the locative of the first *'tannānaiyil'* seems to call for another explanation. I think that, in the context, *'ānai'* should be taken to be a mis-spelling of *'āṇai'* and the phrase translated into: 'Displacing the old command (rule) by causing it to follow his own commands.' The suggestion made at *ARE.* 1900 I 20 in reviewing the Tirukōyilūr inscription (123 of 1900, Yr. 6) of Rājēndra that the battle of Koppam was a later event than the expedition to Kollāpuram must be abandoned in view of the new identification of Koppam. The wording of the Tirukōyilūr records (*EI.* vii pp. 145-6), however, seems to lend some support to Hultzsch's view, and many of the shorter introductions mention Kollāpuram before Koppam.

82. *BG.*, I, ii, p. 441; 392 of 1920, *ARE* 1921, II 5.

83. *ARE.* 1919 II. 30.

84. Aṇṇigere: *BG.* I, ii p. 441; and Gawarwad *EI.* xv, 23. ed. Barnett. See also *EC.* viii Sorab 325.

85. Fleet and, following him, Barnett ascribe the expedition and apparently the loss of life that followed to Rājēndradēva. But we have no evidence that Rājēndra lost his life in the Cāḷukya wars, though he was present at Koppam, cf. *SII.* iii p. 53.

86. 193 of 1925 (Yr. 6 of Rājēndra II); possibly also 5 of 1899 of Rājarāja II (Yr. 6). This latter inscription, which is nearly one century later in its date, seems to mix up the achievements of Rājādhirājā I and Rājēndra II. It speaks of 'Perumāḷ Vijayarājēndra-dēva who was pleased to conquer-Kalyāṇapuram and Kollāpuram and to fall asleep (*i.e.*, to die) on an elephant' (*SII.* iii p. 191). Hultzsch remarks: 'This statment must refer to Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājēndradēva, who is known to have set up a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram'—a view expressed with more caution in *ARE.* 1899 I 53 by Venkayya. 472 of 1920 from Śaḷukki (NA.) of the fourth year of Rājakēsari Rājēndra (Kulōttunga I) gives the same description much earlier than the record noticed by Hultzsch; the title Vijayarājēndra is not, however, given here. Rājēndradēva nowhere claims to have conquered Kalyāṇapuram, did not have the title Vijayarājēndra, and as far as we know, did not die on an elephant in battle. These features distinctly recall Rājādhirāja I (*ARE.* 1925 II 16), whose third year would fall, however, about A.D. 1021, in the reign of Rājēndra I. (See also 472 of 1920—Yr. 4 of Kulōttunga I). If this view is correct, I am not sure it is, the theory, that during the Ālanguḍi famine the state could not help the sufferers owing to the treasury being impoverished by the horse-sacrifice of Rājādhirāja (*ARE.* 1899 I 53), cannot stand. But after all the famine might have occurred in the reign of Rājēndra II, about A.D. 1055; only the king might have been wrongly described in the record of Rājarāja II. The horse-sacrifice is, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja as early as the 26th year, A.D. 1044, if not earlier.

87. 258 of 1910 (Yr. 35).

88. 420 of 1925 (Yr. 35).

89. 446 of 1918 (Yr. 24).

90. 213 of 1894.

91. 78 of 1920 (Yr. 33).
92. 188 of 1919 (Yr. 35).
93. 258 of 1910 (Yr. 35).
94. 413 of 1902 (Yr. 33).

95. Tirukkaḷukkunram is called Ulagaḷanda-śōḷapuram in a record of the 26th year (172 of 1894).
96. 102 of 1912.
97. 85 of 1920.
98. 279 of 1895.
99. 295 of 1922.

100. 221 of 1894 (*SII.* v 520). Viṣṇuvardhana has been identified with the future Kulōttunga I in *ARE.* 1895 I, 11.

101. 214 of 1911. In 421 of 1903 the king seems to be called Rāja-rāja by mistake. Sewell: (*HISI.* p. 82) adopts A.D. 1052, May 28, the date of the accession of Rājēndradeva, for the battle of Koppam. But we have no evidence that Rājēndra did not become heir-apparent some time before the battle. See *EI.* vi. pp. 213-9 for Belaturu record of yr. 6 (Ś. 979).

102. 81 of 1928. 173 of 1894 (Yr. 5) has '*nilaviya*' for '*maruviya,*' but is otherwise the same.
103. 3 of 1892, (*SII.* iii 29); 396 of 1913.
104. 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915.
105. viii 27.
106. ll. 38-40.
107. *SII.* iii p. 58. '*Kādalar*' definitely means 'sons' in this record; Rājēndraśōḷa one of the '*kādalar*' is clearly called '*tan-tirumagan*' in 87 of 1895, (*contra.* Hultzsch. *op. cit.* p. 62 n. 9)—unless indeed, we must assume the more general meaning for '*kādalar,*' take '*tirumagan*' to be a loose expression for son-in-law, and identify Rājēndra with Kulōttunga I. But the phrase '*kādalar kādalar,*' clearly means grandson; and this favours the first suggestion.
108. *ARE.* 1899 I, 51.
109. He quotes his father's *praśasti* in some records. For the others many guesses have been put forward.
110. 119 of 1902. His other records begin in three ways: *Manunīdi-muṟaivaḷara; tirumangai-vaḷara; tirumagaḷ-viḷanga:* none of them is of any historical value. 80 of 1935-6 of yr. 4 (22 July 1062) is the latest date known for him, *ARE.* 1935-6, II 38.
111. 87 of 1895; *SII.* v. p. 271 ll. 32-39.
112. 113 of 1896 *SII.* v. no. 976; 718 of 1909.
113. *SII.* iii. 84, l. 8. Hultzsch thinks this a reference to the fourth encounter preceding that in which Kampili was burnt (*ibid.* p. 195).
114. *SII.* iii. p. 37 (ll. 3-8) identical with 113 of 1896.
115. I have adopted the reading; '*ikalmunai virudoḍu malaikkum*' of 113 of 1896.
116. Hultzsch translates: '*śerṟavan-śirattinai-yaruttu*' into 'cut off the head of the corpse' apparently failing to notice that '*śerṟavan*' is made up of '*śerṟu*' and '*avan.*' cf. *śerṟu van-śirattinai* (133 of 1896).

117. i.e. the van-guard (of the Cōḷa king)-Hultzsch.

118. *Mēgha-ḍambar.*

119. The text is *Puṣpakap-piḍiyum.*

120. 266 of 1901 (*SII.* iii no. 84)— ll. 8-9.

121. Another engagement fixed at this same place for a later day did not come off. See *post.* pp. 268 ff.

122. *Contra* S. K. Aiyangar-*Ancient India* p. 121.

123. Another view of these events is possible. Muḍakkāṟu may not be Kūḍal-Śangamam; Irugaiyan may have fought at Muḍakkāṟu, and this need have no connection with the mutilation of his wife in the Vēngī campaign of Vīrarājēndra, which preceded the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. As Vīrarājēndra's record is dated in his second year (*c.* A.D. 1064) and E. Cāḷukya Rājarāja-narēndra died in 1063, it is just possible that Vikramāditya's entry into Vēngī (Cāmuṇḍarāya's expedition) was connected with some succession dispute after Rājarāja's death. On this scheme, we have to assume that the battle of Muḍakkāṟu—whatever river may be meant—took place c. A.D. 1060; and three years or so later came the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam recorded in the inscriptions of A.D. 1064. On the whole the view adopted in the text, based on the identification of Muḍakkāṟu with Kūḍal-Śangamam, seems simpler, and there appears to be nothing that can be urged against such a position. It should also be observed, in this connection, that Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions of the second year say nothing about his helping Vijayāditya to gain or regain the Vēngī throne,—an event which is not mentioned as having taken place till after the second battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and about the fifth year of Vīrarājēndra (c. A.D. 1067). So that if we drop the somewhat uncritical assumption that Vikramāditya and Vīrarājēndra concerned themselves about Vēngī only after Rājarāja-narēndra's death, the course of events becomes clear and perhaps more easy to follow.

124. *SII.* iii. p. 32.

125. *SII.* iii. no. 30, l. 26.

126. If Kāndaḷ is Kurnool (*Eastern Cāḷukyas*, p. 260), it would point to the confluence of the Tungabhadrā with the Kṛṣṇā. Fleet suggested the confluence of the Pañca-gangā and the Kṛṣṇā in the neighbourhood of Khidrāpūr (Koppam) as the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the Cōḷa inscriptions; and identified Karandaḷ with Iñcal Karañji in the same place (*EI.* xii p. 298). But as he does not seem to have written the more detailed note promised by him on the subject, it is impossible to see how he would have met the objections to these identifications that arise from the narrative of the campaign as given in the Cōḷa records which do not once mention Raṭṭapāḍi as having been entered by the Cōḷa forces on this occasion. On the later occasion Raṭṭapāḍi is said to have been devastated; but the pillar is erected on the banks of the Tungabhadrā.

127. 144 of 1898.

128. *TAS.* i 164-8.

129. 102 of 1926 (Yr. 9).

130. *EI.* v. p. 77 v. 11; Cellūr v. 12.

131. 123 of 1900, *EI.* vii. pp. 145-6.

132. 84 of 1895.
133. 612 of 1912.
134. *SII.* iii. 21.
135. ll. 40-42.
136. In the section on *Rājamahēndran kainkaryam.*
137. 502 of 1930.
138. 612 of 1930.
139. An admirable discussion of Vīrarājēndra's records by Hultzsch is found at *SII.* iii pp. 192-6.
140. *SII.* iii 20; 113 of 1896 (*SII.* v. 976).
141. *SII.* iii, 30.
142. V. 774. Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar's identification of the king with Rājarāja II seems rather doubtful.
143. 113 of 1896; *SII.* iii, 20, p. 33.
144. 113 of 1896.
145. Hultzsch, *SII.* iii, p. 193.
146. v. 76.
147. *SII.* iii 20.
148. *SII.* iii 30.
149. It must be noted that all the events up to this point are mentioned in a fourth year record found in Maḷūr, of which only the *praśasti* is preserved (194 of 1911: *EC.* ix Cp. 85).
150. The term '*piraṭṭan*' seems to be the Sanskrit word '*bhraṣṭa*', rather than the Tamil '*puraṭṭan*' a fraud or a liar *contra* Hultzsch *SII.* iii, p. 69.
151. This, I think, is the real meaning, as suggested by A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar (*Life and Times of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI.* Tamil Edn. pp. 22-3 and n. 3). Hultzsch understands this rather obscure passage as referring to Vīrarājēndra's alliance with Vikramāditya. But that, I think, belongs to a later stage of the war when Sōmēśvara I was no more and to the first fight of Vīrarājēndra with Sōmēśvara II. On the present occasion, Vīrarājēndra is still fighting the entire family of Sōmēśvara I and on every front. The difference between Vikramāditya VI and his brother which gave Vīrarājēndra the chance of an alliance with the former did not, it seems, arise until after the death of Sōmeśvara I, of which Vīrarājēndra had no knowledge on this occasion. The Maṇimangalam inscription of the fifth year, therefore, cannot be said to anticipate, as Hultzsch says it does (*SII.* iii pp. 194-195), the events recorded in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh years of Vīrarājēndra. For one thing, the word *piraṭṭan* in l. 27 of the Maṇimangalam record makes it impossible for us to identify him with Vikramāditya VI (cf. l. 22 of the same record; also *Takkayāgapparaṇi* v. 774, where *piraṭṭan*, an unfriendly Cāḷukya, is contrasted with *iraṭṭan*, a friendly one). Again the expressions of the records of the sixth and seventh years make it clear that they are referring to a single occasion, which is different from that of the Maṇimangalam record and in which Vikramāditya became friends with Vīrarājēndra. *SII.* iii. 83 (Yr. 6) says that Vīrarājēndra burnt Kampili and occupied Karaḍigal before Sōmēśvara (II) could untie his necklace (ll. 7-8), and this is the first occasion of an encounter with the Cāḷukyas after the conquest of Vēngī

on behalf of Vijayāditya VII; 84 (Yr. 7) records (ll. 5-6) that on the same occasion, Sōmēśvara (II) was forced to abandon the Kannaradēśā and that the submissive Vikramāditya was invested with the necklace by the Cōḷa king. The *Vikramānkadēva Carita* also places the alliance between its hero and the Cōḷa king some time after Sōmēśvara I's demise and on the banks of the Tungabhadrā; and according to the same poem, at the time of his father's death, Vikramāditya was absent on a conquering tour which extended to Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa, which, again, seems very probable, as Vīrarājēndra himself had to go off to Vēngī after Sōmēśvara I failed to keep his engagement with him at Kūḍal-Śangamam. Lastly, it does not seem necessary to assume that the *kaṇṭhikā* (necklace) was necessarily a symbol of heir-apparentship and not of kingship in general, and hold, as Hultzsch does (*SII.* iii p. 194), that in the sixth year of Vīrarājēndra, Sōmēśvara I was alive and Sōmēśvara II was still only crown-prince (*IA.* xx p. 267 under 17-Vijayāditya V and the references given there). Even if the *kaṇṭhikā* was a symbol of subordinate position, Sōmēśvara II's untying it may mean that his father was no more and that he had become ruler in his own right,—probably the best view of the case.

152. *EI.* vii p. 9.

153. *Vikramānkadēva Carita* iv 44-68; *EC.* vii Sk. 136.

153a. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Ancient India* p. 123; A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar *op. cit.* p. 23.

Dr. Venkataramaṇayya holds that Sōmēśvara I deceived Vīrarājēndra by a false message promising to meet him at Kūḍal-Śangamam while he really meant to carry the war into the Cōḷa country by sending his son Vikramāditya to the south along the west coast; this was why Sōmēśvara went to the western ocean and the Cōḷa inscriptions misrepresent this as a flight. The evidence relied on for this reconstruction is mainly Bilhaṇa's *kāvya* (*Eastern Cāḷukyas*, pp. 259 ff).

153b. iv. 36.

154. Means both 'a strong man' and 'Cāḷukya.'

155. iv. 29, 30.

156. We have a number of undated inscriptions at Drākṣārāma recording vows taken by chieftains promising exclusive allegiance to Śrī Parāntaka, Kōnērinmaikoṇḍār Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja. Perhaps Vijayāditya VII is meant by these titles and the records are of this period (*SII* iv. 1269-1275). *Eastern Cāḷukyas*, pp. 249-50.

157. 182 of 1915 distinctly says that the Cāḷukya forces were met at Śakkarakkōṭṭam and defeated by Vīrarājēndra-*paḍaik-kaḍalēvi vaḍa-tiśaic-Cakkarakkōṭṭattu puk-kuḍanṟelunda Śaḷukkiyat-tānaiyaik-kanal-paḍa nūṟi*: (*cf.* also the early inscriptions of Kulōttunga). *EI.* xxi. pp. 232-3. The same record mentions battles at Koṇḍai (about 70 miles N.W. of Rajahmundry, *Eastern Cāḷukyas*, p. 266 *n.* 2) and Kāvi, resulting in the capture of much booty and many prisoners including women by the Cōḷas, and the erection of a pillar of victory bearing the tiger emblem. The expression *puli-śuṭṭukalliṟ-jayastamba nāṭṭi* (l. 9) simply means: 'having set up a stone pillar of victory bearing the tiger (emblem)'; the

editor of the inscription in *EI.*, however, discovers a place-name Puli-Suṭṭukkal (p. 243) though he offers no identification of it at p. 228.

158. Hultzsch has clearly misunderstood the phrase—'*igaliḍaippūṇḍa jayattiruvoḍum*' which he translates into: 'with the goddess of victory, who had shown hostility in the interval,' and in which he sees 'an admission of the fact that the Cōḷas had experienced reverses.' *SII.* iii. p. 70 and n. 4. The '*iḍai*' after '*igal*' is clearly a locative suffix to the preceding word meaning 'battle,' *not* 'hostility', in the context.

159. Hultzsch *SII.* iii. p. 193.

160. Hultzsch identifies this elder brother of the king with Āḷavandān, *SII.* iii. p. 194.

161. v. 77.

162. *CV.* Ch. 58 vv. 1-17. Codrington (*Short History* p. 56) says: 'A first attempt to secure Polonnāruwa was made in or about A.D. 1066 but ended in failure, and Vijayabāhu was compelled to fortify himself at Vātagiri (Wākirigala in Kēgalla district).' I think that the fortification at Vātagiri belongs to the later campaign of 1070 of which the narrative in the *CV.* begins with v. 18.

163. 182 of 1915. cf. Kaḍalaḍaiyāḍilangai-koṇḍa-Śōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.
164. 175 of 1894; 266 of 1901, *SII.* iii. 84.
165. *EC.* vii Sk. 136.
166. *SII.* iii. 83.
167. *EI.* xii. pp. 295, 309
168. *SII.* iii. 84.
169. v. 774.
170. *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita* iv 69—v. 10.
171. v. 25-6.
172. v. 28—vi. 3.
172a. *JBBRAS.* ix. p. 278, 242; *BG.* 1, ii p. 567.
173. e.g. 127 of 1913; 455 of 1920; *EC.* xi Cd. 82; *SII.* iii p. 65.
174. *SII.* iii. 84 ll. 1-2.
175. *SII.* iii. p. 194.
176. 371 of 1902, *SII* iii. 81; 273 of 1904.
177. vv. 75; 77-8.
178. v. 79 (fragment).
179. vv. 80-81.
180. 182 of 1915.
181. *SII.* iii. 57 ll. 11-12.
182. 182 of 1915, l. 25.
183. *SII.* ii. 58. p. 234.
184. *ARE.* 1899, paragraph 50; *SII.* iii. p. 197; *Vīraśōḷiyam*-Pāyiram.

CHAPTER XII

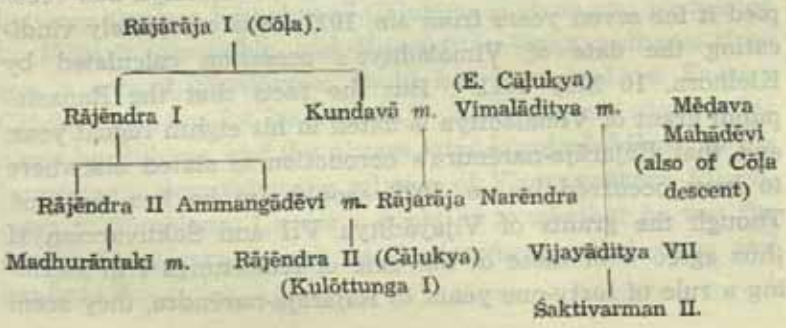
THE ACCESSION OF KULŌTTUNGA I (A.D. 1070)

Adhirājēndra.

Vīrarājēndra died early in A.D. 1070, the eighth year of his reign. He was succeeded on the throne by Parakēsari Adhirājēndra who had a very short reign of some weeks' duration and was followed by Rājakēsari Kulōttunga Cōḷa I on 9 June A.D. 1070.[1] As we find inscriptions of Adhirājēndra dated in his third year, and as the exact date of Kulōttunga's accession is quite clearly attested by his dated stone inscriptions from the Telugu country, it is evident that Adhirājēndra must have been chosen heir-apparent by Vīrarājēndra some time in 1067-8. Adhirājēndra's relation to Vīrarājēndra may be inferred from the explicit statement in the *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita* that on the death of his father-in-law, Vikramāditya started for Kāñcī and Gangākuṇḍapura in order to place his wife's brother on the Cōḷa throne.[2] Why his reign was so short and how the Eastern Cāḷukya prince Rājēndra II came to occupy the Cōḷa throne in 1070 are questions that do not admit of decisive answers. The evidence bearing on them proceeds from several quarters. These various sources differ so much from one another, and suggest so many explanations of the occurrences that the conviction is borne in upon us that almost every one of our authorities had strong motives to put forward a separate version of the course of events.

The Cōḷas and Eastern Cāḷukyas.

As a result of several inter-marriages, for some time the members of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty had become plainly Cōḷas at heart, far more than Cāḷukyas.[3] The following genealogical table illustrates the interrelation between the two dynasties:



The Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates of the period fall into two sets, one of them mentioning the transactions of Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II, omitted by others,—a feature not unknown in other passages of E. Cāḷukya history as we know. The facts as set forth in the first set of plates are the following. After twelve years had elapsed from the accession of Rājarāja-narēndra, his step-brother Vijayāditya ousted him from the throne and crowned himself king in Śaka 952, A.D. 1030;[4] the grant which mentions this fact is dated in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya.[5] Then the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II, which do not mention any regnal year, state that Śaktivarman was crowned as king in the year Śaka 983, on a day corresponding to 18 October A.D. 1061, after Rājarāja had enjoyed a reign of forty-one years; they omit the coronation of Vijayāditya in A.D. 1030.[6] Lastly, the Ryāli plates (two sets) of Vijayāditya VII omit all reference to the occurrences of A.D. 1030-2, give forty-one years to Rājarāja, state that Vijayāditya took by force the kingdom of his step-brother without his knowledge (at his death),[7] that he handed it over to his son Śaktivarman out of the love he bore him, and that, when Śaktivarman died at the end of one year by a bad stroke of fate, Vijayāditya was only persuaded with difficulty, like Arjuna at the death of Abhimanyu, to resume the duties of state. These grants are dated in the twelfth year of Vijayāditya's rule. There is nothing in the palaeography or the dating of these records that raises any doubt as to their genuineness.

Vijayāditya VII.

Alike in their chronology and in their narration of events, these plates differ from those of Kulōttunga which will be noticed presently. These imply that Rājarāja-narēndra came to the E. Cāḷukya throne in 1018 after Vimalāditya had occupied it for seven years from A.D. 1011, thus completely vindicating the date of Vimalāditya's accession calculated by Kielhorn, 10 May 1011.[8] But the facts that the Raṇastapūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya is dated in his eighth regnal year, and that Rājarāja-narēndra's coronation is stated elsewhere to have occurred in A.D. 1022 should not be lost sight of. Though the grants of Vijayāditya VII and Śaktivarman II thus agree with those of the time of Kulōttunga I in ascribing a rule of forty-one years to Rājarāja-narēndra, they seem

to reckon the years from a different starting point, A.D. 1018, which is four years earlier than the date usually given, in the later grants, for Rājarāja's coronation, A.D. 1022. The language of the Ryāli plates and the date of Śaktivarman II's coronation[9] even raise a doubt if Vijayāditya waited till the natural end of Rājarāja's life or deposed him earlier. In any event, seeing that Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions before his seventh year (A.D. 1068-9) do not mention his having had anything to do with Vijayāditya, there is no room for assuming, as has been sometimes done, that he interfered in any dispute relating to the succession, on Rājarāja's death, between Kulōttunga I and Vijayāditya VII or that he helped to keep out the former.[10]

His usurpation.

The hostility of Vijayāditya VII to Rājarāja, and possibly to his son Rājēndra-Kulōttunga, that becomes apparent from these plates has led to the identification of Vijayāditya VII with Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya (of some Western Cāḷukya inscriptions) who bears Eastern Cāḷukya titles like Sarvalōkāśraya and Vēngīmaṇḍalēśvara. Fleet who first proposed this identification, basing himself mainly on the similarity of names and titles,[11] subsequently gave it up and made the Western Cāḷukya prince a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I, not mentioned by Bilhaṇa, apparently because he played a very insignificant part.[12] In recent years, Fleet's original identification has again found support from scholars under the influence of the newly discovered copper-plates of Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II, and attempts have been made to prove that after the failure of his first usurpation (A.D. 1030-32), Vijayāditya left the Vēngī country and sought service under and support from Sōmēśvara I.[13] It is true that a marriage relation between the two branches of Cāḷukyas such as was postulated by Fleet is impossible, and Vijayāditya-Viṣṇuvardhana, if he was a son of Sōmēśvara, could not have had an Eastern Cāḷukya princess for his mother.[14] Again the omission of this name by Bilhaṇa, and the phrase *tatpādapadmārādhaka* in the inscriptions, describing the relation of Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya to Sōmēśvara I, raise a doubt as to whether he was the son of Sōmēśvara though he is elsewhere called *maga* and *nandana*.[15]

Two Vijayādityas?

E. Cāḷukya plates of Kulōttunga's sons.

To return to the evidence from the Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates. Three grants of the sons of Kulōttunga, known as the Ṭēki, Cellūr and Pithāpuram grants, dated respectively in the seventeenth, twenty-first and twenty-third years of his reign, narrate in almost identical terms the course of events in Vēngī as it was described by Kulōttunga himself to his son Rājarājamummaḍicōḍa, while sending him to Vēngī as viceroy of the northern province of the Cōḷa empire.[16] From these plates we learn that, at the death of Rājarāja after a rule of forty-one years Rājēndra was first crowned as lord of Vēngī and attained great celebrity. He was then crowned in the Cōḍa-rājya, not less exalted in status than the position of Dēvēndra. He married Madhurāntakī, the very Lakṣmī risen from the ocean, namely Rājēndra-dēva, the *tilaka* of the Solar race. He had many children by her, and to one of them, Rājarāja, he said: 'Child, the great kingdom of Vēngī was, in days gone by, entrusted by me to my paternal uncle, king Vijayāditya, as I was desirous of undertaking a conquering tour (or according to the Cellūr plates, "as I was desirous of securing the Cōḷa kingdom"). He too, who was like a god and resembled a lion in his strength, went to heaven after ruling the kingdom for fifteen years.' And the Ṭēki plates make it clear that Vijayāditya's death occurred some time in A.D. 1077;[17] this would mean that Kulōttunga appointed him as his deputy in A.D. 1062 or thereabout.

In order to reconcile these statements of Kulōttunga on his relations with Vijayāditya VII with what we know of them from other sources, we must recall the time and circumstance of the utterance attributed to Kulōttunga. By 1077 Kulōttunga was firmly seated on the Cōḷa throne; and securely established at the head of a prosperous and extensive empire, he was addressing his own son, after the death of his uncle and on the eve of sending him out as viceroy to the northern kingdom. Paternal solicitude as well as good taste and policy required that, rather than expatiate on ancient family feuds that deserved to be forgotten, he should give the best possible account of the past history of the viceroyalty that the young prince was about to take upon himself.

Relations between Kulōttunga and Vijayāditya.

That Vijayāditya's relations with Kulōttunga and his father, however, had been nothing so pleasant as Kulōttunga afterwards represented them to his son, becomes clear not only from his Pāmulāvāka, and Ryāli plates, and the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II discussed above, but from other evidence as well. We learn from Eastern Ganga inscriptions that even after Kulōttunga became Cōḷa emperor, the hostile relations between Vijayāditya and his nephew continued more or less unabated. The Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga[18] state that his father Rājarāja having, in the first instance, become the lord of the goddess of victory in a 'Tamil battle', then married Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōḷa king. The same lady is described elsewhere in unmistakable terms as the daughter of Rājēndra Cōḷa (Vīrarājendra) and the chief queen of Rājarāja.[19]

The Ganga king is also said to have offered help to Vijayāditya at the end of his life. The grant that mentions the 'Tamil battle' also states that 'when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left the country of Vēngī, as if he were the sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cōḍas,' Rājarāja of Kalinganagara 'caused him to enjoy prosperity for a time in the Western region,' that is, Vēngī to the west of Kalinganagara.[20] The approximate date for these occurrences is furnished by the Dīrghasi inscription of Vanapati dated Śaka 997, A.D. 1075, which makes a pointed reference to Vanapati's successes gained on behalf of his Ganga overlord against the Cōḷa forces.[21] A war between Kulōttunga and the E. Ganga Rājarāja followed by a mediation by Rājarāja Ganga between Vijayāditya VII and his nephew Kulōttunga on a subsequent occasion, and the demise of Vijayāditya some time after the successful intercession of Rājarāja are thus clearly attested by the Ganga records of the time.

We are now in a position to explain the relations among the monarchs interested in Vēngī and the probable reason for Vīrarājēndra bestowing Vēngī on Vijayāditya VII whom he had fought for many years both in Vēngī and in Karṇāṭaka. The death of Rājāraja Narendra (1061) starts the trouble

which ends soon after the death of Śōmeśvara I (1068) with a veritable diplomatic revolution. When Vijayāditya VII seized the throne of Vēngī after Rājarāja's death and bestowed it on his son Śaktivarman II with the aid of Śōmeśvara I, the Cōḷa Vīrarājēndra wanted to re-establish the Cōḷa influence in Vēngī which had disappeared in recent years owing to the neglect of his brothers. But though he killed Śaktivarman II in battle, that did not change the political alignment. Vijayāditya, though bereaved, allowed himself to be persuaded to rule in Vēngī and was actively supported by Śomeśvara I and his sons, particularly Vikramāditya. This political set up continued till the death of Śomeśvara I, after which event the schemes of the ambitious Vikramāditya dominate the political field. Though a younger son of Śomeśvara I, Vikramāditya was conscious of his superior ability and set about plotting against his elder brother Śomeśvara II who succeeded his father. He made up his mind to secure the support of the Cōḷa ruler by paying a price; knowing full well how keen Vīrarājēndra was on Vēngī, he resolved to satisfy him here provided he got the Cōḷa's aid against his brother and thereby secured a part, if not the whole, of the Cāḷukya kingdom for himself. This brought to an end this phase of the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya war. Vijayāditya consented to receive and hold the Vēngī kingdom as a fief of the Cōḷa empire: Vikramāditya got half the Cāḷukya kingdom forced from his brother by Vīrarājēndra who also gave him one of his daughters in marriage and another (Rājasundari) to the Kalinga ruler Rājarāja, the other ally on Vikramāditya's side. And if Vīrarājendra had lived for some years after this settlement instead of dying very soon after it, the course of history may have been very different from what it turned out to be.

Vīrarājendra's intercession.

If Rājēndra-Kulōttunga was first crowned as lord of Vēngī, as the later E. Cāḷukya plates assert (in contradiction to those of Vijayāditya), it is remarkable that these plates fail to give us the exact date of this coronation as they do of most other coronations. The Telugu inscriptions of Kulōttunga containing both regnal years and Śaka dates support the date A.D. 1070 for the commencement of his rule, and this was the date of his accession to the Cōḷa throne.[22]

Kulōttunga's position in 1063-70.

The crux of the Kulōttunga problem is, in fact, the question: what did he do with himself in the interval between his father's death and A.D. 1070? Fleet added up the two statements in the Ṭēki and Cellūr grants that Kulōttunga appointed his uncle as deputy in Vēngī because he wanted to have (i) a conquering tour and (ii) the Cōḷarājya, and stated that 'Kulōttunga acquired the Cōḷa crown by hostile invasion and conquest,' and placed this event in A.D. 1063, in spite of the indication of a much later date for it furnished by the *Vikramānkadēva Carita*.[23] He also pointed out that Kulōttunga's conquest and annexation of the Cōḷa empire were not entirely the result of a failure of the Cōḷa succession, and that it must have been powerfully aided by a rebellion in the Cōḷa country and a state of anarchy of which we get some idea from the *Kalingattupparaṇi*. Later writers, while they have recognised the mistake in Fleet's date for these occurrences, have not been so ready to give up his suggestions of hostile invasion, and in fact have added to it the charge of political murder against Kulōttunga.[24] Reserving the literary sources for more detailed consideration at a large stage, it may be observed here that the course adopted by Fleet in putting together two alternative statements made in peculiar circumstances about past events and evolving the theory of hostile invasion seems to be of doubtful validity, and that even the *Vikramānkadēva Carita* does not contain the remotest suggestion that Kulōttunga put his rivals out of the way by secret murder, or even by open fighting. And now we must remember what Fleet was not aware of, viz., that the supposed appointment of Vijayāditya by Kulōttunga to deputise for him at Vēngī and his occupation of the Cōḷa throne are separated by the whole interval of the reign of Vīrarājēndra.

Evidence of the early Tamil inscriptions of Kulōttunga.

At the time of his father's death and the forcible seizure of the Vēngī throne by Vijayāditya mentioned in the Ryāli plates, Kulōttunga, or Rājēndra as he was then known, must have been a youth in his teens. For considering that he lived on to have a long rule of fifty years from A.D. 1070, it is hardly likely that about A.D. 1062 he was more than twenty years of age. His earliest Tamil inscriptions record certain facts which seem to indicate how Rājēndra engaged himself when he was thus kept out of his

inheritance. The records of his second year[25] state that, with the aid only of the strength of his arms and his sword, he overcame the treachery of his enemies, captured many herds of elephants, levied tribute from the Nāgavamśī king, Dhārāvarṣa of Cakrakūṭa, and gently raised the Earth resembling the lotus expecting the rise of the sun for blooming, as Viṣṇu raised the Earth from the ocean in his boar incarnation, and seated her, to her great pleasure, under the shade of his parasol.[26] His records soon came to describe these achievements as belonging to the period of his *iḷangōp-paruvam*, when he was still heir-apparent.[27] If this view is correct, we must conclude that Rājēndra spent the best part of the period A.D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar state, and possibly even carved out for himself a small dominion beyond it in the Pūrvadēśa, even if he did not gain complete control over the Cakrakūṭa state and annex parts of the Pūrvadēśa to it, as his inscriptions imply. Possibly this northern extension of the influence of Vēngī, so closely allied to the Cōḷas, was the cause of Vikramāditya's expedition against Vēngī and Cakrākūṭa, counteracted by the campaign of Vīrarājēndra culminating in the battle of Bezwāda. It will be remembered that in the course of this campaign, Vīrarājēndra is said also to have marched up to Śakkarakkōṭṭam. After the death of Vīrarājēndra, Kulōttunga marched into the Cōḷa country in good time to get himself accepted as king; but more of this later. And as he did some fighting during these years and subsequently came to look upon the whole period as a sort of probation for the Cōḷa throne, he might have felt justified in saying that he left Vēngī to his uncle Vijayāditya at the death of his father for a double reason.[28]

Literary evidence.

We may now turn to the literary evidence on the subject of Kulōttunga's accession. On one matter the evidence of two works is in complete accord with that of the inscriptions. Both the *Vikramānkadēva Carita* and the *Vikramaśoḷan-ulā*[29] are explicit in stating that Vīrarājēndra was succeeded by another king before Kulōttunga came to the throne; the *ulā* by its very brief reference giving no particulars whatever of his reign, and the *Carita* by directly stating that he lost his life in a rebellion that occurred within a few days of his installation[30], imply that he had a very short reign; this king was no doubt Parakēsari Adhi-

rājēndra of the inscriptions. And Kulōttunga himself recognised the legitimacy of Adhirājēndra's position when he styled himself Rājakēsari. In some of his records, however, is found a double *praśasti* which, by combining the two forms *vīramē tuṇai-yāgavum* and *pugaḻmādu viḻanga,* seems to set up a claim that Kulōttunga should be considered the direct successor of Vīrarājēndra.[31] And the *Kalingattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār, makes it a point to ignore the reign of Adhirājēndra.[32] This poem is often cited in support of the notions that at his birth Kulōttunga was adopted by Rājēndra Cōḻadēva I into the Cōḻa family and that he was brought up in his maternal grandfather's court.[33] But there is nothing in the actual words employed by the poet to suggest either a formal ceremony of adoption or to enable us to know where the prince spent his early years. In fact the date of this prince's birth must be placed at the end of Rājēndra I's reign, some time after A.D. 1040. By that time Rājādhirāja I had long been associated with his father as *yuvarāja,* and there were several brothers of his perhaps occupying responsible posts in the administration of the empire. There was no need for any adoption; and considering his marriage with Madhurāntaki, it is impossible to postulate it. In fact all that Jayangoṇḍār says is that on the birth of the child, the queen of Gangaikoṇḍaśōḻa raised him in her hands and expressed her admiration of the marks on his limbs by observing that he was fit to be a son of the solar line born for its protection; in the very next verse the poet takes good care to add that the kings of both the lunar and the solar dynasties, that is Rājarājanarēndra and Rājēndra Gangaikoṇḍa, experienced joy on the occasion of the birth of the prince.[34] After a convential account of the early years of the prince, the poet states than Abhaya[35] (Vīrarājēndra) made him crown prince, and then proceeds to describe his *digvijaya* of which particulars are furnished only with reference to the northern direction. He is said to have made his mark in Vayirākaram and Śakkarakkōṭṭam. He was still in the north engaged in these campaigns when the Cōḻa king died in the south, and there ensued anarchy and confusion until Abhaya Kulōttunga returned and restored order. This account of Jayangoṇḍār is remarkable in some ways. It studiously refrains from mentioning Adhirājēndra and asserts that Vīrarājēndra made Abhaya crown prince for the rule of

Was Kulōttunga adopted into the Cōḻa family?

the Earth, meaning no doubt, the Cōḷa kingdom; and it recounts details of campaigns in Wairagarh and Cakrakūṭa exactly like the early inscriptions of Kulōttunga to which attention has been drawn above. Though the poet aims, as Fleet has remarked, at treating Abhaya on the whole as a Cōḷa prince rather than as Cāḷukya, he has still not altogether suppressed the Cāḷukya connections, and in his account of the youthful achievements of Abhaya he follows the early records of the reign rather closely. Above all, his account leaves no room for doubt as to the whereabouts of Abhaya at the time when his chance arrived to seize the Cōḷa throne. It is also of some interest to note that in the account of Abhaya's *digvijaya*, and in the attempt made, in the inscriptions, to combine the *praśasti* of Vīrarājēndra with that of Kulōttunga, and thus cast a doubt on the legitimacy of Adhirājēndra's rule, the poem and the inscriptions are in perfect agreement.

Troubles of Adhirājēndra.

The *Vikramānkadēva Carita* of Bilhaṇa gives the story from yet another point of view, which is as hostile to Kulōttunga as the *Kalingattupparaṇi* is favourable to him.[36] Soon after Vikramāditya's marriage, his father-in-law the Cōḷa king, died and the kingdom fell into a state of anarchy. When he heard of these things, he set out for Kāñcī with the definite object of helping the late king's son to the throne. At Kāñcī, Vikramāditya spent some days in bringing the wicked (*duṣṭavarga*) to their knees, and then marched to Gangākuṇḍa where he destroyed the forces of the enemy and finally secured the throne for the Cōḷa prince. After spending about a month in that city, Vikramāditya, apparently satisfied that peace had been restored, retired to the Tungabhadrā. Within a few days after his return, the news reached him that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion and that Rājiga, the lord of Vēngī, had captured the throne vacated by the Cōḷa prince. 'Vikramāditya VI marched at once against Rājiga. The latter induced Sōmēśvara II to combine with him; and a battle was fought. But the victory rested with Vikramāditya VI; Rājiga fled and Sōmēśvara II was taken prisoner. This lost Sōmēśvara the throne; and shortly afterwards, according to the poem, Vikramāditya VI allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekkan.'[37]

Kulōttunga's share in them.

Certain questions naturally arise from this account: who was responsible for the troubles that followed Vīrarājēndra's death and rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya to come over to Kañcī and Gangākuṇḍa to secure the succession for his brother-in-law? Who were the wicked people of Kañcī and the hostile forces of Gangākuṇḍa whom Vikramāditya had to suppress before Adhirājēndra could feel secure on the throne and Vikramāditya himself retire to the Tungabhadrā? And what was the nature of the rebellion in which Adhirājēndra lost his life within a few days after Vikramāditya's retirement? There is no direct statement in the *Vikramānkadēva Carita* of Kulōttunga's complicity in these conspiracies and rebellions; but the facts that they paved the way for Kulōttunga's accession to the Cōḷa throne, that Vikramāditya VI marched against him and made an attempt to oust him after he occupied it, and the silence of the *Kalingattupparaṇi* on Adhirājēndra's reign seem to furnish some ground for the inference that Kulōttunga's ambition and intrigue brought about these occurrences. But a strict regard to the actual statements of Bilhaṇa may not support any conclusion more precise than that of Fleet,[38] 'that Kulōttunga Cōḷadēva I was enabled to seize the Cōḷa crown through internal disturbances in the Cōḷa kingdom, which culminated in the death of the last Cōḷa king.'

Was religion the cause?

An attempt has been made[39] to connect these internal disturbances in the Cōḷa kingdom that led to the extinction of the direct line of the Cōḷas with the story of the persecution suffered by Rāmānuja and his disciples as it is narrated in Vaiṣṇava hagiology. Without minimising the difficulty of reconciling all the data proceeding from a mass of contradictory legends, but confining our attention to the professedly earliest biographies of Rāmānuja like the final chapters of the *Divyasūricarita*[40] and the *Yatirāja-vaibhavam*,[41] it is just possible to identify the Cōḷa who died as Kṛmikaṇṭha in consequence of the persecution to which he subjected Rāmānuja and his followers with either Adhirājēndra, or possibly with Vīrarājēndra with whom the direct Cōḷa line practically comes to a close. The categorical statement in the *Divyasūricarita* that God Śiva of Tiruvārūr proclaimed the end of the rule of the kings of the Cōḷa

family,[42] and the chaos at the end of Vīrarājēndra's rule which is attested by, but not accounted for, by the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikramānkadēva Carita*, and which might have been the concomitant of a religious upheaval, lend plausibility to the suggestion thus made. But it must be recognised that the details of the chronology of the life of Rāmānuja furnished by other works are not easy to explain on this assumption, and that it is perhaps impossible to reconcile all the data furnished by legend on any single hypothesis.[43]

Before concluding this discussion of the circumstances of Kulōttunga's accession, it must be pointed out that the provenance of the inscriptions of the early years of Kulōttunga now known does not confirm the views to which Hultzsch gave expression in his masterly introduction to Kulōttunga's inscriptions of these years. It shows, on the contrary, that from A.D. 1070 onwards Kulōttunga was practically master of the entire Cōḷa country, except, of course, for the hostile movement of Vikramāditya VI which remained to be dealt with, and the risings in the south, always ready to break out on every possible occasion and now favoured by the confusion following Vīrarājēndra's death. Inscriptions of Rājēndra's second year[44] with the characteristic introduction or with a verifiable date are found in Kaṇḍamangalam (South Arcot) and Vaḷuvur (Tanjore); of the third year[45] at Ālanguḍi, Nallūr (Tanjore), Iḍaiyār and Tribhuvani, (South Arcot). And there are records of the second and fourth years already giving him the name Kulōttunga.[46] It seems necessary therefore to give up the ideas that some years elapsed after Rājiga entered the Cōḷa kingdom and before he actually occupied the territory on the banks of the Kāvēri; and that his formal assumption of Cōḷa sovereignty in the fifth year was marked by the adoption of the name Kulōttunga.[47] The fact seems to have been that, as is implied by the *Vikramānkadēva Carita*, Rājiga came to the south soon after Adhirājēndra's demise[48] and appropriated to himself the whole kingdom of the Cōḷas, in so far as it was possible to do this by a single formal act. In fact, he became the Cōḷa king. It remained of course for him to hold the new position against Vikramāditya's attack and to suppress other disorders. And if it is true, as seems likely, that some other records bearing early regnal years like the second and third of Kulōttunga[49] are also really his, then

it becomes quite certain that the title Kulōttunga was also assumed by him from the very commencement.

Summary.

To sum up the results of the discussion. Despite the statement in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* that Vīrarājēndra made Kulōttunga his crown prince, the evidence of Adhirājēndra's inscriptions, the *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita* and the *Vikramaśōḷanulā* makes it clear that this could not have happened, and that, consequently, we have to assume that the court-poet of Kulōttunga introduced this story to give validity to Kulōttunga's title to the Cōḷa throne. There is no direct statement even by Jayangoṇḍār that Kulōttunga was either adopted into the Cōḷa family or that he was brought up in the Cōḷa court. The copper-plate grants of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, those of Vijayāditya VII, of Śaktivarman II and of the sons of Kulōttunga himself, together with the early Tamil records of Kulōttunga's reign, lead us to reconstruct the period of Kulōttunga's youth and his career until he came to the Cōḷa throne somewhat as follows. At the time of his father's death, his uncle Vijayāditya made himself master of the Vēngī kingdom and kept the prince Rājēndra, as he was then called, out of his inheritance. Alone and unaided, he sought a life of adventure across the Vēngī frontier in the land of Cakrakūṭa (Bastar). Possibly he carved a small principality for himself and after making his peace with his uncle Vijayāditya, especially as, after the death of Śaktivarman II, this must have been easy, he bided his time hoping that in some manner he might gain the Cōḷa throne for himself. The confusion that followed the death of Vīrarājēndra in the internal affairs of the Cōḷa kingdom helped him to achieve his object in spite of the attempts of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI to prevent the union of the Vēngī and Cōḷa kingdoms in the same hands. The evidence is not clear on the question of Kulōttunga's complicity in the rebellions that at first obstructed the accession and then shortened the rule of Adhirājēndra. There is just a possibility that these disturbances were religious in origin and connected with the Cōḷa persecution of Vaiṣṇavism in the days of Rāmānuja, a fact well attested in legends, though the details of the story are very obscure. In any event, Kulōttunga began to rule in the Cōḷa kingdom from about 9 June A.D. 1070.[50] In his later inscriptions Kulōttunga claims to have obtained the Cōḷa

crown by right and thereby become an acceptable companion to the land of the Kāvēri in her loneliness.[51]

1. *EI.* vii p. 7 n. 5. June 13 is now suggested, *ARE.* 1947-8 p. 3 and No. 108 from Śrīrangam of the year's collection.
2. vi. vv. 6-25.
3. *IA.* xx p. 277.
4. Pamulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII. ll. 62-3; *JAHRS.* ii. 287.
5. (*ibid*) l. 81.
6. *JAHRS.* v. pp. 33, ff.
7. parokṣam Rājarājasya bhrātur-dvaimāturasya yaḥ |
   paryagrahīn-mahā-rājya-śriyam vīra-śriyā yutaḥ ||

My thanks are due to Mr T. N. Ramachandran (of the Madras Museum) for assisting me in consulting the unpublished Ryāli plates in his custody. See also *ARE.* 1925. II. 5; *JAHRS.* v: p. 44, v: 16:

8. *EI.* vi, pp. 349-50.
9. This date is given as Ś. 986 in *ARE.* 1914 II 10 and 983 in App. A. (*ibid.*). The text is: *guṇa-vasu-nidhi.* The astronomical details fit 983 better.
10. *ARE.* 1901, paragraph 12; *SII.* iii p. 128. *Eastern Cāḷukyas,* pp. 245 ff, and 295-302.
11. *IA.* xx 277-8.
12. *BG.* I, ii 454 and n. 5.
13. *JAHRS.* i p. 215; v. 206-8; *ARE.* 1925 II 3, *Eastern Cāḷukyas,* pp. 250-5.
14. *ARE.* 1925 II 3.
15. Fleet. *BG. ibid.*
16. *EI.* vi 35. *SII.* i. 39, *IA.* xix. p. 427; *EI.* v. 10.
17. Rājārāja Cōḍa-ganga was crowned in Vēngī in Śaka 1006 (v. 34); before him Vīra Cōḍa was viceroy for six years and Mummaḍi-cōḍa for one year (vv. 19 and 17), so that the beginning of Mummaḍi's viceroyalty fell in Śaka 999 or A.D. 1077.
18. *IA.* xviii pp. 166-9; Korni plates, *JAHRS.* i, pp. 106. ff.
19. *IA.* xviii. pp. 163-4.
20. *IA.* xx. p. 276.
21. 271 of 1896; *EI.* iv. 45. E. Ganga Rājarāja came to power on May 20, A.D. 1070 (*ARE.* 1919, App. A. No 4): 248 of 1896, dated Śaka 990 records a gift by a queen of his predecessor Vajrahasta.
22. *SII.* iii. p. 127.
23. *IA.* xx. 277, 282.
24. *ARE.* 1899 paragraph 51.
25. *SII.* iii 64-7, as corrected by Hira Lal, *EI.* ix p. 179 n. 1 and 2. Also 125 of 1900 with the *pū mēl arivai* introduction recording the same transactions in other words.
26. The phrase *arukkan udayattu āśaiyil irukkum kamalam anaiya nilamagaḷ* has been often misunderstood. It is mere poetry, and contains no geography. Hultzsch's equation of this phrase with Vēngī (*SII.* iii p. 132) and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's suggestion that there is a

reference to Kaḍāram here (*Ancient India*, pp. 130-1), are alike wrong. The correct explanation was first put forward by A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar in his Śankara-Pārvati lecture (1943) in the University of Madras —see *Proceedings, Indian History Congress, Aligarh*, 1943, pp. 161-2.

27. *SII.* iii. 68.

28. It is obviously impossible to discuss fully all the theories that have been suggested about Kulōttunga's position in 1063-70. I am fully alive to the responsibility of adding one more to these, not to my knowledge suggested before by others. My only warrant is that this seems to be the normal interpretation of the language of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga himself. The other views centre round the hypothesis that Rājēndra was *yuvarāja* to his father Rājarāja-narēndra when he fought the campaign against Dhārāvarṣa or that he was *yuvarāja* to Vīrarājēndra. The latter seems impossible, in view of Adhirājēndra's position and inscriptions. The former hypothesis is quite feasible, provided the date is not placed too early. (*JAHRS.* i. pp. 217-8). Another view makes Kulōttunga a dupe of circumstances who, having, after a fight in which Śaktivarman II was killed like Abhimanyu (an inference not supported by the language of the Ryāli plates), made his peace with his bereaved uncle, found himself baulked in his design upon the Cōḷa throne by the prompt usurpation of Vīrarājēndra (*JAHRS.* v. pp. 208-11). This writer has apparently overlooked the probability that Vīrarājēndra might have been recognised as heir to Rājēndradēva on the death of Rājamahēndra. He is also clearly wrong in mixing up Yaśaḷ-karṇadēva's inroad into Trikalinga with these transactions, for he did not come to power till A.D. 1073 (*EI.* xii p. 207). Hultzsch's view that before A.D. 1072 Rājēndra-Kulōttunga took Vēngī from his uncle Vijayāditya VII who appears to have received it from the Cōḷa king Vīrarājēndra (*SII.* iii. p. 132) goes against the express statement in the Ṭēki and other grants that Vijayāditya ruled Vēngī continuously for fifteen years, and is now contradicted by the Ryāli plates of the twelfth year of Vijayāditya c. A.D. 1074; but the E. Ganga records (p. 289 *ante*) must be taken into account here. See also *ARE.* 1914, II 10 where *SII.* iii. p. 128 is followed.

29. ll. 44-5—*Angavanpin kāvalpurindavani kāttōnum.*

30. vi. 26.

31. 156 of 1923 (Yr. 2); 197 of 1919 (Yr. 5), the former having only *vīramē tuṇai;* 197 and 199 of 1929 and 434 of 1912 (Yrs. 37, 38 and 43). *ARE.* 1913, II. 33.

32. Verse viii. 29 asserts that directly after the victory of Kūḍal-Śangamam the earth, to her great good fortune, passed into the hands of Abhaya, the hero of the poem. The 'mannar-mannan' or 'mannar-vīran' of x. 25 cannot be Adhirājēndra as Hultzsch thinks (*SII.* iii p. 129), but Vīrarājēndra.

33. Hultzsch *SII.* iii. pp. 127, 196. S. K. Aiyangar—*op. cit.* pp: 125, 129.

34. x, vv. 5-7.

35. 'Abhaya' in this verse x. 18 does refer to Vīrarājēndra cf. viii 29; and from this account of Vīrarājēndra's recognition of Kulōttunga, the conclusion has been drawn that Adhirājēndra was a bastard with no title to the throne.

36. vi. 7-26.

37. Fleet *IA.* xx. p. 281.

38. *IA.* xx. p. 282;

39. *IA.* xli pp. 217 ff.

40. Ed. Ālkoṇḍavilli Gōvindācārya-Mysore 1885, text in Telugu characters. Nāgari text in the *Sahṛdaya* (New series).

41. *IA.* xxxviii pp. 129 ff. See, however, *IA.* xl p. 152, for a critique.

42. xviii 84.

43. To refrain from dogmatism in dealing with such shifty material is as necessary as it is difficult. Kṛmikaṇṭha-Cōḷa has generally been identified with Kulōttunga I, on the strength of the name Kulōttunga given to the Cōḷa persecutor of Rāmānuja in late works like the *Kōyilōlugu*. A. Govindācāryasvāmin—*Life of Rāmānuja* (Madras 1906) p. 170. S. K. Aiyangar *Ancient India* pp. 150 and 207. Dr. Aiyangar is inclined to date the decline of Cōḷa power from the end of Kulōttunga I's reign. *op. cit.* pp. 152 and 318. It has been pointed out that the traditional date for the foundation of the temple at Mēlukōte is against this identification of Kṛmikaṇṭha. (*IA.* vol. xli. p. 224). It is possible that 'Kulōttunga' is used in late works as a generic name for Cōḷa. The name is not found even in the *Guruparamprāprabhāva*. (*Āṟāyirappaḍi;* ed. Madras 1927). Kṛmikaṇṭha-Cōḷa is said to have uprooted and thrown into the sea the image of Gōvindarāja from the front of the Naṭarāja shrine at Cidambaram, and this act of sacrilege is placed by the *Divyasūricarita* at the very beginning of the Cōḷa persecution of Viṣṇuism, (xviii 72). The same fact is recalled by the much later *Prapannāmṛtam* (quoted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *op. cit.* p. 320). The poet Oṭṭakkūttan seems to attribute this deed to Kulōttunga II—*Kulōttungaśōḷanulā* ll. 76-8; *Rājarājaśōḷan-ulā* ll. 64-6 which is most explicit, and *Takkayāgapparaṇi* v. 777. But no one, on this account, seems to be prepared to identify the persecutor of Rāmānuja with Kulōttunga II. This king is, however, known to have extended the temple of Naṭarāja by putting up new structures and 'gilding' it, and it may be that the Tamil poet in describing this act of his attributes to him a deed of one of his predecessors. Otherwise the genuineness of even the *Divyasūricarita* would be suspect.

44. 358 of 1917; 425 of 1912.

45. 497 of 1920; 55 of 1911; 279 of 1929; 185 of 1919.

46. 156 of 1923, (2); 101 of 1928, 468 of 1913 (4).

47. *SII.* iii pp. 132, 140.

48. The civil war between Adhirājēndra and the 'usurper' postulated in *ARE.* 1904 paragraph 21 is pure myth.

49. 145, 147, 151 of 1906; 142 of 1929; 55 of 1911; 586 of 1907; 267 of 1917; 126 of 1912.

50. *EI.* vii. p. 7 n. 5. See also n. 1 *ante*.

51. *SII.* iii 68. 'Podumai' does not mean 'prostitution' as Hultzsch understands it. The idea is that Lakṣmī, the wealth of the southern country, had become common, ownerless, and the land of the Kāvēri lonely, uncompanioned, when the Cōḷa succession failed; both found a remedy for their situation in the coming of Kulōttunga.

Chapter XIII

KULŌTTUNGA I A.D. 1070-1120

A new epoch.

The accession of Kulōttunga I marks the commencement of a new era in the history of the Cōḷa empire. At the end of nearly a century of dubious subordination to the Cōḷa empire, the kingdom of Vēngī now became definitely a province of the empire resuscitated by its own ruler. After Kulōttunga became Cōḷa emperor, Vēngī was ruled successively by his sons as viceroys, and this added greatly to the strength of the Cōḷa empire by shutting the door against the intrigues of the Western Cāḷukyas in that quarter. The first Cāḷukya-Cōḷa emperor soon overcame the troubles that threatened at his accession to bring about the collapse of the empire, and after establishing himself on his new throne, he had a long reign characterised, for the best part of it, by unparalleled success and prosperity. He avoided unnecessary wars and evinced a true regard for the well-being of his subjects. The permanent results of his policy are seen in the reigns of his successors. For about a century, until we reach the time of Kulōttunga III, the empire, though not so extensive as before, still holds well together, and there is on the whole less of the chronic warfare of the age which preceded the accession of Kulōttunga. The impossible attempt to extend the empire across the Tungabhadrā frontier into Raṭṭapāḍi is definitely given up by Kulōttunga I, and he even puts up with some loss of territory in the Mysore country consequent on the rise of the Hoysalas about the close of his reign. And the loss of Vēngī, though serious, was only temporary, as his successors recovered most of it. The wisdom of Kulōttunga's statesmanship lay in adjusting his aims to his resources, in his not forsaking the possible good in the pursuit of the impossible better, and in his preferring the well-being of his subjects to the satisfaction of his personal vanity. He ensured for his subjects a century of peace and good government.

Historical introductions.

Kulōttunga's reign began approximately on 9 June A.D. 1070[1]. As he ruled for fifty years thereafter,[2] he must have been a young man at accession. The asterism of his birth was Puṣya.[3] The numerous inscriptions of this long reign contain several *praśastis*, each with some variant forms. In the first four years the most common *praśasti* is the one commencing *tiru manni viḷanga* or *vaḷara* which records the achievements of Kulōttunga (here called Rājēndra) before he came to the Cōḷa throne. These events have been discussed already in relation to the problem of his accession. The latest records containing this early *praśasti* are dated in the fourth year. The same events are also narrated in different words in another *praśasti* known so far only from one record of the sixth year at Tirukkōvalūr and commencing *pū mēl arivaiyum*.[4] Yet another *praśasti*, briefer and of far less historical value, also occurring in these four years, is that commencing *pūmiyum tiruvum*, of which we have an expanded form in the rare introduction beginning *pū maruviya tirumaḍandaiyum*.[5] The two most common forms of the *praśastis* of the reign are the short introduction commencing *pugaḷ-mādu viḷanga* which begins to appear in the fourth year[6] and the longer one commencing *pugaḷ śūlnda puṇari* appearing for the first time in the fifth regnal year.[7] Of these it is the latter *praśasti* that is most helpful to the historian on account of the revisions undergone by it as the reign advances. Other *praśastis* are: *pū mēvi vaḷara* appearing in the ninth year,[8] *pū mādu vaḷara* in the year after that,[9] *tirumagaḷ jayamagaḷ* in the twelfth year,[10] and possibly also *pū mādu puṇara* in a mutilated inscription[11] of which the date is lost. We must also take account of the double introduction, *vīramē tuṇai* followed by *pugaḷ mādu viḷanga*, which couples a *praśasti* of Vīrarājēndra with that of Kulōttunga and to which attention has been drawn already. This introduction is found as early as the fifth year in an inscription from Tribhuvani which also gives the *Tribhuvanacakravartin* title of Kulōttunga.[12] It is seen from the inscriptions of the reign now accessible to us that the titles Kulōttunga and Cakravartin were also assumed by the emperor much earlier in his reign than was once thought.

Early wars.

Of the early wars fought by Kulōttunga in his youth (*iḷangōp-paruvam*), some account has been given in discussing his position between A.D. 1063 and 1070. It has been pointed out that he levied tribute from the Nāgavamśi ruler Dhārāvarṣa and possibly also carved out for himself a separate and independent principality in that quarter. The first few lines of the *praśasti* beginning *pugaḷ śūḷnda puṇari* refer to the same events and add that by the strength of his arm he routed an army of the king of Kuntala,[13] and thus donned the garland of victory in the north before he turned his attention to the south. This war with the king of Kuntala, doubtless the Western Cāḷukya king, waged before 1070, was part of Kulōttunga's activity in the region of the modern Bastar state, and the circumstances that led to this conflict are the same as those recorded in some of the later inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra and in Bilhaṇa's account of Vikramāditya's *digvijaya* in so far as it relates to Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa. After Sōmēśvara I failed to turn up for the second encounter fixed to take place at Kūḍal-Sangama, Vīrarājēndra threw down a challenge to the Vallabha (Cāḷukya), proceeded to recover Vēngī, and after the victory of Bezwada, bestowed that kingdom once more on Vijayāditya VII. These data corroborate Bilhaṇa's statements that in his war-like career as *yuvarāja* Vikramāditya had conquered Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa, and was encamping on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā when the news of his father's illness and death reached him. The *Kalingattupparaṇi*[14] also implies that Vīkramāditya fought against Kulōttunga in the north at this time and that it was in this war that Kulōttunga earned the title *Virudarājabhayankara,* i.e. terror to Virudarāja or Vikramāditya. These events took place in A.D. 1067. And now it becomes clear from Kulōttunga's *praśasti* that his northern adventure might have helped Vīrarājēndra in the war against Vikramāditya. Whether this means that Kulōttunga, on his own account, repulsed Vikramāditya's attack on Cakrakūṭa, or whether we may infer further that Kulōttunga co-operated with Vīrarājēndra and was present at the battle of Bezwada, it is not easy to decide. In any case, the effective assistance of Kulōttunga in the release of Vēngī from the Western Cāḷukya hold shows that Kulōttunga might have been on friendly relations with Vīrarājēndra and kept up a live interest in the affairs

of the Vēngī and Cōḷa kingdoms. That, as a result of the wars, the kingdom of Vēngī was restored to Vijayāditya gives us the measure of the truth of Kulōttunga's statement made later to his son Rājarāja that in his youth he preferred a life of war and adventure and so left the kingdom of Vēngī to be ruled by his uncle Vijayāditya. It is probable that this exile was not altogether voluntary and was in the first instance brought about by the ambitions of Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya.[15]

Accession to the Cōḷa throne.

The death of Vīrarājēndra after he had made his peace with Vikramāditya VI, the accession of Adhirājēndra, and the revolution in the Cōḷa country that was arrested for a time by Vikramāditya's intercession, but, after the retirement of Vikramāditya to the Tungabhadrā, ran its full course and ended fatally for Adhirājēndra, gave Kulōttunga the opportunity to make himself master of the Cōḷa kingdom. The theory of a civil war between Adhirājēndra and Kulōttunga that has sometimes been put forward[16] gets no support from the inscriptions, and appears highly improbable. There is likewise no warrant for the view that Kulōttunga at first gained control of a part of the Cōḷa kingdom and became master of the whole of it only at the end of four or five years of fighting,[17] or that he killed many princes of the blood to clear his way to the throne.[18] The inscriptions of Kulōttunga, however, agree with the *Kalingattupparaṇi* in stating that his advent to the south rescued the Cōḷa country from a state of anarchy and dissolution, and restored unity and order in that land. The inscriptions say: 'In the south, he put on the pure jewelled crown by right so as to put an end to the commonness of the goddess[19] of the sweet smelling lotus-flower (Lakṣmī) and the loneliness of the good earth-maiden who had the Ponni (Kāvēri) for her garment.' There is not the slightest suggestion here of any opposition encountered by Kulōttunga in the Cōḷa country; rather his advent is said to have been quite welcome, if not actually sought after. Writing some years later, when Kulōttunga had, by his wise and strong rule, secured for the people of the empire several years of continued peace and prosperity, Jayangoṇḍār draws in deeper colours his picture of the anarchy that preceded the advent of Kulōttunga:[20]

'Brahmanical sacrifices were given up; the path of Manu was totally deserted; the six sciences were forgotten and the chanting of the Vedas ceased.

'The castes mixed one with another in wild confusion; none keeping to their prescribed paths of duty, (the code of proper) conduct was forgotten.

'Each sought to tyrannise the others, the temples of the gods were neglected; women lost their chastity; and fortresses fell into ruin.

'While the darkness of Kali was thus spreading, he (Abhaya) came to the rescue of the world, like the sun rising above the roaring sea and driving away darkness.

'He made it his duty to create afresh all the safeguards (for the people), he restored all the (old) rules and again established the earth on the proper path.

'Amidst the roar of the four oceans and the chanting of the four Vedas, and the blessings of the three worlds, he was anointed.'

We may recognise a substratum of fact beneath the exaggerations of this conventional picture of anarchy. Though the true course of events is obscure, and the hypothesis of religious persecution leading to a political revolution rests on vague and confused tradition, it is clear that the prospect was gloomy indeed when Kulōttunga came to rule over the Cōḷa dominion. War and rebellion had raised their heads, and the southern portions of the empire including Ceylon had proclaimed their independence. Kulōttunga devoted the first few years of his reign to deal with these troubles.

War with Vikramāditya.

The first enemy to be dealt with was the Western Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI, who now found that all his efforts to extend his power to Vēngī had proved futile, and what was worse, that Vēngī became more closely united than ever to the hostile power of the Cōḷas. Vikramāditya was therefore sure to oppose Kulōttunga's accession and lead an expedition against him. Kulōttunga lost no time in strengthening himself by fresh alliances. There was no love lost between Vikramāditya and his elder brother Sōmēśvara II, who had been compelled

by Vīrarājēndra to part with some of his territory to Vikramāditya,[21] and it was obvious that Kulōttunga could make a successful appeal to Sōmēśvara for assistance in the war against his brother; and that was what he did. Says Bilhaṇa.[22]

> 'After the lapse of only a few days, when the Cōḷa's son (Adhirājēndra) was slain in a rebellion of his subjects, the lord of Vēngī, Rājiga by name, took possession of his throne by the concurrence of fortune. This crooked-minded man suspected danger from him (Vikramāditya), and in order to create a diversion in his rear, he put himself straight with Sōmadēva, his (Vikramāditya's) natural enemy .... What has this noble-minded (Vikramāditya) done to his elder brother, that the latter should, with intent to injure him, enter into a compact with their family foe, the Cōḷa Rājiga? When the king's son (Vikramāditya) started on his expedition for the chastisement of the impolitic Rājiga, Sōmadēva pursued him quickly at the back with his entire forces.....When the mass of the Draviḍa army drew near the liberal-handed prince (Vikramāditya), this king (Sōmēśvara) also approached, having gained at last an opportunity of injuring (him).'[23]

Vikramāditya was also very ably assisted in the campaign by a number of his allies and vassals. The Yādava king of Dēvagiri helped him as an ally.[24] Among the vassals present with Vikramāditya were the Hoysala Ereyanga[25] and Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya[26] besides the Kadamba Jayakēśi, already mentioned as the ally of Vikramāditya. According to Bilhaṇa's account, at the end of a hard contest in which the armies of Sōmēśvara and Kulōttunga engaged the forces of Vikrama, 'the Draviḍa lord fled the field and Sōmadēva entered the prison.'[27] Vikrama then retired to the Tungabhadrā. He intended to restore his captive brother to liberty and to the throne, but, as on the eve of the battle, Śiva interposed a second time in a dream and commanded Vikrama to assume the sovereignty himself,[28] and he did so. He also made his younger brother Jayasimha viceroy at Banavāse.[29] After some further expeditions and conquests, of which no details are forthcoming, and after once more extinguishing the valour of the Cōḷa,[30] he duly entered his capital Kalyāṇa.

Bilhaṇa's account.

Cōḷa version.

As may be expected, the account of the campaign found in Cōḷa inscriptions differs in many details and in the result of the fight; the subsequent course of events shows, however, that this version is on the whole nearer the truth than the *kāvya* of Bilhaṇa.

> 'Not only did the speech (of Vikkalan)—"After this day a permanent blemish (will attach to Kulōttunga), as to the crescent (which is the origin) of (his) family"—turn out wrong, but the bow (in) the hand of Vikkalan was not (even) bent against (the enemy).[31] Everywhere from Nangili of rocky roads—with Maṇalūr in the middle—to the Tungabhadrā, there were lying low the dead (bodies of his) furious elephants, his lost pride and (his) boasted valour. The very mountains which he ascended bent their backs, the very rivers into which (he) descended eddied and breached (the banks) in their course: (and) the very seas into which he plunged became troubled and agitated. (The Cōḷa king) seized simultaneously the two countries (*pāṇi*) called Gangamaṇḍalam and Śiṅgaṇam, troops of furious elephants which had been irretrievably abandoned (by the enemy), crowds of women with beautiful lustrous eyes, the goddess of fame who gladly brought disgrace (on Vikkalan), and the great goddess of victory who changed to the opposite side and caused (Vikkalan) himself and his father, who were desirous of the rule over the western region, to turn their backs again and again on many days.'

Some earlier versions of these incidents substitute the general phrase *Vēḷkulattaraśar* or *Vēḷpulattaraśu* i.e., the Cāḷukyan king or kings, for Vikkalan, and the specific place-name Aḷatti for the region from Nangili to Tungabhadrā.[32]

Date.

The earliest allusion to this war traceable in the inscriptions of the reign occurs in the words: 'Vikkalan and Śiṅgaṇan plunging into the western sea', found in the *pugaḻ mādu* introduction for the first time in the seventh year.[33] The actual fight with Vikramāditya took place, therefore, some years after Kulōttunga's reign began and not, as Bilhaṇa's narrative implies, immediately after his accession. This is also borne out by Cāḷukya inscriptions which place these occurrences in the expired Śaka year 998, or A.D. 1076.[34] The interval of five or six

years was doubtless employed by both sides in preparations, diplomatic and military, for the coming fight. For Vikramāditya would not acquiesce without a struggle in the permanent union of Vēngī and Cōḷa in the same hands, and Kulōttunga knew this very well.

Course and results of the war.

The war began with an advance of Vikramāditya into the Cōḷa territory till he encountered the Cōḷa army in the Kōlār district, whence, if the Cōḷa inscriptions may be trusted, Vikramāditya was pursued by the Cōḷa forces, through Maṇalūr,[35] not identified, up to the banks of the Tungabhadrā; and there was heavy fighting all along the road. In the result, the Cōḷa ruler, besides capturing much valuable booty, became master of the Gangamaṇḍalam and Śingaṇam. The identity of Śingaṇam is doubtful; Hultzsch suggested that it means the dominions of Jayasimha III:[36] but the territory ruled over by Jayasimha III was Banavāse and not only is there no evidence of the present campaign having extended to that country, but Bilhaṇa says that Vikramāditya made his brother Jayasimha ruler of Banavāse at the end of the war with Kulōttunga, and that Jayasimha was still in charge of that territory some years later when he revolted against his brother and sought the assistance of Kulōttunga. It is probable, however, that before the war began, Jayasimha was in charge of some territory to the south and east of the Tungabhadrā. Kulōttunga's claim that, as a result of the war, he found himself in possession of a considerable part of the Mysore country is borne out by the provenance of his inscriptions, and Bilhaṇa's statement that Kulōttunga fled from the battlefield is not to be trusted. The *Kalingattupparaṇi*[37] mentions some of the incidents of this war such as the fights at Aḷatti and Maṇalūr, and the capture of elephants in Navilai, possibly the same as Navilē-nāḍ of the Mysore inscriptions.[38] The *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā* states that Kulōttunga reached the western sea, and captured Konkaṇa and Kannaḍa countries and humbled the pride of the Mahratha king—a statement which implies that even Banavāse might have been overrun, though perhaps only for a time. The worst sufferer was Sōmēśvara II, who fell into the hands of his brother as a prisoner and thus lost his kingdom. What ultimately became of him is not known.[39]

Revolt of Jayasimha.

Bilhaṇa says that Jayasimha, the newly appointed viceroy of Banavāse, contemplated treason against his brother Vikramāditya, within a year after his appointment, and that he sought the aid of Kulōttunga in his attempted revolt.[40] It is not necessary to pursue the story of this rebellion here; for Bilhaṇa's account makes it clear that Kulōttunga took little or no part in the civil war that followed. This was obviously because he had more important affairs claiming his attention. Vikramāditya, thus left free to deal with the rebellion, suppressed it without any difficulty, and, as we shall see, soon began to add to the troubles of Kulōttunga by establishing friendly relations with his enemies. Soon after Vijayabāhu proclaimed himself ruler of the whole of Ceylon after his expulsion of the Cōḷas from the northern half of the island, Vikramāditya sent him a friendly embassy with rich presents.[41] In fact, throughout his long reign Vikramāditya was untiring in the pursuit of his design against Kulōttunga in all possible quarters. But Bilhaṇa's rhapsodic account of a final expedition against Kāñcī for the exercise of his hero's arms itching for a fight in the absence of suitable foes,[42] can hardly be accepted as true.

Foreign invasion in Vēngī.

While Kulōttunga was settling his affairs in the south, the kingdom of Vēngī in the north was invaded by Yaśaḥkarṇadēva, the Haihaya ruler of Tripurī. In his inscriptions, dating from A.D. 1072-3, this king claims to have easily overcome the strong ruler of the Andhra country and to have propitiated Bhagavān Bhīmēśvara of Drākṣārāma with presents of many costly jewels.[43] The Andhra ruler mentioned was no doubt Vijayāditya VII. Yaśaḥkarṇa's inroad does not seem to have had any consequences, military or political, worth mentioning. And there is no proof that it was in any manner connected with the designs of the Western Cāḷukyas or of Vijayāditya VII, as has sometimes been assumed.[44]

Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese affairs.

At the close of his war with Vikramāditya VI, Kulōttunga turned his attention to the south. The Pāṇḍya country was never reconciled to the imposition of Cōḷa overlordship, and its rulers had always been a source of trouble to the most powerful Cōḷa emperors. The period of confusion that followed the

death of Vīrarājēndra, the popular rebellion against his successor Adhirājēndra, and the hard struggle forced on Kulōttunga in the early years of his reign by the policy of Vikramāditya VI, provided a golden opportunity to the kingdoms of the south to reassert their independence. The administrative arrangements made by the Cōḷas in these lands went to pieces, and the native rulers of the countries began to rule in their own right as their inscriptions show.[45] The most sustained efforts of Kulōttunga resulted in the reconquest of the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries between the seventh and eleventh years of his reign, but Ceylon permanently disappeared from the Cōḷa empire. Some account may be given of the establishment of Ceylonese independence before the story of the reconquest of the south is taken up.

Ceylon.

We have seen that before the accession of Vīrarājēndra, the Sinhalese prince Kitti freed Rohaṇa of enemies and, in 1058, assumed the title Vijayabāhu in his seventeenth year of age.[46] Cōḷa rule was thereafter mostly confined to the northern part of the island known as Rājaraṭṭha. The latest Cōḷa inscription found at Polonnaruwa is dated A.D. 1070, the third and last year of the reign of Adhirājēndra. The disappearance of Cōḷa power from Rājaraṭṭha is clearly narrated in the *Mahāvamsa*. The chronicle does not give exact dates for all the transactions recorded; but it says definitely that Vijayabāhu I entered Anurādhapura in the fifteenth year of his Rohaṇa rule and thirty-third of his life, in A.D. 1073 and that two years later, there took place his coronation as ruler of all Ceylon.[47] This is in perfect accord with what we know otherwise of the first five years of Kulōttunga's reign and with the absence of any Cōḷa inscription of Kulōttunga's reign in Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* says[48] that the successful efforts of Vijayabāhu to liberate Ceylon from the Cōḷas began in the twelfth year of his reign, A.D. 1070. He took up his abode in the fortress on the Paluṭṭha mountain, round which 'a terrible fight between the two armies took place'. The Damiḷa army was put to fight, and in the pursuit that followed, the Cōḷa general was captured and decapitated. Then Vijayabāhu occupied Pulatthinagara without any further resistance from the Tamils. But soon a larger Cōḷa army came from the mainland, and there ensued another 'fiery battle' near Anurādhapura; victory was with the Cōḷa

army, and Vijayabāhu was compelled to fortify himself at Vātagiri, Vakirigala, in the Kegalla district.[49] The Cōḷas now stirred up rebellion against Vijayabāhu in the rear, but the king of Ceylon successfully stamped it out, and forced the leader of the revolt to seek refuge with the Cōḷas. Vijayabāhu then proceeded 'to Tambalagāma where he erected a new stronghold,' and taking up his residence in Mahānāgakula on the lower Walawē Gangā, he made fresh preparations for the Cōḷa war. He despatched two armies to attack the position of the Cōḷas from two sides: one by the coast highroad against Polonnāruwa, and the other to the west of the mountain system against Anurādhapura. The king himself advanced by Mahaveligangā. Polonnāruwa fell after severe fighting, and 'when the ruler of the Cōḷas heard of this destruction of his army, he thought: the Sīhalas are (too) strong, and sent out no further army.' Anurādhapura was captured by the other section of the Ceylonese army which pushed forward to Mahātittha. Vijayabāhu, 'the best of kings, greatly rejoicing, advanced in the fifteenth year (of his reign) to the greatly longed for, the best (town of) Anurādhapura'. His coronation as ruler of Lankā was delayed by a rebellion, and took place in his eighteenth year, A.D. 1076-7. Polonnāruwa now lost its Cōḷa title and was styled Vijayarājapura.[50] Vijayabāhu married Līlāvatī, daughter of Jagatīpāla of Kanauj, whose queen had escaped from captivity in the Cōḷa country, and also Trilōkasundari of the Kalinga royal race, while his sister Mittā espoused a Pāṇḍyan prince, who became the grandfather of Parākramabāhu the Great. 'The king restored the Buddhist religion, renewing the priestly succession from Rāmañña (Pegu), and caused a temple for the tooth relic to be built at the capital by his general Nuvaragiri'.[51] The inscriptions of Kulōttunga are silent on the loss of Ceylon.

The Pāṇḍyan War.

The declaration of independence by Ceylon did not involve so great a subtraction from the plenitude of Cōḷa power as the revolt of the southern kingdoms on the mainland. The Cōḷa empire had nothing to fear from the independence of Ceylon if only it kept its power on the mainland unimpaired. The case of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was different. If the Cōḷa king failed to reduce it to subjection, it was sure to become a menace to the very existence of the Cōḷa power. Kulōttunga

knew this, and the moment he found himself free from the Cāḷukya war, he bent all his energies towards the suppression of revolts in the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries.

Records of the fifth year of the reign contain a vague statement that the head of the Pāṇḍya king lay on the ground pecked by kites; later inscriptions say that this was outside the beautiful city of Kulōttunga.[52] It is clear that these statements are not meant to be taken literally, and that they are no more historical than the exaggerated phrases of conventional praise that precede them in the inscriptions. For a more business-like account of the southern campaign, we must turn to the additional matter that begins to appear in the *pugaḻ śūḻnda puṇari* introduction from the eleventh year,[53] and to some other inscriptions of the reign.

An undated Sanskrit inscription from Cidambaram[54] states that Kulōttunga overcame five Pāṇḍya kings, set fire to the fortress of Kōṭṭāṟu (like Arjuna burning the Khāṇḍava forest), subdued the numerous forces of the Kēraḷas, and erected a pillar of victory on the sea-coast; thus it was that he reduced to obedience (*savidhikam akarot*) the rebellious group of vassal kings. The more detailed account given by the Tamil inscriptions is as follows:[55]

> 'Having resolved in his mind to conquer the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam together with great fame, he despatched his great army,—which possessed excellent horses resembling the waves of the sea, war-elephants resembling ships, and infantry resembling water,—as though the Northern ocean was overflowing the Southern ocean. He completely destroyed the forest which the five Pāṇḍyas had entered as refuge when they fled cowering with fear, from the field of battle. He subdued their country, drove them into hot jungles in hills where woodmen roamed about, and planted pillars of victory in every direction. He seized the pearl fisheries, the Podiyil mountain where the three kinds of Tamil flourished, the Śaiyya mountain in the heart of which were found furious rutting elephants, and Kanni, and fixed the boundaries of the Southern (Pāṇḍya) country. While all the *Śāvērs* in the Western hill-country ascended to the unique heaven (attained by warriors who fell

fighting), he was pleased to bestow on his commanders, who were mounted on horses, settlements on every road, including one at Kōṭṭāṟu, to strike terror into his enemies.'

The *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā*[56] describes Kulōttunga as the king with the army which routed the carp of the enemy (Pāṇḍya), destroyed the bow (emblem of the Cēra) and twice destroyed the fleet at Śālai. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* confirms these accounts:[57]

'Have you not heard of the destruction that overtook the five Pāṇḍyas when his army was despatched against them? Has it not reached your ears that the Cēras turned their backs when the (Cōḻa) army marched to the fight? Was it not with the army that Viḻiñam on the sea was destroyed, and Śālai captured?'

These accounts of the conquest of the Pāṇḍyas and Cēras, the fights at Kōṭṭāṟu, Viḻiñam and Śālai are substantially true; the *Kulōttunga-śōḻan Piḷḷaittamiḻ* mentions also a battle of Śemponmāri (Ramnad Dt.).[58] The decimation of the ranks of *Śāvērs*, veteran soldiers who had banished from their hearts all fear of death and who formed a considerable section of the forces of the Pāṇḍyas[59] and the Cēras, must have been the result of very hard fighting. The identity of the five Pāṇḍyas conquered by Kulōttunga remains obscure;[60] even Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha was not one of them, but seems to have begun his rule sometime after Kulōttunga's conquest and settlement of the southern country. Kulōttunga was evidently not in a position to restore the Cōḻa administrative arrangements introduced into the Pāṇḍya country by Rājarāja, I, and he hit upon the device of establishing military colonies (*nilaippaḍai*) along the important routes of communication in the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa territory. Except for the presence of these military outposts, the symbols of Cōḻa overlordship, the attempt to change place-names to commemorate Cōḻa titles,[61] and the collection of an annual tribute from the subordinate rulers of these districts, there was no attempt on the part of Kulōttunga to interfere with their internal administration. The numerous inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyan kings of this period betray few signs of their political subjection to the Cōḻas, and the inscriptions of Kulōttunga and his successors are not found in such numbers in this area as in the territories under their direct rule.[62]

About fifteen years after this reconquest and settlement of the southern country there seems to have been another revolt in which Vēṇāḍ took the lead. This fact is to be inferred from the considerable number of inscriptions which describe the services of Naralōkavīra, the earliest date occurring in these inscriptions being the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Kulōttunga.[63] The interval between the close of the first Pāṇḍyan war of the reign and the first mention of Naralōkavīra in its inscriptions, and the frequent mention of Kālingarāya, one of the titles of Naralōkavīra, in the inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, render it likely that the southern campaign in which this commander distinguished himself, was different from the war in the early years of the reign.[64] The enemies dealt with and the places which formed the centres of conflict were naturally more or less the same as in the earlier war; the result was also the same.

Revolt and suppression.

The success of Vijayabāhu in establishing the independence of Ceylon by putting an end to Cōḷa power in the island rankled in the mind of Kulōttunga who was waiting for a favourable opportunity to renew the war with the Ceylonese ruler.[65] The Tamil population in Ceylon was quite considerable, and Tamil mercenaries formed a large part of the Sinhalese army at this time.[66] This was the natural result of the recent change of rulers brought about by Vijayabāhu in the northern half of the island. But as the Tamils were loyal to the memory of the Cōḷa rule, still fresh in their minds, Kulōttunga found favourable conditions for furthering his designs against the Ceylonese ruler in secret. The following account, given by the *Mahāvaṃsa*, of the occurrences about A.D. 1088 sheds a lurid light on the policy of Kulōttunga:[67]

> 'Envoys sent by the Kaṇṇāṭa Monarch and by the Cōḷa King came hither with rich presents. They sought out the Monarch. He was greatly pleased thereat and after rendering both embassies what was their due, he sent at first with the Kaṇṇāṭa messengers his own envoys to Kaṇṇāṭa with choice gifts. But the Cōḷas maimed the noses and ears of the Sīhala messengers horribly when they entered their country. Thus disfigured they returned hither and told the King everything that had been

done to them by the Cōḷa King. In flaming fury Vijayabāhu in the midst of all his courtiers had the Damiḷa envoys summoned and gave them the following message for the Cōḷa king. "Beyond ear-shot, on a lonely island in the midst of the ocean shall a trial of the strength of our arms take place in single combat, or, after arming the whole forces of thy kingdom and of mine a battle shall be fought at a spot to be determined by thee; exactly in the manner I have said it shall ye report to your master." After these words he dismissed the envoys clad in women's apparel in haste to the Cōḷa King, then he betook himself with his army to Anurādhapura. To the seaports Mattikāvāṭatittha and Mahātittha he sent two generals to betake themselves to the Cōḷa kingdom and begin the war. While the generals were procuring ships and provisions in order to send the troops to the Cōḷa kingdom, then, in the thirtieth year (of the king's reign), the division of the troops called Vēḷakkāra revolted as they did not want to go thither. They slew the two generals and like rutting elephants in their unbridledness, they plundered the country round Pulatthinagara. They captured the younger sister of the King with her three sons and burned down with violence the King's palace. The King left the town and betook himself in haste to Dakkiṇadēsa and having hidden all his valuable possessions on the Vātagiri rook, he advanced together with the Uparāja Vīrabāhu, of lion-like courage, and surrounded by a great force, to Pulatthinagara where after a sharp fight he shortly put the assembled troops to flight. Placing them around the pyre on which were laid the remains of the murdered generals, he had the recreant leaders of the troops, their hands bound fast to their backs, chained to a stake and burnt in the midst of the flames blazing up around them. The Ruler having (thus) executed there the ring-leaders of the rebels, freed the soil of Lankā everywhere from the briers (of the rebels).

'The King did not lose sight of the aim he had set himself of fighting with the Cōḷa (King), and in the forty-fifth year (of his reign) he marched with the war-equipped troops to the port on the sea and stayed there some time awaiting his arrival. But as the Cōḷa (King) did

not appear, the King dismissed his envoys, returned to Pulatthinagara and resided there a considerable time.'

The tortuous policy of Kulōttunga, however, failed completely. The Vēḷaikkāra rebellion was suppressed and the mercenaries bound themselves to serve the king loyally thereafter and the chief Buddhist shrine of Polonnaruwa[68] was placed under their protection. Kulōttunga apparently made his peace with Vijayabāhu, for one of his daughters, Śuttamalliyār, married Vīrapperumāḷ, a Sinhalese prince of the Pāṇḍyan party in Ceylon, and made a gift of a 'perpetual' lamp to an Īśvara temple in the reign of Jayabāhu I, the successor of Vijayabāhu.[69]

Relations with China,

From the Song annals of China we learn that an embassy from Chulien (Cōḷa) reached the Chinese court in the year 1077 and that the king of Chulien at the time was called Ti-hua-kia-lo. It is possible that these syllables disguise the name of Dēva Kulō(ttunga). Indeed Dēva-kala and Divākara, it has been said,[70] are the only possible restorations, and Dēva-kula or -kulō is impossible. But considering that the name is that of the Cōḷa king ruling in 1077, the suggestion that it is Kulōttunga's name that has been thus distorted does not seem far-fetched. This 'embassy' was clearly a trading venture and seems to have ended very profitably for the Tamils. For the seventy-two men who formed the embassy 'were given 81,800 strings of copper cash, i.e., about as many dollars, in return for the articles of tribute comprising glassware, camphor, brocates (called *Kimhwa* in the Chinese text), rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense, rose-water, putchuck, asafoetida, borax, cloves, etc.'[71] Turning now to Kaḍāram, there is indeed a stray reference in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* to Kulōttunga's destruction of Kadāram on the wide ocean,[72] and his inscriptions speak of costly tributes from foreign islands. But the references are vague and we should not lose sight of the literary convention by which a poet may attribute to one ruler all the achievements of his predecessors on the throne. That Kulōttunga was in touch with the empire of Śrī Vijaya becomes clear from other evidence, particularly the smaller Leyden grant. The suggestion has been made that Kulōttunga spent part of the period 1063 to 1070 in Śrī Vijaya restoring order and maintaining the Cōla power in that quarter.[73]

Two facts have been cited in support of this view: Kulōttunga restored peace in the Eastern lands in his youth, like Viṣṇu gently raising the Earth from the waters of the ocean; secondly the names of the high official who visited China as envoy from Śrī Vijaya in 1067 and of the Cōḷa emperor who sent the embassy to China (noted above) ten years later are the same, Ti-hua-kia-lo—Dēvakala, probably a part of Dēva Kulō (ttunga). The first is obviously the result of a misunderstanding of a Tamil phrase.[74] It is very surprising that if Kulōttunga had such a romantic career across the seas before taking possession of the Cōḷa throne we should not get more specific information about it in the numerous records of the reign. One inscription[75] indeed says that a beautiful stone was shown to Kulōttunga by the king of Kāmbhōja as a curio (*kātci*). When did he do so? Did Kulōttunga visit Kāmbhōja, the Khmer kingdom?

and Kaḍāram.

Scholars have been puzzled by a statement in the Chinese annals (preserved in the pages of Ma Tuan-lin) that the Cōḷa Kingdom was subject to Śrī Vijaya in A.D. 1068-77. In recording an embassy from Pagan in 1106, Ma Tuan-lin says in effect: 'The Emperor at first gave order to receive them and treat them as they treated the envoys of Tchou-lien (Cōḷa); but the President of the Council of Rites presented the following observations: "the Cōḷa is subject to San-fo-ts'i; this is why in the years *hi-ning* (1068-1077), we were content to write to the King of this Kingdom on strong paper with an envelope of plain stuff. The King of Pou-kan (Pagan),on the contrary is sovereign of a great kingdom of the Fan...."[76] From this interesting passage we gather that the ambassadors of San-fo-ts'i (Śrī Vijaya) had some time in 1068-1077 claimed in the Chinese court that the Cōḷa kingdom was subject to them and that they were entitled to a higher rank than the representatives of the Cōḷa ruler, and that this order of priority was cited as a precedent in 1106 to justify the ranking of Cōḷa envoys below those from Pagan. To appraise these statements at their proper value, one must recall the difficulties that would most naturally be experienced by envoys from the Tamil country in making their position and that of their ruler properly understood in distant China. We may notice that much earlier than 1068, the embassies sent to China by

Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I experienced similar difficulties and were ranked much below their proper place.[77] The *gaucherie* of the Tamil envoys, the ignorance of Chinese officialdom of the true state of politics in remote countries, and perhaps, the readiness of the ambassadors of Śrī Vijaya to indulge in unjust misrepresentations relating to Cōḷa must have combined to bring about the situation recorded by Ma Tuan-lin. There is not the slightest ground, however, to believe that either in 1068 or in 1106 the Cōḷa Kingdom became the vassal of Śrī Vijaya. All the other evidence on the relations between the two kingdoms is opposed to this assumption.[78]

Vīrarājēndra, as we have seen, claims to have sent an expedition to Kaḍāram (Śrī Vijaya) in A.D. 1068 and to have conquered that country on behalf of one of its rulers who sought his protection and to have established him on the throne. This seems not improbable, and might have resulted in a vague recognition of the suzerainty of the Cōḷa power by the new ruler. However that may be, the king of Śrī Vijaya sent an embassy to Kulōttunga I about 1090 and requested him to issue a copper-plate grant containing the names of the villages granted by the Cōḷa kings as *paḷḷic-candam* to the two *vihāras* built by the king of Kaḍāram at Śōḷa-kulavalli-paṭṭinam, evidently another name for Negapatam. In the smaller Leyden grant,[79] for it is by this name that Kulōttunga's grant made on this occasion is generally known, the two *vihāras* are called Rājēndra-sōḷap-perumbaḷḷi and Rājarājap-perumbaḷḷi;[80] the latter having also the alternative name Śrī Śailēndra-Cūḍāmaṇivarma-Vihāra,[81] showing its indentity with the *vihāra* mentioned in the Larger Leyden grant of the reign of Rājarāja I. The embassy from Kaḍāram comprised two envoys (*dūtas*) Rājavidyādhara Śrī Sāmanta and Abhimānōttunga Sāmanta, who petitioned the King (*viṇṇappam śeyya*) for the issue of the grant, while he was seated on his throne Kālingarāyan in the coronation-hall (*tirumaṇjana śālai*)[82] inside the palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakula-Kālapuram. And the longer *praśasti* of Kulōttunga's inscriptions mentions the fact that at the gate of his palace stood rows of elephants showering jewels sent as tribute from the island kingdoms of the wide ocean.[83] Another proof of the continued friendly relations between the two kingdoms in this period comes from Sumatra. It is a fragmentary Tamil inscription dated 1010

Śaka (A.D. 1088) from Loboe Toewa, and mentioning the name of a celebrated mercantile corporation of South India, the Tiśaiyāyirattu-Aiññūṟṟuvar,[84] a name which, from analogous forms in the Cōḷa inscriptions of the period, is best understood as 'the Five Hundred of the thousand (districts) in the (Four) quarters.' While there is little evidence of the political power of the Cōḷas having extended to the islands of the Malay archipelago in this period, trade relations and culture contacts established in an earlier age seem to have been actively maintained in the reign of Kulōttunga, and perhaps also under his successors.

Viceroys of Vēngī.

In the north, Kulōttunga left the administration of the Vēngī kingdom in the hands of Vijayāditya VII until his death. The relations between them, never very happy, seem to have continued strained even after Kulōttunga's accession to the Cōḷa throne. There are Eastern Ganga inscriptions which, as already noted, show that the Ganga king Rājarāja took up the cause of Vijayādita VII with Kulōttunga and secured for him a peaceful time towards the end of his life and career as ruler of Vēngī. After the death of Vijayāditya at the end of fifteen years of his reign in Vēngī, Kulōttunga appointed his son, Rājarāja Mummaḍi Cōḍa, as Viceroy, and he was anointed as Viceroy most probably on July 27 A.D. 1076.[85] He, however, preferred living under the same roof as his parents to the enjoyment of a distant viceroyalty, and relinquished his office at the end of a year. His younger brother, Vīra Cōḍa, was then chosen Viceroy and continued to rule in Vēngī for a period of six years from the date of his coronation in Śaka 1001 (A.D. 1078-9).[86] From 1084 to 1089 another son of Kulōttunga, by name Rājarāja Cōḍaganga, was the Viceroy. This is clear from the Ṭēki plates of this ruler, dated in the seventeenth year, obviously of Kulōttunga. The Piṭhāpuram plates of Vīra Cōḍa[87] also state that Vīra Cōḍa was recalled from Vēngī by his father who desired 'to see the growing beauty of his youthful countenance', and that he was sent again to the north at the end of five years though his father's 'eyes had not attained satiety'. But these plates do not state what happened at Vēngī during the five years that Vīra Cōḍa spent with his father, and the Cellūr plates

of Vīra Cōḍa make no reference either to the break in his Viceroyalty or to Cōḍaganga. Hultzsch says[88] that this total silence of the Cellūr plates and the omission of Cōḍaganga's name from the Piṭhāpuram plates may lead us to suppose that Cōḍaganga had discredited himself with his father and had been on bad terms with his brother. The fact that Cōḍaganga, though apparently the eldest son of Kulōttunga,[89] was not appointed Viceroy until a comparatively late stage lends colour to the supposition. In any event, Vīra Cōḍa's second term as Viceroy of Vēngī seems to have commenced about A.D. 1088-89 and lasted till at least 1092-93. As Viceroy of Vēngī, Vīra Cōḍa was assisted by a Velanāṇṭi prince Vedura II, a nephew of Gonka I, in a battle against an unnamed Pāṇḍya king, and Vīra Cōḍa conferred on Vedura the doab country, Sindhu-yugmāntaradēśa, identified by Hultzsch, with the land between the Kṛṣṇā and Gōdāvari.[90] Soon after, Kulōttunga likewise favoured other princes of the same line. Vīra Cōḍa was succeeded by Vikramacōḷa who apparently ruled in Vēngī till he was chosen heir-apparent to the Cōḷa throne in A.D. 1118.

Wars in the north.

We hear little of happenings in Vēngī and further north till we reach the period of Vikramacōḷa's office. In his inscriptions dated after his accession to the Cōḷa throne, there occurs a brief description of his Viceroyalty of Vēngī. It is this:

> 'While yet a child,[91] (he) bore the cruel weapons (of war), so that at Kuḷam the Telinga Vīman ascended the mountains as refuge, and so that hot fire consumed the land of Kalinga; he thus stayed joyfully in the Vēngai-Maṇḍalam and was pleased to subdue the northern region.'

The inscriptions of Kulōttunga himself contain accounts of two Cōḷa invasions of Kalingam, one of which is, no doubt, the subject of the celebrated *Paraṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār.[92] The first invasion of Kalingam is mentioned in inscriptions of the twenty-sixth year,[93] and from the brevity with which the subjection of Kalingam is mentioned on this occasion, we may conclude that this was the war in which Vikramacōḷa distinguished himself as a young man. The second and later invasion of Kalinga is mentioned in the inscriptions of the

forty-second and subsequent years;[94] this is the invasion which gave the occasion for the *Paraṇi*, and apparently Vikramacōḷa had no part in it.

First Kalinga War.

The first Kalinga War seems to have been brought about by Kalinga aggression against Vēngī, and to have resulted in the annexation of the southern part of the Kalinga country to the Cōḷa Empire. The chief of Kolanu, modern Ellore near the Colair lake, was evidently in league with the ruler of Kalinga, and Vikramacōḷa had to fight on two fronts simultaneously. A vassal of the Cōḷa Emperor from the distant south, the Pāṇḍya King Parāntaka, took part in this war and assisted Vikramacōḷa. The inscriptions of Parāntaka Pāṇḍya,[95] like those of Vikramacōḷa, state that Kuḷam of the Telunga Bhīma was captured and that Southern Kalingam was subdued. Bhīma was a very common name in the family; it was borne by many rulers of Kolanu, Sarōnāthas, from the time of Rājarāja I Cōḷa to at least the middle of the twelfth century A.D.[96] No details are forthcoming of this first war against Kalinga. The campaign seems to have been undertaken for the suppression of local revolts rather than for the conquest of fresh territory. Southern Kalinga was apparently the territory between the Gōdāvari and the Mahēndra mountain,[97] and this territory was already part of the Vēngī province some years before the war of Vikramacōḷa.[98] Possibly, the subordinate rulers whose territories were included in the Viceroyalty of Vēngī conspired together and rose in rebellion when the young prince Vikramacōḷa was appointed to the charge of the province. The revolt was unsuccessful, and the entire province was restored to subjection. A Tamil inscription of Kulōttunga at Simhācalam dated Śaka 1021 (A.D. 1098-9),[99] and several others at Drākṣārāma and other places attest the successful restoration of authority.

Second War.

The later invasion which took place about A.D. 1110 is described in some detail in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga and at greater length in the *Kalingattupparaṇi*. According to the inscriptions,[100] the Cōḷa army crossed the Vēngī territory, destroyed the elephant corps that was sent by the enemy to oppose its march, spread fire across the enemy country of Kalingam, killed in the

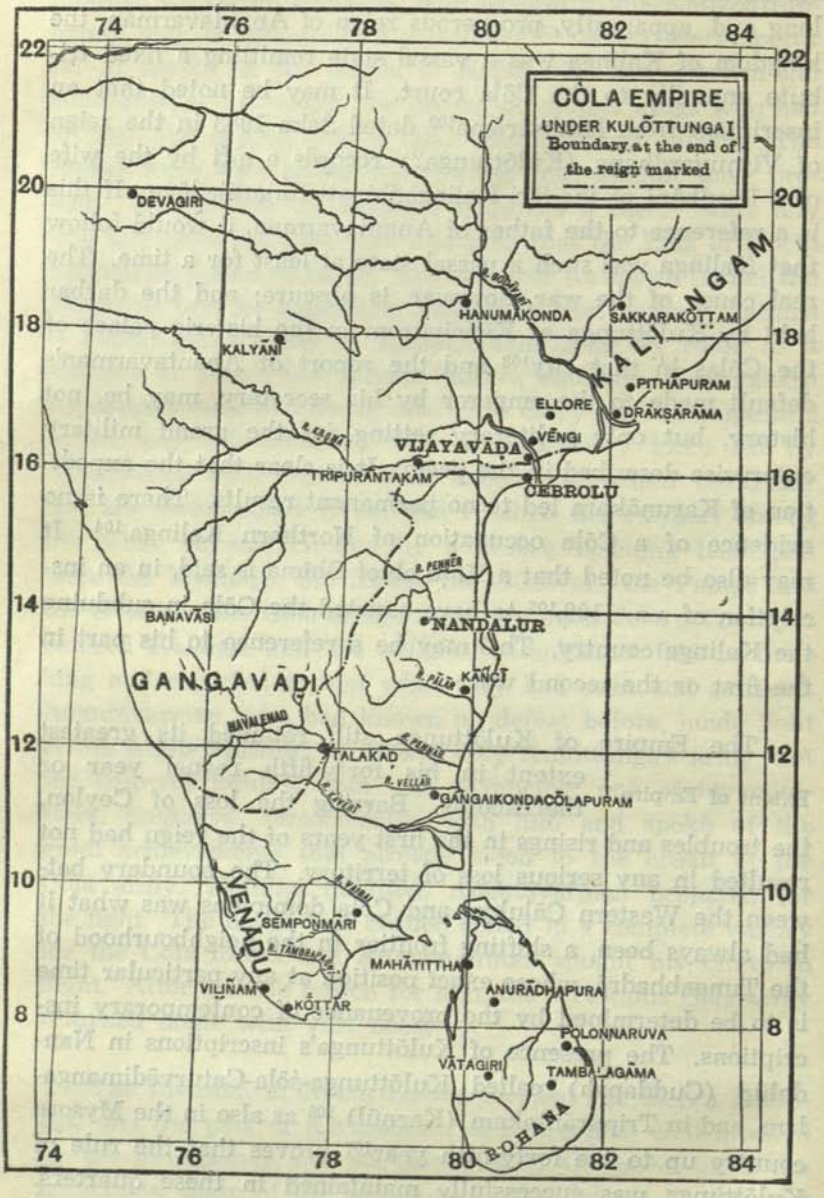
fight many powerful leaders of the Kalinga army whose heads rolled on the battle-field, pecked by kites, and in the end subdued the Seven Kalingas. The account in the *Kalingattup-paraṇi* may be summarised as follows.[101] When the emperor sat in darbar in his palace at Kāñcī, the *tiru-mandira-ōlai* announced to his master the arrival of subject kings who had brought the annual tribute, and were waiting outside. The vassals were then permitted to enter and exhibit their presents. At the end, the emperor enquired if there were any who had defaulted, and was informed that the king of North Kalinga had done so twice. The emperor forthwith issued the command that an expedition should be sent against Kalinga to storm the hillforts of Kalinga and bring its ruler as a prisoner of war. The valiant Pallava chieftain, Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān, lord of Vaṇḍai, offered to carry out the emperor's orders and was accepted. The expeditionary force led by Karuṇākara soon started from Kāñcī. It crossed the Pālār and the Ponmukhari rivers and reached the Peṇṇār; among the other streams crossed by it before reaching Kalingam were the Maṇṇāṟu, the Kṛṣṇā, the Gōdāvari, the Pampā and the Gōtami. The Cōḷa army began to spread destruction as it entered Kalinga, and the suffering inhabitants fled to their king and reported to him what they had seen and suffered. Anantavarman, who had known no defeat before, made light of the whole business, as it was only Kulōttunga's army, not the emperor himself, that was advancing; one of his ministers, Engarāya, remonstrated with him and spoke of the great achievements that already stood to the credit of the Cōḷa army. Nothing daunted, Anantavarman prepared for the fight. The battle that ensued ended in a complete victory for the Cōḷa forces and Anantavarman sought his safety in flight. After a futile search for him, the victorious Cōḷa army returned home with vast booty.

The invasion of North Kalinga, called the Seven Kalingas, and the part of Karuṇākara in it are thus well attested by the inscriptions and the poem. Only the poem gives the immediate cause of the war, namely the default on the part of the Kalinga king in the payment of the annual tribute. This king, Anantavarman Cōḍaganga, was the grandson of Vīrarājēndra by his daughter Rājasundarī. Dynastic connec-

tions, however, seldom availed to stop the course of political ambition, and it would seem that Kulōttunga was the aggressor on this occasion. It is hard to believe that throughout the long and, apparently, prosperous reign of Anantavarman, the kingdom of Kalinga was a vassal state remitting a fixed tribute annually to the Cōḷa court. It may be noted that an inscription from Drākṣārāma[102] dated Śaka 1003 in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana (Kulōttunga?) records a gift by the wife of a Pradhāni of the Tri-Kalingādhipati Rājarājadēva. If this is a reference to the father of Anantavarman, it would follow that Kalinga was such a vassal state at least for a time. The real cause of the war, however, is obscure; and the darbar held by Kulōttunga at Kāñcīpuram in the historic palace of the Cōḷas in that city[103] and the report of Anantavarman's default made to the emperor by his secretary, may be, not history, but only a literary setting for the grand military enterprise described in the poem. It is clear that the expedition of Karuṇākara led to no permanent results. There is no evidence of a Cōḷa occupation of Northern Kalinga.[104] It may also be noted that a Kōṭa chief Bhīma is said, in an inscription of A.D. 1108,[105] to have assisted the Cōḷa in subduing the Kalinga country. This may be a reference to his part in the first or the second war.

Extent of Empire.

The Empire of Kulōttunga still retained its greatest extent in his forty-fifth regnal year or thereabouts. Barring the loss of Ceylon, the troubles and risings in the first years of the reign had not resulted in any serious loss of territory. The boundary between the Western Cāḷukya and Cōḷa dominions was what it had always been, a shifting frontier in the neighbourhood of the Tungabhadrā, whose exact position at any particular time is to be determined by the provenance of contemporary inscriptions. The presence of Kulōttunga's inscriptions in Nandalūr (Cuddapah) called Kulōttunga-śōḷa-Caturvēdimangalam, and in Tripurāntakam (Karnūl),[106] as also in the Mysore country up to the forty-fifth year[107] proves that the rule of Kulōttunga was successfully maintained in these quarters. The hold over Vēngī was quite firm and had rendered possible a successful invasion of the territory of its northern neighbour, Kalinga.


CŌLA EMPIRE
UNDER KULŌTTUNGA I
Boundary at the end of the reign marked
74
76
78
80
82
84
22
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18
16
14
12
10
8
DEVAGIRI
HANUMĀKONDA
SAKKARAKŌTTAM
KALYĀNI
KALINGAM
PITHĀPURAM
ELLORE
DRĀKṢĀRĀMA
VĒNGI
VIJAYAVĀDA
TRIPURĀNTAKAM
CEBROLU
R. PENNĒR
BANAVĀSI
NANDALUR
GANGAVĀDI
R. PĀLĀR
KĀNCĪ
TALAKĀD
GANGAIKONDACŌḶAPURAM
VENĀDU
SEMPONMĀRI
MAHĀTITTHA
ANURĀDHAPURA
VILIÑAM
KŌTTĀR
POLONNARUVA
VĀTAGIRI
TAMBALAGĀMA
ROHANA

Foreign connections.

The Cōḷa Empire under Kulōttunga maintained extensive foreign connections in India and outside. The relations with the Empire of Śrī Vijaya have been noticed above. An incomplete Gāhadvāl *praśasti* engraved on the walls of the temple of Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram shows that Cōḷa diplomacy in this period embraced the Northern India States within the range of its orbit. This *praśasti* which begins *Akuṇṭhōtkaṇṭha* must belong to Madanapāla or his son Gōvindacandra of Kanauj. The inscription[108] opens by citing the forty-first regnal year of Kulōttunga, and then gives a good part of the Gāhadvāl *praśasti*, but stops without giving the name of the actual ruler who makes the record or detailing the gift which furnishes the occasion for it. This *praśasti* in the distant Cōḷa capital is perhaps evidence of some dynastic connection, otherwise unknown, between these two dynasties. And the increased emphasis on sun-worship in the Cōḷa country in Kulōttunga's reign may be due to the close association with the Gāhadvāls who were great worshippers of the sun.[109] It may also be noted in passing that a certain Vāgīśvara-rakṣita of the Cōḍa country is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of Gōvindacandra (A.D. 1129) as a disciple of Śākyarakṣita of Orissa.[110] We have already noticed the inscription from Cidambaram which is dated 13 March A.D. 1114, and mentions the fact that Rājēndra received a peculiar stone as a present from the king of Kāmbhōja, and that he caused this stone to be inserted into the wall of a hall in front of the shrine at Cidambaram.[111] One wonders if this is a relic of the friendly connections maintained by Kulōttunga with the powerful Khmer empire across the seas, on the sea-route to China. Kyanzittha (A.D. 1084—1112), the ruler of Pagan, is said in Burmese accounts, to have met a Cōḷa prince, converted him to Buddhism and married his daughter; Tamil epigraphy and literature offer no help in settling the identity of the Cōḷa prince or the truth of the Burmese story.[112]

Loss of Gangavāḍi.

Towards the end of his reign, Kulōttunga lost the province of Gangavāḍi to the rising power of the Hoysalas. Though the Hoysalas are mentioned as early as A.D. 1006 in the reign of Rājarāja I,[113] Hoysala history really commences with Nṛpa-Kāma (c. A.D. 1022—1040), the father of Vinayāditya

and patron of Ēcama or Ēciga, the father of Gangarāja, the Hoysala general who captured Taḷakāḍ from the Cōḷas in 1116. For many years the Hoysalas acknowledged the supremacy of the Western Cāḷukyas, the enemies of the Cōḷa power, and we have seen that Ereyanga, the son of Vinayāditya, assisted Vikrmāditya VI in his wars against Kulōttunga after the accession of the latter to the Cōḷa throne. The real extent of Hoysala rule in the early stages of their rise is not easy to determine. The boundaries of the Hoysala territory recorded in an inscription of Ballāla I[114] and the provenance of the Hoysala and Cōḷa inscriptions of the period suggest the conclusion that Hoysala rule was confined to the Hassan and Kāḍūr districts and parts of Nāgamangala taluq. And it is also clear that Vinayāditya was a feudatory of the contemporary Cāḷukyas throughout the long period of his rule c. A.D. 1047-1100, as is seen from the part of the Hoysala in the war between Vikramāditya and Kulōttunga.

It was under Biṭṭiga Viṣṇu-Vardhana (1100—1152)[115] that the Hoysala attained a really prominent position. The title 'Taḷakāḍu-goṇḍa' is first applied to him in an inscription dated A.D. 1116, and in the same year he is described as ruling in Taḷakāḍu and Kōlāla (Kōlār), over the whole of Gangavāḍi as far as Kongu.[116] The Bēlūr copper-plate grant (A.D. 1117) records that 'he first acquired the wealth of the Hoysala rule or dominions; that, pushing on so far as to take Taḷakāḍ, he was the first to promote the race of Yadu to the rule of the dominions of the Gangas; and that he burnt the capital city of the Gangas.' It is thus clear that Viṣṇu-Vardhana inherited some limited territory round about Bēlūr and that, in the first five or six years of his rule, he greatly extended his sway by the conquest of the Gangavāḍi province.

This province was under the Cōḷas at the time and regularly administered as a division of the Cōḷa Empire. It was conquered for the Hoysala by his Daṇḍanāyaka Gangarāja. The ancient line of Adigaimāns of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri) in the Kongu country acted as the representatives of Cōḷa power in this region. The Hoysala inscriptions begin their narrative of Gangarāja's conquest of the Cōḷa province with the statement that the Cōḷa's *sāmanta* Adiyama (Adigaimān) was stationed like the bolt of a door above the ghats,

in the camp at Taḷakāḍu, on the frontier of the Gangavāḍi-nāḍu, that Adiyama refused to surrender to Gangarāja, the *Nāḍu* which the Cōḷa had given and told Gangarāja to fight and take it.[117] The battle which followed and practically decided the fate of the Gangavāḍi province must have been fought not far from Taḷakāḍ. Besides Adiyama, two other chiefs, Dāmōdara and Narasimha Varma, and other unnamed *Sāmantas* fought on the Cōḷa side. The victory of Gangarāja against the Tiguḷas (Tamils) was complete, and he followed up his success by expelling the Tamils from Gangavāḍi. 'Having driven out the Tiguḷas, he restored Gangavāḍi to Vīra Ganga (Viṣṇu-Vardhana); was not Gangarāja a hundred-fold more fortunate than the former Rāja[118] of the Gangas?'

Other inscriptions of Viṣṇu-Vardhana give an exaggerated and doubtless partly fictitious account of his achievements, and it is by no means easy to sift the evidence.[119] To confine our attention to statements relating to his conquests from the Cōḷas, it is probable that Taḷakāḍ (Rājarājapura), Nīlagiri, Nangili, Kōḷāla, Tereyūr and Kōyāttūr[120] became subject to him as a result of Gangarāja's campaigns, and the same may be true of a part, though not the whole, of Kongu; but the claim that Kāñcī obeyed his commands and that he squeezed, as if he held it in his hand, the southern Madhurāpura is not less incredible than his wars against Cakrakūṭa or Lāṭa. On the other hand there is some evidence of a raid into the heart of the Cōḷa country by the Hoysala forces in this period, evidence which gives some colour to Viṣṇu-Vardhana's claim that he marched up to Rāmēśvaram. An inscription of Parākrama Pāṇḍya[121] states that several years before the date of the record, certain Paḷḷis of the temple at Āḍuturai rescued some of its images which were being carried to Haḷēbīḍ, and were rewarded by the grant of certain privileges which were renewed by Parākrama Pāṇḍya. It is probable that the unsuccessful attempt to remove images from Āḍuturai to Haḷēbīḍ was made in Viṣṇu-Vardhana's reign, and if this view is correct, the exaggerated statements of Viṣṇu-Vardhana's conquests in his inscriptions must have some basis in fact. In any event, the absence from the Mysore country of Kulōttunga's inscriptions after his forty-fifth year

(1115) is sufficient proof of the transfer of Gangavāḍi from the Cōḷas to the Hoysalas as a result of the war; but even here the re-appearance of Vikramacōḷa's inscriptions in the Kōlār region and elsewhere shows that the Cōḷas managed either to retain or recover part of the province.

Trouble in Vēngī.

Towards the end of his reign, Kulōttunga lost much of his territory in another direction. The northern half of the Vēngī kingdom, if not the whole of it, seems to have slipped from his hands and gone over to the empire of the Western Cāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya VI. That the latter was bent on making reprisals for his failure in the first war against Kulōttunga and that he kept up his enmity against Kulōttunga unabated is clear from the records of his reign. In A.D. 1084, Vikramāditya complains that the 'hostile Cōḷa does not come to the battle-field.'[122] In fact, Vikramāditya's plan was to take advantage of Kulōttunga's pre-occupation with affairs in the south and create a diversion in the north by proceeding against the kingdom of Vēngī and its vassal states. From the history of the Viceroyalty of Vēngī, we see that the efforts of the Western Cāḷukya ruler did not apparently have any tangible result up to the accession of Vikramacōḷa to that office about A.D. 1092-3. Soon after came the war against the chief of Kuḷam and against South Kalinga; these revolts were perhaps, at least in part, due to the intrigues of Vikramāditya. And so too might have been the defiance of the E. Ganga ruler Anantavarman Cōḍaganga which necessitated the second Kalinga war, the war against North Kalinga. It was not, however, till Vikramacōḷa was summoned to the south in A.D. 1118, by the aged Kulōttunga to become the heir-apparent to the Cōḷa throne, that the troubles that had long been gathering against Kulōttunga in the north came to a head. The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva,[123] dated Ś 1124 (A.D. 1202), makes the definite statement that after the marvellous (*apūrvapuruṣō*) Kulōttunga had ruled for fifty years the five Drāviḍas together with the Andhra country, when Vikramacōḷa went to rule the Cōḷa country, the land of Vēngī at once fell into a state of anarchy (*Vēngī-bhūmir-nāyaka-rahitā jātā*).[124] This statement throws much welcome light on the contemporary inscriptions of the Andhra country rela-

ting to the close of Kulōttunga's reign and the period of Vikramacōḷa's rule as Cōḷa king.

Kulōttunga's inscriptions are found in Drākṣārāma in a continuous series up to his forty-ninth year, A.D. 1118-19.[125] On the other hand, there are no inscriptions of Vikramacōḷa in the Northern Circars dated earlier than his ninth year (A.D. 1127), and even then they form a very limited number and are confined to the southern parts of the Vēngī kingdom in the modern Guntur district.[126] Vikramāditya's inscriptions are found in considerable numbers in Drākṣārāma and are dated in the years of the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era which started from the commencement of his reign. The largest number of these inscriptions bear dates from 45 to 48, but earlier and later dates are not unknown either in Drākṣārāma or elsewhere in the Telugu country.[127] Many among these records are engraved by the Telugu feudatories of Vikramāditya who acknowledge their subordinate position either openly or implicitly, by naming their suzerain lord or by simply dating their records in the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era. It has to be remembered, however, that in some instances the use of the era may have been no more than the continuance of a habit even after the reason for it had disappeared. That Vikramāditya's rule did extend in this period over practically the whole of the Telugu country becomes clear from the provenance of his inscriptions. In A.D. 1115-6 his general Anantapālayya is found ruling in state in the Guntur area.[128] In Ś. 1039 (December, A.D. 1117), the Kākatīya chief Prōla of Anumakoṇḍa acknowledges the supremacy of the Western Cāḷukya ruler and records that the Anumakoṇḍa territory was conferred on his father Bēṭa some time before by the same sovereign.[129] About a year later, in December A.D. 1118, Anantapālayya, the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Vikramāditya, was, according to an inscription from Kommūru in the Guntur district, ruling over Vēngī 14,000.[130] A record in Cebrolu dated in the same year (1118) praises the heroism of a Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi general Sūra in a battle at Bezwada, fought perhaps in the Cāḷukya war of conquest in Vēngī.[131] And about A.D. 1120, Anantapāla's wife made a gift to the celebrated shrine of Bhīmēśvara in Drākṣārāma.[132] Velanāṇṭi Rājēndra in the same year, and Mayilama, the wife of a Telugu Cōḍa

chief, in the year after that, also made gifts in Drākṣārāma recorded in inscriptions dated in the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era.[133] Another Western Cāḷukya commander, a nephew of Anantapāla, was ruling Koṇḍapalli in the Krishna district, in A.D. 1127.[134] The inscriptions from Drākṣārāma bear dates in the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era up to 57, A.D. 1132-33. Towards the close of this period, about Ś. 1053 (A.D. 1131) a certain Nambirāja, son of Malla, ruled in apparent independence, over the Ṣaṭsahasra country to the south of the Kṛṣṇā river and styled himself Lord of Koḷḷipāka.[135] The Cāḷukya-Cōḷa power in Vēngī was undoubtedly eclipsed by that of the Western Cāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya from A.D. 1118, and the Cōḷas were unable to regain even part of the territory so lost until after the death of Vikramāditya in A.D. 1126. Towards the close of Kulōttunga's reign, therefore, the extent of the Cōḷa empire had become much less than what it was at his accession. To the loss of Ceylon at the commencement of the reign was now added that of Gangavāḍi and Vēngī, and the Cōḷa empire became more or less a purely Tamil power for the time being. In the prolonged duel between Vikramāditya and Kulōttunga, the former had the satisfaction, though belated, of carrying to a successful end his policy of breaking the union of the Vēngī and Cōḷa thrones, and Kulōttunga had to acquiesce in the result which he had so long withstood but could no longer avert. The latest known inscription of Kulōttunga mentions his fifty-second year,[136] showing that he lived up to A.D. 1122.

Titles.

Kulōttunga had various other names and titles. The name Rājēndra found mostly in the early records of the reign before the fifth year, sometimes makes its appearance in those of a later date.[137] A Rājakēsari by his place in Cōḷa succession, the Parakēsari title occurs in his inscriptions sometimes by mistake.[138] He is called Tribhuvana-cakravartin as early as the fifth year of his reign,[139] though this title is not systematically repeated as in the records of his successors. His inscriptions from the Telugu country give him, besides the usual Eastern Cāḷukya Sarvalokāśraya and Viṣṇuvardhana, the titles,[140] Parāntaka, Permānaḍigaḷu, Vikrama-Cōḷa, Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya-Kulāntaka. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* calls him Virudarājabhayankara, Akalanka, Abhaya and Jayadhara.[141] The name Abhaya

occurs also in an inscription from Śucīndram dated in the thirty-second regnal year,[142] while Jayadhara is found in inscriptions from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Peṇṇāḍam and Cidambaram.[143] Tirunīṟṟuc-Cōḷa seems to have been another surname of the king, as a *dēvadāna* village granted to a new temple at Triśūlam is called Tirunīṟṟuc-Cōḷa-nallūr in an inscription of the thirty-ninth year.[144] The name Śunganadavirtta-śōḷanallūr occurs in an inscription of the twenty-eighth year,[145] and another record dated four years later gives the king the title: *Śungan-davirttu iru-ṇīkki ulagāṇḍa*, meaning 'who abolished the tolls and ruled the world after dispelling darkness.' Though there are many literary references to the abolition of tolls by the king,[146] none of them is calculated to throw any light on the exact nature and scope of the reform. The term *Śungam* is explained by Parimēlaḻagar to mean the tax (*iṟai*) on commodities carried in ships and carts,[147] and this explanation would include not only what we now call 'tolls,' but 'customs' as well. Though the exact date of Parimēlaḻagar cannot be determined with certainty, his explanation of *Śungam* may be accepted as applicable to the time of Kulōttunga; one might even suggest that the annotator had Kulōttunga's reform in his mind when he wrote his gloss on the verse in the *Tiruk-kuṟal*. However that may be, we have no means of deciding whether Kulōttunga did away with the tax on trade in one part only of his dominions or over the whole, and whether the abolition was permanent or only temporary and confined to a period following some occasion he wanted to celebrate by a boon to his subjects. On any of these alternatives, he would be entitled to the epithet *'Śungandavirtta'*, but it is inconceivable that he meant to deprive the entire state permanently of a traditional and very profitable source of revenue. An inscription of A.D. 1194,[148] however, still refers to the Cōḷa-nāḍu as the country where no *Śungam* was collected. Perhaps the exemption was permanent, but confined only to the Cōḷa country proper. If this was so, the imperialism of the Cōḷas did not lack an economic side to it; it was not the purely military ideal of the *vijigīṣu* of the Arthaśāstras. It is curious how little the numberless inscriptions, which record a vast amount of detail on taxes and tax exemptions, assist us in obtaining a clear view of the prevailing tax-system or of the changes, if any, in taxation policy. That a land survey

was undertaken in the sixteenth and fortieth years of Kulōttunga's reign is mentioned in the incriptions of his successors and confirmed by an inscription of his forty-eighth year mentioning the name of one of the survey officers.[149]

Capital.

Kulōttunga's capital was Gangāpuri or Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram.[150] The city next in importance was Kāñcīpuram where there was a royal palace with an *abhiṣēka maṇḍapa* whence the king issued several important grants.[151] Other places the presence of royal palaces in which finds specific mention in the inscriptions of the reign are: Āyirattaḷi,[152] Tirumaḷuvāḍi,[153] Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram,[154] and Vikrama-śōḷapuram.[155]

Family.

The copper-plate grants state that Kulōttunga married Madhurāntaki, the daughter of Rājēndradēva of the Solar race, doubtless Rājēndra II Cōḷa. Considering that the sons born of this marriage became successively Viceroys of Vēngī from A.D. 1077, it seems probable that this marriage alliance must have been contracted some years before Kulōttunga's accession to the Cōḷa throne. Madhurāntaki had seven sons of whom Vikramacōḷa, the successor of Kulōttunga, was perhaps the fourth.[156] She is not mentioned by name in any of the *praśastis* in the stone records; it is however, possible that, as the chief queen, she is referred to in them as *puvana-muḻuḍuḍaiyāḷ* or *avanimuḻuḍuḍaiyāḷ*, 'the mistress of the whole world.' If this view is correct it follows that Dīnacintāmaṇi was also a surname of the same queen.[157] She seems to have died some time before the thirtieth year of Kulōttunga when Tyāgavalli took her place as chief queen with the title *puvana-muḻuḍuḍaiyāḷ*. The *Kalingattupparaṇi*, it may be noted, only mentions her and Ēḻiśai-vallabhi,[158] and distinctly states that Tyāgavalli enjoyed the right to equal authority with the king. Ēḻiśai-vallabhi is also called Ēḻulaguḍaiyāḷ, 'the mistress of the seven worlds', both in the inscriptions and in the *Kalingattupparaṇi*. The same title is applied to Nambirāṭṭiyār Śirāman Arumoḻi-nangai in an inscription[159] of the twenty-sixth regnal year; if this reference is also to the same queen, as most probably it is, her personal name must have been Arumoḻi-nangai. Other queens mentioned in the inscriptions are: Trailōkya-mahādēvi who endowed a lamp in the Ārpākkam temple in A.D.

1072, for the spiritual benefit of her mother Umai-nangai;[160] Śōḷan Śōṟuḍaiyāḷ *alias* Kāḍavan Mahādēvī, apparently a princess of Pallava extraction; Tribhuvanamādēvī *alias* Kampamādēvi, born in the asterism of Svāti, and a devotee of Viṣṇu, like another queen, Ādittan Āṇḍakuṭṭiyār *alias* Śōḷa Kulavalliyār, mentioned along with her in an inscription from Kāñcīpuram[161] (A.D. 1111). Two sisters of Kulōttunga, Kundavai and Madhurāntaki by name, are mentioned in the inscriptions from Cidambaram dated in the years A.D. 1114 and 1116.[162] Besides his seven sons by Madhurāntaki, Kulōttunga had, as we have seen, a daughter Śuttamalli married into the royal house of Ceylon. A fragmentary record from Mysore dated early in the reign, A.D. 1075, mentions a Piḷḷaiyār Ammangai Āḻvār who was another daughter of Kulōttunga.[163] A certain Rājasūnu (prince) Mādhava presented a gold diadem to Śiva at Rāmagrāma about A.D. 1082;[164] the identity of this prince remains obscure.

Many subordinates and feudatories of Kulōttunga are mentioned in his inscriptions. The best known are the two Tamil generals of his army who played the leading part in the conquest of the southern countries and of Kalingam. The important services of Naralōkavīra in the southern wars are borne out not only by the *Vikramaśōḷanulā* and the laudatory inscriptions of Cidambaram and Tiruvadi in South Arcot, but by a number of inscriptions from the Pāṇḍya country which mention his titles and record gifts made by him. He was a highly respected official who enjoyed a large fief in Maṇavil and was responsible for many improvements in the old temple cities of Cidambaram and Tiruvadi. He is called the prime-minister of Jayadhara and he continued to serve Vikramacōḷa after Kulōttunga's death.[165] For the career of the other great general, who led the expedition against Northern Kalingam, we depend mainly on literary sources—the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and *Vikramaśōḷanulā*.[166] Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān was apparently a descendant of the Pallavas, and true to the traditions of the Pallavas, Jayangoṇḍār describes him as born in the family descended from Brahmā.[167] He is generally called the ruler of Vaṇḍainagar, which is also called Vaṇḍāḷañjēri in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Kulōttunga-śōḷavaḷanāḍu in the Śōḷamaṇḍalam,[168] and is now represented by Vaṇḍuvāñjēri[169] in the

Kumbakōṇam taluq. The inscription from Kāñcīpuram, which records the details of the situation of the fief of Karuṇākara, also mentions the name of his wife Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷani-maṇḍaiyāḷvār. Karuṇākara had an elder brother whose flag displayed the usual Pallava emblem of a white bull, who assisted him in the Kalinga war,[170] and who is mentioned under the name Sēnāpati-Pallavaraśar in an inscription of A.D. 1099 from Tiruppanandāḷ.[171] From the reference in the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā* it is clear that Karuṇākara, like Naralōkavīra, survived Kulōttunga, and served Vikramacōḷa for some years.

1. *EI.* vii, p. 7, n. 5. June 13 Sunday is now suggested, *ARE.* 1947-8, p. 3, and No. 108 of the year from Śrīrangam.

2. *EI.* iv, p. 227; 520 of 1920; 139 of 1902. A record of year 52 is given in the *Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions* No. 127.

3. 45 of 1921, *ARE.* 1929, II, 33.

4. 125 of 1900.

5. 425 of 1912.

6. 468 of 1913.

7. *SII.* iii, 68, 69 etc. It must be noticed that this *praśasti* opens with a reference to the youthful achievements of Kulōttunga followed by a rhetorical eulogium, of no historical value. I think this part ends with the phrase: *tan pon-nagarp-puṟattiḍaik-kiḍappa.*

8. 57 of 1898.

9. 124 of 1928.

10. 231 of 1912.

11. 365 of 1928.

12. 197 of 1919. Hultzsch did not know of any inscription earlier than the twentieth year giving the Tribhuvanacakravartin title. *SII.* iii, p. 131. It may also be noted that the earliest record certainly giving the titles Cakravartin and Kulōttunga is 468 of 1913 (of the fourth year) with the *pugaḻ mādu viḷanga* introduction.

13. *SII.* iii, pp. 142-146. R. D. Banerji has strangely misunderstood the early inscriptions of Kulōttunga and cited them as proving that Kulōttunga defeated Lakṣma-dēva of Māḷava in Cakrakūṭa (*Haihayas of Tripuri,* p. 25).

14. x. v. 25.

15. See *ante,* Ch. xii.

16. *ARE.* 1904, paragraph 21.

17. *SII.* iii, p. 132. *ARE.* 1904, paragraph 21.

18. *ARE.* 1899, paragraph 51.

19. See *ante,* Ch. xii, p. 298 and n. 51.

20. *Kalingattupparaṇi,* x, vv. 27-32. *IA.* xix, p. 332.

21. *Ante,* p. 290.

22. vi, 26-27; 38-9; 54.

23. Bühler has rightly exposed the hollowness of the moralisings of Bilhaṇa and pointed out that far from being a victim of destiny, as Bilhaṇa wishes to make out, Vikrama designedly used his superior talents to oust his weaker brother. Vikrama, who married a Cōḷa princess in order to be able to deprive his brother of a good part of his inheritance, could not well object to Sōmēśvara's political alliance with Kulōttunga. Bühler's *Vikramānkadēvacarita*, pp. 36-8 and nn. Fleet was the first to recognise that Rājiga is a familiar form of Rājēndra, the earlier name of Kulōttunga. *IA.* xx, pp. 276 and 282. See also *BG.* I, ii, p. 445.

24. *BG.* I, ii, p. 234.

25. *EC.* v. Ak. 102 (a) says that by order of the Cāḷukya Cakravarti he caused the Cōḷa king to wear leaves: *Cōḷikar aṇṇaleyam taḷiram uḍisi.* Also vii, Sh. 64.

26. *EC.* vii, Ci. 33 calls him *(Rā)jiga-Cōḷa-manōbhanga*, and says, perhaps with exaggeration, that he was ruling Nuḷambavāḍi 32000.

27. vi 90.

28. See Bühler's remarks cited in a previous note.

29. vi 99, xiv, 4.

30. *nirvāpya Cōḷasya punaḥ pratāpam kramēṇa Kalyāṇam asau viveśa*, vii 2.

31. The pun on the verb *kōḍutal* in the original is untranslatable. I follow Hultzsch's translation (*SII.* iii, p. 147) with slight changes. 177 of 1919, (year 6), and 5 of 1914 (year 8) seem to be among the earliest inscriptions giving this version of the events.

32. *SII.* iii, 73; 5 of 1914; 178 of 1919.

33. 401 of 1896.

34. *BG.* I, ii, p. 217.

35. A pitched battle seems to have been fought there. *Kalingattupparaṇi*, xiii, 62.

36. *SII.* iii, p. 144.

37. xi, vv. 74, 75; xiii, 62.

38. *EI.* vi, pp. 69, 214-5.

39. *BG.* I, ii, p. 445.

40. xiv—vv. 1-13.

41. *CV.* ch. 60, v. 24, Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 57.

42. xvii, vv. 43 ff.; cf. *BG.* I, ii, pp. 452-3.

43. *EI.* xii, pp. 208 ff. R. D. Banerji (*Haihayas of Tripurī*, p. 26) identifies the Andhra king with one of the sons of Kulōttunga. This is clearly wrong.

44. *JAHRS.* v. pp. 208-9.

45. *PK.* pp. 118 ff.

46. *Ante*, pp. 253, 271.

47. *CV.*, ch. 58, v. 59; ch. 59, vv. 8-9. *EZ.* ii, p. 207.

48. Ch. 58, vv. 18 ff.

49. Geiger, *CV.* i, p. 204 n. 2.

50. 600 of 1912, *SII.* iv. 1396, l. 17.

51. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

52. *SII.* iii, 68, 1, 2 and 69, 1, 10. An inscription from Palaiyaśivaram (Ch.), 211 of 1922, though it is of the tenth year, gives only the general part of the *pugaḻ śūḻnda puṇari* introduction, including the statement about the Pāṇḍyan king's head, and makes no mention of the wars; this is perhaps because it gives the *praśasti* as it stood in the fourth year of the reign when the chief transaction recorded in the inscription took place.

53. 186 of 1914.

54. *EI.* v, pp. 103-4; *SII.* i. pp. 168-9.

55. *SII.* iii, p. 147.

56. ll. 46-8.

57. xi, vv. 70-2. The questions are addressed to Anantavarman of Kalinga by one of his ministers to show him that Kulōttunga's army was a tried force able to do great deeds even in the absence of Kulōttunga.

58. v. 10.

59. *Studies*, p. 191.

60. *PK.*, pp. 120-2; 21 of 1927 of the tenth year of Jat. Śrīvallabha mentions the 31st year of Kulōttunga who took Kollam, doubtless Kulōttunga I. Kulōttunga's reconquest of the south was over by his eleventh year, A.D. 1081. Śrīvallabha's tenth year is later than the thirty-first of Kulōttunga, i.e. A.D. 1101, so that Śrīvallabha's rule did not begin earlier than A.D. 1091. This means that he could not have been among the Pāṇḍyas attacked and overthrown by Kulōttunga's forces. It also means that at the end of his campaign, Kulōttunga had to allow the princes of the ancient Pāṇḍya line to continue their rule in full regal style though under the suzerainty of the Cōḻa power. It is clear that the system of appointing Cōḻa princes as Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya viceroys was not resumed by Kulōttunga. The Pāṇḍyan kingdom then seems to have stood in this period in the same relation to the Cōḻa power as Vēngī did between A.D. 1000 and 1070.

61. Viḻiñam is called Rājēndra-śōḻa-paṭṭinam in an inscription of the 21st year (46 of 1927). The *nilaippaḍai* of Kōṭṭār is mentioned in the 39th year. (*TAS.* i, pp. 246-7).

62. *ARE.* 1927 II, 18.

63. *Studies*, pp. 178 ff.

64. It is not impossible, however, that Naralōkavīra fought as a common soldier in the earlier war, that there was no second war at all, and that when, later on, he rose to a high position in the state, his earlier fights were painted in glowing colours. The point is that as Naralōkavīra survived Kulōttunga and held office under Vikramacōḻa for six or seven years, he could not have been old enough to have attained high rank in the army in the early years of Kulōttunga's reign.

65. Paranavitana says (*EI.* xviii, p. 333) that the Tirukkaḻukkuṉram inscription (*IA.* xxi, p. 282) of Kulōttunga claims that he sent an expedition to Ceylon without any definite results. In saying this,

he overlooks the more reliable edition of the inscription by Hultzsch, *SII.* iii, 75, and in particular note 10 at p. 164.

66. Inscription No. 509 of Ceylon dated A.D. 1114, that is some years after the suppression of the military revolt, mentions Śēdarāyan *alias* Malaimaṇḍala Nāyakan, a Vēḷaikkāram of Jayabāhudēvar. *Ceylon Journal of Science*—G. ii, p. 122.

67. *CV.* i, pp. 216-8.

68. 600 of 1912; *EI.* xviii, pp. 330 ff.

69. *Ceylon Journal of Science,* G. II, 2, pp. 105 and 116.

70. *Les Etats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonesie* (Paris 1948), pp. 250-1.

71. *JRAS.* 1896, p. 490 n.; *Chau Ju-kua,* p. 100 n. 6; *JA.* xi: 20, (1922), p. 20; *BEFEO.* xxiii, p. 470.

72. vi. v. 18.

73. *Journal of the Greater India Society,* Vol. i, pp. 87-8.

74. See p. 298 n. 26 *ante.*

75. *EI.* v, p. 105.

76. *BEFEO,* xviii, 6, p. 8, cited by Coedès.

77. *Chau Ju-kua,* pp. 96, 101.

78. Cf. Krom—*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* pp. 302-4. Vogel simply says that it is not clear what importance should be attached to the Chinese source quoted above—*Bijdragen* Deel 75 (1919), p. 637. Coedès (*loc. cit.*) is inclined to believe that as the Cōḷa inscriptions exaggerate the sway of the Cōḷa over Śrī Vijaya, so the latter, 'in its turn pretends to exercise its sovereignty over the Cōḷas.' Gerini is the only writer who accepts Ma Tuan-lin's statement at its face value. *Researches,* p. 624 n. 1.

79. *ASSI.* iv, p. 224.

80. *ibid.* ll. 6-7.

81. *ibid.* ll. 39-40.

82. This phrase which occurs often in the inscriptions is noteworthy as implying that the king heard petitions while he was bathing, though its rendering in the text avoids this implication. 74 of 1932, l. 39, gives the expression: *vīṭṭin uḷḷāl kuḷikkum-iḍattu.* To our notions it seems a strange mode of receiving a foreign embassy to hear them while you are bathing. See, however, p. 332 below for an *abhiṣēka maṇḍapa.* Cf. Ghusal Khāna of the Mughals—Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure* pp. 77-8.

83. *SII.* iii, p. 146.

84. For a full discussion of this inscription, see my paper on 'A Tamil Merchant-Guild in Sumatra' (*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-,en Volkenkunde,* 1932, p. 314).

85. *EI.* v. No. 10; vi, No. 35, *ARE.* 1922, II 6.

86. Piṭhāpuram plates (*EI.*, v. No. 10), v. 21.

87. vv. 25-26.

88. *EI.* vi. p. 335.

89. *Agrajam*-Ṭēki Plates, v. 21.

90. *EI.* iv, p. 36.

91. *Aimbaḍaipparuvam* simply means childhood, the period when amulets shaped like the five weapons of Viṣṇu are worn. See Tamil Lexicon s.v. *Aimbaḍaittāli*. (Cf. *Kalingattupparaṇi*, x 8). This is of course an exaggeration of the youthful age of Vikrama Cōḷa when he began his career as Viceroy. *Contra* Hultzsch *SII.* iii, p. 184 and n. 7.

92. See *ante*, pp. 13-14.

93. *SII.* iii, 72 and 304 of 1907; also 463 of 1911 (year 27). I see no justification for Sewell mentioning this event under A.D. 1090. *HISI.* p. 89.

94. 608 of 1904, 44 of 1891.

95. *TAS.* i, p. 22, l. 8.

96. *ARE.* 1917, II 27.

97. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 591.

98. Ṭēki plates l. 83—*Maṇṇēṭi-Mahēndra-madhya-vartino*. *EI.* vi, p. 335.

99. 363 of 1899. Venkayya postulates a Kalinga invasion of Vēngī which reached Ellore. 'The way in which Vikramacōḷa's conquest is described may (at least provisionally) be taken to mean that he probably repelled a Kalinga invasion into Vēngī. The invading army apparently advanced as far south as Ellore or some place near it, where the decisive battle seems to have taken place.' *ARE.* 1905, II, 18. However, he adds: 'The earlier invasion which took place in or before A.D. 1095-96 was perhaps against South Kalinga, in which Cōḍaganga, who was lord of Tri-Kalinga, had apparently no direct interest.' (*ibid.*).

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar holds (*EI.* xxii, pp. 140-2) that the Kalinga war which forms the subject of the *Paraṇi* was fought against Rājārāja Dēvēndravarman in the early years of Kulōttunga's reign. While the Drākṣārāma inscription, 349 of 1893 of the 33rd year of Kulōttunga records that Karuṇākara waged a war against a Dēvēndravarman, there is nothing in it which implies the identity of this war with the one described in the *Paraṇi* and the probability of more than one war against Kalinga is conceded by K. V. S. Aiyar himself. See also *JOR.* x, pp. 295-301.

100. 44 of 1891, (*SII.* iv, 445). The *praśasti* records the war as a personal achievement of Kulōttunga. But the *Paraṇi* is clear that the expedition was led, not by the king, but his generalissimo, Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān.

101. *IA.* xix, p. 333.

102. 181 of 1893; *ARE.* gives Ś. 1002.

103. The palace and the particular hall in it where Kulōttunga held his darbar are mentioned so early as the reign of Uttama Cōḷa—Museum Plates l. 13. (*SII.* iii, p. 269).

104. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar: *Karuṇākarat-toṇḍaimān*, in his *Kalingattupparaṇi-yārāyccī*, has a good discussion of this expedition. From ll. 660-2 of the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā*, Venkayya infers that Vikramacōḷa took part in the expedition led by Karuṇākara against North Kalinga, (*ARE.* 1905 II, 18). Jayangoṇḍār makes no mention of Vik-

ramacōḷa anywhere in his narrative, and his silence would be unaccountable even on the assumption that Vikramacōḷa did not start from Kañcī, but joined the expeditionary force somewhere in the Vēngī province. On the other hand, there are other literary references to Vikrama's war against North Kalinga, besides the one noted by Venkayya. These, which we shall discuss later, seem to imply that there was another expedition in Vikrama's reign, and the lines of the *ulā* cited above must be taken to refer to it.

Venkayya (*ibid*) also argues that (i) Cōḍaganga became strong and powerful only during the latter part of his reign, and (ii) Kulōttunga's invasion against North Kalinga was undertaken to help him against 'some rebellious feudatory, whose territories were denoted by the term "Seven Kalingas."' For (i) he depends on a comparison of the two Vizagapatam plates of A.D. 1087 (1081?) and 1118-19 (*IA.* xviii); but a perusal of the third set of plates dated A.D. 1135 shows that the points made by Venkayya cannot be true; he is dealing with differences due, not to a change in the political power or status of Cōḍaganga, but to the two different types of *praśastis* employed in the two sets of plates. No. (ii) above is contradicted by the *Kalingattupparaṇi* which says clearly that Anantavarman himself, and not any vassal of his, was the Lord of Seven Kalingas, and that Karuṇākara's expedition was directed against Anantavarman himself. Anantavarman's boast about Utkala in the east and Vēngī in the west may be no more than a reference to his father Rājarāja's achievements of which he enjoyed the results.

105. 567 of 1925.

106. 600 of 1907; 265 of 1905.

107. 494 of 1911=*EC.* iv, Kr. 34.

108. 29 of 1908. *ARE.* 1908, II, 58-60.

109. *ARE.* 1927 II, 19-21.

110. *EI.* xi. No. 3, ll. 19 ff.

111. 119 of 1888, *EI.* v. p. 105, *ante* p. 317.

112. *ARB.* 1918, paragraphs 41-2; 1919 paragraph 39; *ARE.* 1919, I, 9. *Ep. Bir.* i, pp. 164-5.

113. TN. 44. For Hoysala history in general, see *BG.* I, ii, pp. 490 ff. and Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 94 ff.

114. *EC.* v. Bl. 199.

115. Rice gives the period 1111-1141 to Viṣṇu-Vardhana. A closer study of his records by A. Krishnamurti supports the dates adopted in the text.

116. Rice *op. cit.*, p. 93 and n.

117. *EC.* ii, 240, (90)

118. Cāmuṇḍa-Rāja according to R. A. Narasimhachar, *EC.* ii. Intr. p. 52.

119. *BG.* I, ii, 495-98.

120. This place is in the Chittoor district; it is not Coimbatore as Fleet (*ibid*, p. 496) thought. Cf. Rangachari i, p. 500.

121. 35 of 1913; *ARE.* 1913 II. 46-7. *PK.* p. 129.

122. *EI.* xv, pp. 101, 103.

123. *EI.* iv, No. 33, vv. 22-4.

124. Krishna Sastri says: 'The later Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates excepting those of Cellūr, mention the fact that the Vēngī country became devoid of a ruler subsequent to Vikramacōḷa's departure to the south, and Dr. Hultzsch surmised that this statement only suggested that the king's absence resulted in political troubles brought about by the growing influence of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs and the ambitious invasion of the Western Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI. The political troubles could not, however, have been of a very serious nature, for we find that the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa kings continued to assert their sovereignty, though perhaps in a lesser and more limited degree. A large number of inscriptions dated in their reigns mention the Velanāṇḍu subordinates, Gonka and his son Rājēndra.' *ARE.* 1918, II, 25. By the Cellūr plates, Krishna Sastri obviously means the plates of Kulōttunga II dated Ś. 1056 for 1065 as Kielhorn rightly points out. *IA.* xiv. p. 56. *EI.* vii—Appendix—Kielhorn's List No. 574. I am unable to discover what the other copper-plates are which Sastri had in mind. Mallapadēva's inscription is a stone record. I think that in his impressionistic estimate of the political situation in this period in Vēngī, K. Sastri has greatly underrated the effects of Vikramāditya's policy.

125. 194, 341, 344 of 1893.

126. 153 of 1897; 163 of 1897.

127. 396 of 1893 bears the exceptionally early date 5, but does not contain any Cāḷukya titles or the name of Vikramāditya.

128. *SII.* ix (i) No. 193.

129. 106 of 1902; *EI.* ix, p. 256.

130. 819 of 1922, *SII.* ix (i) No. 196.

131. 158 of 1897, *SII* vi, No. 118.

132. 330 of 1893.

133. 335, 345 of 1893.

134. 258 of 1905; *EI.* ix, p. 261.

135. 266 of 1893.

136. Pd. 127.

137. 376 of 1908; 3 of 1909; 35 of 1929.

138. 268 of 1901; 425 of 1902.

139. 197 of 1910. *Contra SII.* iii, p. 131.

140. *EI.* vi, pp. 220 ff. He is called Saptama Viṣṇu-vardhana i.e., counting from Dānārṇava, *Eastern Cāḷukyas*, pp. 299-300.

141. Kanakasabhai (*IA.* xix, p. 337), and after him, Hultzsch (*SII.* iii, p. 130), think that Karikāla is also among these titles. I doubt this. For Akalanka see *Paraṇi*, xiii, 89.

142. *TAS.* iv, p. 130.

143. 109 of 1892; 121 of 1912; 271 of 1929; 119 of 1888.

144. 312 of 1901.

145. 374 of 1908.

146. See *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, ed. Swaminatha Aiyar, p. 247, v. 775 and n. There are also gold coins with *sung* in Tamil characters.

147. Comment on *Kuṟaḷ* 756.

148. 288 of 1907—*Śungamillāc-cōḻanāḍu Śōṟṟumalai kaṇḍaruḷi.*

149. 440 of 1912; 132 of 1930. Alsó 87 of 1900 mentioning *Śrī-pādakōl. ARE.* 1900, paragraph 25.

150. *Kalingattupparaṇi*, xiii, 61; *Vikramānka-dēva-carita*, vi, 21.

151. *SII.* iii, 73; *MAR.* 1917, pp. 42-4.

152. Leyden grant, *ASSI.* iv. p. 224, l. 4.

153. 231 of 1916.

154. 93 of 1910; 61 of 1925.

155. 247 of 1901.

156. *EI.* vi, p. 335. But see *SII.* iii, p. 179.

157. *SII.* iii, 72, l. 5 where she is mentioned as chief queen along with two others; Ēḻiśai-vallabhi and Tyāgavalli; also pp. 177-8.

158. x, vv. 54, 55.

159. 304 of 1907. The title alone without the personal name occurs again in 274 of 1927 in the forty-eighth year.

160. 138 of 1923.

161. 39 and 45 of 1921.

162. 117 and 119 of 1888.

163. *ARE.* 1912, II 25, suggests that she was his mother; but see 121 of 1888. *SII.* iv. 226, l. 4.

164. 25 of 1922.

165. See *Studies*, pp. 176 ff. for a detailed account of his life and achievement. The most noteworthy inscription discovered since is a Sanskrit inscription from Āttūr (Tinnevelly Dt.) recording the gifts of Mānāvatāra to the local temple (405 of 1930). *ARE.* 1930 II, 21.

166. ll. 118-138. See Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar's *Kalingattuppaṟaṇiyārāyacci.*

167. xi 30. The reading of the third line should no doubt be '*maṟai moḻinda padi-marapin vanda kula*', not '*paḍi*'.

168. 49 of 1893.

169. Not Vaṇḍalur in the Chingleput Dt. cf. Raghava Aiyangar, op. cit. pp. 34-6; Contra *SII.* ii, p. 113, n. 3 and *IA.* xix, p. 340.

170. *Paraṇi*, xi, 53.

171. 46 of 1914.

Chapter XIV

THE SUCCESSORS OF KULŌTTUNGA I A.D. 1120-63

Accession of Vikramacōḷa.

Vikramacōḷa's accession to the Cōḷa throne took place on or about 29 June A.D. 1118.[1] He must have ruled for some time jointly with his father, Kulōttunga, whose latest inscriptions are dated in the fiftieth year, A.D. 1120, or even the fifty-second.[2] The asterism of Vikramacōḷa's birth was Uttiraṭṭādi in the month of Āni.[3] He inherited an attenuated empire confined to the Tamil country proper, and the seventeen years of his rule appear to have been on the whole a period of peace. A few inscriptions in the Ganga country, and a somewhat larger number from the Telugu area constitute the only proofs of the efforts made during the reign to recover lost ground—efforts crowned with better success in the north than in the western country.

Praśastis.

The *praśastis* in Vikramacōḷa's inscriptions take two forms,[4] both dating from his second year and employed throughout the reign. The shorter form commences *pū mādu* (*magaḷ* in some versions) *puṇara*, and the longer one *pū mālai miḍaindu*. Neither of these *praśastis* records any specific political event other than the war against Kalingam and Telinga Bhīman waged by Vikramacōḷa in the early years of his Viceroyalty in Vēngī.[5] The longer *praśasti* undergoes, in the later years of the reign,[6] an important modification by the insertion in its middle of a passage recording the constructions and endowments made by the king in the temple of Naṭarāja at Cidambaram; this passage contains a definite date in the tenth regnal year, 15 April A.D. 1128.[7] The inscriptions of Vikramacōḷa sometimes repeat passages and titles from those of Kulōttunga.[8]

Literature.

Besides the extant *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā*, the poet laureate Oṭṭakkūttan composed a *paraṇi* on the Kalinga war of Vikramacōḷa. We learn the name of the work from the two other *ulās* of the same poet,

and its authorship from a gloss on his *Takkayāgapparaṇi*.[9] This work is not now available; if it is ever recovered, it may add considerably to our knowledge of this period so rich in quasi-historical works of literature.

Vēngī.

With the recall of Vikramacōḷa to the south in A.D. 1118, the administration of Vēngī passed into the hands of the Velanāṇḍu prince Cōḍa, the son of Gonka I.[10] Very soon, however, the Western Cāḷukya king, Vikramāditya VI, took advantage of Vikramacōḷa's absence from Vēngī to extend his sway into that kingdom and reduce the Velanāṇḍu chief to subjection. Soon after the death of Vikramāditya in A.D. 1126, Vikramacōḷa's supremacy was re-established in the southern half, if not the whole, of the Vēngī country. At Cebrōlu in the Guntur district, in the heart of the region ruled over by Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla some years before, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nambaya, Lord of the city of Koḷḷipāka (Kulpak) and the Ṣaṭsahasra country, acknowledged the overlordship of Vikramacōḷa in A.D. 1127.[11] From the same area, we have another inscription from Nīḍubrōlu dated Ś. 1054, the seventeenth regnal year of Vikramacōḷa, in which the Velanāṇḍu chiefs and their dependents continue to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Cōḷa emperor of the South.[12] The steps by which this restoration of Cōḷa supremacy in the north was effected are obscure, but the death of Vikramāditya VI, the effort put forth by Vikramacōḷa and the readiness of the Telugu chieftains to prefer the overlordship of the Cōḷas to that of the Western Cāḷukyas must all have contributed in varying degrees to the restoration.

Gangavāḍi.

In another direction also, Vikramacōḷa seems to have made an effort, not so successful, to recover territory lost at the close of his father's reign. An inscription from Sugaṭūr, dated in the second year of the reign, records the construction of a temple by an official of Vikramacōḷa's army.[13] Another inscription of the tenth year from the same region in the Kōlār district records the construction of a *vimāna* in Maddivāḷa-bēcirāk.[14] It is a natural inference that Vikramacōḷa re-established the Cōḷa power in the eastern part of Mysore.

Flood and Scarcity.

In the sixth year of the reign there was scarcity and distress consequent on a big flood which brought destruction to the villages and their crops. A fairly extensive tract of land in the North and South Arcot districts seems to have felt the effects of the visitation. An inscription[15] of A.D. 1125 from Tiruvōttūr (North Arcot) records a flood and the consequent destruction of crops leading to the sale of some land by the *ūr* for raising money to pay the taxes of the year. In the same year, at Tiruvadi (South Arcot), the Mahāsabhā had to sell some of the common land for the same purpose on account of difficulty experienced in the payment of the land tax (*kaḍamaittaṭṭu*) for the sixth regnal year.[16] In a somewhat later record of the eleventh year from Kōviladi (Tanjore district), the fact is mentioned that the village of Tiruppēr became deserted owing to the advent of bad times;[17] it is not certain, however, that this vague statement has reference to the same conditions as those noted in the two inscriptions cited above; if that be so, the area affected by the distress must have extended into the Tanjore district also.

Gifts at Cidambaram.

In A.D. 1128, Vikramacōḷa signalised his devotion to his family deity, Naṭarāja of Cidambaram, by devoting the bulk of the revenue derived in the year to meet the cost of extensive additions to the structure of the Cidambaram temple and of sumptuous gifts to the shrine. The event is recorded in his inscriptions dating from the eleventh year in the following terms:

> 'Out of the heap of pure gold which had been brought and poured out before him by kings as tribute due for the tenth year (after the time) when a gold leaf (set with) royal gems was engraved (with the words): 'May (the King) live long (and) protect this great earth',[18] (he) covered (with) fine gold the enclosure, the gate towers, halls and buildings surrounding the shrine of pure gold where his family-God (viz. Naṭēśa) practises the *tāṇḍava* (dance), as if the splendid circular mountain surrounding the earth were combined with the Eastern mountain; covered (with) splendid gold the altar on which offerings abound, so that the light of heaven was reflected (by it); covered (with) pure gold and adorned with numerous

strings of large round pearls the sacred car-temple, in order that, conferring long life on the delighted people, the miraculous dancer (viz. Naṭēśa) who occupies the (golden) hall might be drawn in procession (at) the great festival called 'the festival of the great name' (*Perum-peyar-viḻā*) of the great (days of) Pūraṭṭādi and Uttiraṭṭādi, so as to cause prosperity (on) the great earth (and) joy to the Gods; was pleased to build a long temple street of mansions covered with jewels (!) and called (it) after his royal prosperous name; and made numberless splendid insignia, beginning with dishes cut of fine gold, together with a Kalpaka (tree) of pure gold. Having been pleased to make gladly many such (gifts) in the tenth year of his reign, (in) the month of Śittirai, on a Sunday which corresponded to Hasta, (on) the thirteenth *tithi* of the fortnight of the auspicious waxing moon,[19] (he) covered the whole earth under the shade of a single parasol.'

We may not accept this high-flown account as literally true; but Cidambaram, the most celebrated of South Indian Śaiva shrines, had attracted the devotion of Cōḷa kings as early as the reign of Parāntaka I, if not earlier; and after the foundation of Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram and the transference of the capital of the kingdom from Tanjore to that place, Cidambaram rose in importance on account of its proximity to the new capital and the possibility of frequent royal visits to it. Tanjore and Tiruvārūr, which held the chief position in the days of Rājarāja I, now took a somewhat secondary place. It seems probable that Vikramacōḷa's buildings and gifts in Cidambaram were meant to complete an extensive remodelling of the temple, a remodelling begun by Naralōkavīra in the closing years of Kulōttunga's reign, and that this chieftain had much to do with the planning and execution of Vikramacōḷa's projects in the holy city.[20] Later inscriptions call the first *prākāra* wall of the temple by the name Vikramaśōḷan-tirumāḷigai;[21] and one of the main streets round the temple bears the name Vikramaśōḷan-tengu-tiruvīdi.[22] Though there is no epigraphical confirmation of the fact, the *Śrīrangam Kōyiloḷugu* states that Vikramacōḷa built the fifth wall surrounding the temple of Ranganātha at Śrīrangam, besides some other structures including a temple of Rāma.

Royal tours.

Some idea of the king's share in the control of the administration is gained from a study of his personal movements incidentally recorded in the inscriptions of the reign. That Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram was the capital and therefore the normal place of royal residence is seen from an inscription which mentions a sēnāpati commanding at the outer gate (*puṟavāyil*) of the palace at Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram.[23] In A.D. 1122 the king issues an order from Muḍikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram,[24] another name for Paḷaiyāṟu near Kumbakōṇam.[25] The year after, he spent some time in a maṇḍapa near a tank on the southern side of Vaṣāṟu *alias* Kunivalanallūr in the Kāliyūr Kōṭṭam, (Chingleput district).[26] In 1124 again, he was in the South Arcot district living in a palace at Vīranārāyaṇa-caturvēdimangalam, i.e., Kāṭṭumannārkōyil.[27] Lastly, in the twelfth year, A.D. 1130, Vikramacōḷa is found living in a palace in Cidambaram.[28] It is thus clear that the king was constantly touring his territories and that there were palaces in the more important cities, besides maṇḍapas and other structures all over the country, ready to be used as camping places by the sovereign in his tours. The importance of such royal progresses for ensuring efficient administration in an autocratic mediaeval state can hardly be overrated and in undertaking them, Vikramācōḷa was no doubt following the regular practice of the Cōḷa rulers of this period.

His titles and Queens.

The most characteristic title of Vikramacōḷa is Tyāgasamudra, 'the ocean of liberality' which occurs in the inscriptions and in the *Vikramasōḷan ulā*.[29] The Śevvelimēḍu Sanskrit inscription of the sixteenth year gives him the titles Tyāgavārākara, only a variant of the above-mentioned title, and Akaḷanka, 'the spotless one,'[30] applied in the *Kalingattapparaṇi* to Kulōttunga I.[31] For the rest, we have seen, that some of his inscriptions exactly reproduce the titles of his father including even the Rājakēsari title, though in reality Vikrama was a Parakēsari. Two of his queens are mentioned prominently in the inscriptions, Mukkōkkiḷān and Tyāgapatākā, of whom the former was the chief till about A.D. 1126-27. After her death, Tyāgapatākā became chief queen.[32] Possibly Nambirāṭṭiyār Nēriyan-Mādēviyār who is mentioned together with her *agapparivāram* (personal retinue) in an inscription of the

sixth year[33] from Tiruviḍaimarudūr was a third queen, of whom we do not hear elsewhere.

Feudatories.

A large number of feudatory chieftains and officers are mentioned in the *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā* and in the inscriptions. The list of maṇḍalikas given in the *ulā* begins with the celebrated conqueror of Kalingam, Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān.[34] Then there are mentioned in order: the chief of the Munaiyar, minister and warrior of Abhaya; Śōḻakōn who distinguished himself in campaigns in the west against the Kongas, Gangas and Mahrathas;[35] the Brahmin Kaṇṇan of the great fortress; Vāṇan, dexterous in the use of his beautiful bow in battle, possibly the same as Śuttamallan Muḍikoṇḍān *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyar whose *dēvi* Elvār-kuḻali endowed a lamp a Tiruvaḍatturai in A.D. 1120;[36] Kālingar-kōn *alias* Naralōkavīra who fought with distinction, as already noted, in the southern wars of Kulōttunga's reign and was afterwards a great builder; the Kāḍava who rode a rutting elephant and was Lord of the Śeñjiyar of the strong embattled fortress;[37] the king of Vēṇāḍ (South Travancore) who banished Kali from the earth (by good rule); Anantapāla whose charities were well-known from the Kumari to the Ganges, perhaps the same as the Sēnāpati Śankaran Ambalam-kōyil Koṇḍān *alias* Anantapālar who made a large endowment at Tiruvāḍuturai in A.D. 1121;[38] the Vattava whose fierce elephant battered down the three ramparts of Northern Maṇṇai which belonged to hostile kings;[39] the lord of the sacred Cēdi country who destroyed the fortifications of the Karṇāṭas in a fierce fight;[40] the chief of Kārānai (?) ever victorious in war; Adigan who cut to pieces the army of North Kalinga and compelled the proud kings who had vowed war to seek refuge in flight;[41] a Nuḷamba-Pallava who had earned distinction in fights at Kōṭṭār and Kollam belonging to the Pāṇḍyas; the Trigarta who subdued Kongu and Coorg, and others including the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa of whom no details are given and some of whom like the Māgadha and Māḷava are introduced with no apparent historical justification. From the inscriptions we can gather the names of the following feudatory chieftains and families of the Tamil country: Śūrai Nāyakan *alias* Mādhavarāyan, son of Arumbākkiḻān Ponnambalakkūttan *alias* Naralōkavīra;[42] the Śāmbuvarāyas of the Śengēṇi line, afterwards an important dynasty of quasi-inde-

pendent rulers in the region of North Arcot, the ancestors of the future Yādavarāyas in the neighbourhood of Kāḷahasti, and several others.

Kulōttunga II.

Kulōttunga II must have been chosen as heir-apparent by his father Vikramacōḷa some time in May-July A.D. 1133 as his regnal years are counted in his inscriptions from this date as the starting point;[43] Vikramacōḷa's rule continued for a period of about two years thereafter. The *praśastis* in his inscriptions take many forms, all of them purely rhetorical and in hyperbolical praise of the excellence of his rule, but not vouchsafing a single fact of the history of the reign.[44] In one inscription he is described as 'the king who wore the crown in such wise as to add lustre to Tillainagar.'[45] This may mean that Kulōttunga II celebrated a coronation in the city of Cidambaram[46] or that in the reign of Kulōttunga II the city of Cidambaram was vastly improved and beautified. The renovation of the temple and city of Cidambaram is, in fact, the best known event of the reign and is explicitly mentioned for the first time in an inscription of the seventh year from Tiruppuṟambiyam,[47] though a title based on this act occurs as early as the third year. The *Kulōttunga-śōḷan-ulā* gives an elaborate account of the remodelling of the Cidambaram temple carried out by Kulōttunga.[48] It starts by saying that with his peerless queen who had the right to share the honours of the throne with him, Kulōttunga went and worshipped the Dancing Śiva of Cidambaram, and that he removed the little God (Viṣṇu) from the courtyard of the Sacred Hall of Tillai.[49] The new constructions undertaken and carried out by the king are then detailed. These include *gōpurams* with seven tiers and the shrine of the goddess which delighted her heart so much by its size and its splendour that she did not think any more of the sacred mountain (Himalaya) that gave birth to her. Various parts of the temple and the city are also said to have been 'covered with gold.' The same facts are recorded more briefly in the *Rājarāja-śōḷan-ulā*[50] and the *Takkayāgapparaṇi*,[51] by the same poet. It is not clear in what relation these works attributed to Kulōttunga II stand to those attributed to Vikramacōḷa in his inscriptions dating, as noticed above, from his eleventh year. We have perhaps to assume that the work started in

His works at Cidambaram.

Vikramacōḷa's reign, if not earlier, was not completed till some years after the accession of Kulōttunga II.[52]

Peaceful reign.

The reign of Kulōttunga appears to have been a period of peace, good government and prosperity. There is no record of any warfare, and in fact, with the exception of the removal of the shrine of Gōvindarāja from its place in Cidambaram indicating the growth of sectarian intolerance, we hear of nothing calculated to disturb the tranquillity of life in the Cōḷa dominions. The extent of the empire was maintained as it was at the close of Vikramacōḷa's reign, and the Cellūr plates show, if anything, that the restoration of Cōḷa suzerainty in the north after its temporary eclipse by the spread of Western Cāḷukya rule was complete and stable. The inscriptions of this reign from the Telugu country are more numerous than those of the preceding one. Some of the best work in Tamil literature was produced in this period, and Oṭṭakkūttan, Śēkkiḻār and others were all patronised by Kulōttunga II and his vassals.

Capital, titles, etc

Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram continued to be the capital of the kingdom[53] though Kulōttunga, as we have seen, had a partiality for Cidambaram. The king is stated to have been residing in his palace at Vikramaśōḷa-puram in the third year of his reign.[54] Two queens of Kulōttunga are mentioned in an inscription of his second year from Tirumalavāḍi: the chief queen being Tyāgavalli also called Bhuvanamuḻuduḍaiyāḷ, and the other Mukkōkkiḻān, a princess of the family of Malāḍas (Malaiyamāns).[55] Of the titles borne by the king, Anapāya is the most characteristic and occurs not only in the inscriptions and in the *ulā* on him, but is also borne by his secretary Anapāyamūvēndavēḷān who attests the king's orders. In several places lands granted by the king were designated Anapāya-nallūr.[56] He is also called: 'the Perumāḷ who covered the Sacred Pērambalam with gold',[57] 'Tirunīṟṟuccōḷa', a title also borne by Kulōttunga I and hence the cause of some confusion in regard to the date of Śēkkiḻār,[58] Edirili-śōḷa and Kalikaḍinda-śōḷa.[59] The inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttunga, like those of Vikramacōḷa, record several gifts by his subordinates and feudatories among whom only the Kāḍavas need be noticed here. Mōhan Āḷkkolli *alias* Kulōttunga-śōḷak-kāḍavarāyan was a chieftain of Pal-

lava extraction who had charge of the policing of a small area near Tirumāṇikuḻi in the South Arcot district about A.D. 1136.[60] In the course of the next few years this Kāḍava chieftain attained a more important position and his inscriptions appear in different places like Tirunāmanallūr, Tiruvadi and Vṛddhācalam, and in them he is given many names and titles expressive of his growing importance; and his gifts and charitable works also become more ostentatious. In 1140, he presents gold ornaments and silver vessels to Tiruttoṇḍīśvara at Tirunāmanallūr and he bears the names Kūḍaḻūr Paḻḻi-Āḻappiṟandān Mōhan and Kulōttunga-śōḻak-kacciya-rāyan.[61] About the same time he presented a jewelled necklace to the deity of Tiruvadi.[62] Five years later, he made over to the temple at Tiruvadi the *perumbāḍikāval* on some lands and properties, and he bears now the additional titles Paññāka Muttaraiyan Āḻappiṟandān Araśanārāyaṇan,[63] and Kūḍalūr is stated to be situated in Perugaḻūr-nāḍu of Tirumunaippāḍi. In 1146, he made over to the Tiruvadi temple some further taxes and dues from three *dēvadāna* villages located in his beat, and on this occasion he styled himself Kuḍalūr Paññāka Muttaraiyan Āḻappiṟandān Ēḻiśaimōhanāna Kulōttunga-śōḻa Kāḍavarāyan.[64] Lastly in A.D. 1148, he built a maṇḍapa called Ēḻiśai-mōhan for the *mahāsnapana* of the deity at Vṛddhācalam, and in recording this act he called himself Āḻappiṟandān Ēḻiśaimōhan *alias* Kulōttunga-śōḻa Kāḍavar-Ādittan.[65] These records reveal to us the beginnings of the feudatory family from which sprang the celebrated Kōpperuñjinga whose boisterous career shook the Cōḻa empire to its foundations and hastened its downfall.

We may also note Madhurāntaka Pottappiccōḻa Siddharasa, one of whose inscriptions[66] found at Nandalūr clearly attests the extent of the Cōḻa empire in that direction. A curious inscription from Tirugōkarṇam in the Pudukkōttah state mentions a clan of Brahmins who exercised the right of crowning kings and who had been settled in the Ten-kavira-nāḍu by the king Kiḻḻi who had a regard for their ancient connection with the great city of Tuvarai (Dvārakā).[67] The presence in the Pāṇḍya country of Lambakarṇas with special duties at the coronation of a king is noticed in the *Mahāvamsa*.[68]

Rājarāja II.

The latest regnal year found in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga II is the sixteenth or the seventeenth; this means his reign came to a close about A.D. 1150. Some four years before this date, he associated his son[69] Rājarāja II in the actual conduct of the administration, and in the inscriptions of Parakēsari Rājarāja his regnal years are counted from some date after 6 April in A.D. 1146.[70] Of the reign of Rājarāja II many inscriptions have been preserved which contain a number of *praśastis* attesting the extent of his kingdom and disclosing the names and positions of a number of feudatories. Judging from the silence of these inscriptions on the military transactions of the reign, one may infer that, like the reign of Kulōttunga II, that of Rājarāja II was generally peaceful. The most common *praśasti* of the reign is that commencing *pū maruviya tirumādum* which gives a high-flown account of the benefits of Rājarāja's rule and appears for the first time in inscriptions of the third year.[71] This mentions one queen who is called Avanimuḻuduḍaiyāḷ and is said to have sat on the throne along with the king. Much longer, but equally unhistorical, is another *praśasti*, also dating from the third year;[72] this commences *pū maruviya poḻil ēḻum* and, among other things, emphasises the flourishing condition of Tamil literature in the reign by calling the king *muttamiḻkkut-talaivan*, the patron of the three-fold Tamil;[73] three queens are mentioned at the end of this *praśasti* besides Avanimuḻuduḍaiyāḷ mentioned above, two of these being called by the almost identical titles Bhuvana-muḻuduḍaiyāḷ and Dharaṇi-muḻuduḍaiyāḷ, and the third Ulaguḍai Mukkōkkiḻān, doubtless the same as the queen mentioned in two other inscriptions of the fourteenth and seventeenth years of the reign.[74] Two other *praśastis* also occur in the inscriptions of the reign, and they begin *puyal vāyttu vaḷam peruga*[75] and *kaḍalśūḻnda pār mādar*.[76] The former occurring in a record of the fifth year of Rājarāja II was subsequently adopted by Kulōttunga III in whose inscriptions an account of his Pāṇḍyan invasion is inserted in the body of this rather short introduction. Likewise the latter, occurring in a record of Rājarāja's tenth year, becomes the chief *praśasti* of the reign of Rājādhirāja II, and it is noteworthy that the queen mentioned at the end of this *praśasti* is

called Ulaguḍai Mukkōkkiḻān-aḍigaḷ in the inscriptions both of Rājarāja and Rājādhirāja,[77] a clear proof that this is a title, not the personal name, of the chief queen.

Extent of empire.

The extent of the empire under Rājarāja's rule is borne out by the provenance of his inscriptions. An inscription[78] of the seventh year from Kendatti recording the construction of a temple by a Kāḍuveṭṭi chieftain on a hill at Śūṟūr in Kuvaḷāla-nāḍu, the mention in a fragmentary record[79] from the Salem district of Tagaḍūr-nāḍu in Ganga-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nigarili-śōḻamaṇḍalam, and a gift recorded at Perumbēr[80] in A.D. 1164 by a person who calls himself Tagaḍūr Kiḻavan, show that in Kongu and the eastern part of the Ganga country, the Cōḻa hegemony still continued to be recognised in some manner. In the Telugu country, Rājarāja's suzerainty is clearly attested by a fair number of stone inscriptions found throughout the Vēngī country up to Drākṣārāma,[81] though it is clear that the feudatory chiefs of Velanāṇḍu were becoming more and more independent and overbearing. As a matter of fact, from the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I when, as we have seen, great disasters befell the Cōḻa empire, and its extent became greatly circumscribed by the successes of the Hoysalas and the Western Cāḷukyas, the most remarkable phenomenon within the empire was the steady growth in the power and influence of local dynasties. The hold of the central administration over the outlying parts of the empire had always been less firm than in the districts nearer the capital; but by the end of Rājarāja II's rule, the administrative system was betraying signs of weakening even at its centre. The monarchy is no longer the vigorous autocracy that it was, ever active in the pursuit of war and glory, in the maintenance of order and the promotion of costly and essential enterprises of public utility. The inscriptions give clear indications of the increasing helplessness of the king in the face of the growing turbulence of his vassals, who, while acknowledging the nominal suzerainty of their overlord, play a more prominent part than the suzerain or his government in the conduct of the affairs of the area under their control. The system of village administration with its autonomous local assemblies seems to

Its growing weakness.

have been generally unaffected by the changed situation; but the strength of the centralised bureaucratic administration so laboriously planned and built up by Rājarāja I and his successors was gone.

Capital, titles, etc.

Gangāpuri no doubt continued to be the capital of the kingdom. The inscriptions of the reign say little of the king's movements or of his part in the administration. One record of the thirteenth year[82] shows him residing at Āyirattaḷi. Of the titles of Rājarāja, the most noteworthy as it occurs both in the inscriptions and in the *Rājarājan-ulā* is Cōḷēndrasimha.[83] Another title commonly applied to him in literature, but not traceable in epigraphy, is Kaṇḍan.[84] The concluding veṇbā in the *ulā* also calls him Vīradhara and Vīrōdaya. From the inscriptions, it is clear that Rājarāja also took to himself the titles Rājagambhīra and Ediriliśōḷa,[85] and possibly also Neṟiyuḍaiccōḷa.

The Kāḍavas are represented in this reign by Kūḍalūr Āḷappiṟandān Mōhan *alias* Rājarājak-kāḍavarāyan[86] who is probably identical with Kulōttungaśōḷak-kāḍavarāyan of the previous reign, and by Rājēndraśōḷa Pallavar-ādittan,[87] who is called also the lord of Kāñcīpura. The former assigned to a temple at Elvānāśūr a considerable number of taxes and and dues for its expenses, while the latter built a stone temple on a hill in the Kōlār district. There was also Pallavarāyar of Kārigai Kuḷattūr who built the stone temple of Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiyār in Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai and, as we shall see, played a leading[88] part after the death of Rājarāja II. Two Śengēṇi chieftains are mentioned: a certain Nittavinōda Śāmbuvarāyan,[89] whose wife, Śōṟuḍaiyāḷ, endowed a lamp at Brahmadēśam in South Arcot, and Rājanārāyaṇa Śāmbuvarāyan, also called Ammaiyappan Śīyan Pallavāṇḍān whose gifts are recorded at Munnūr and Accarapākkam.[90] The *alias* of Rājānārāyaṇa, it may be noted in passing, seems to imply a dynastic connection between the Śengēṇis and the Kāḍavas.

End of the Reign

The latest certain regnal year cited in Rājarāja's inscriptions is 26.[91] One record from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr seems to give the twenty-seventh year, though the first figure in this date is not free from doubt.

Another inscription from Konidena gives 28, but the Śaka date is missing.[92] The end of Rājarāja's reign would therefore fall about A.D. 1173. The inscriptions of his successor Rājādhirāja II date the commencement of his reign from some day in the month of March A.D. 1163;[93] it is clear from one of these[94] that Rājādhirāja was not the son of Rājarāja, but like Rājarāja himself, a grandson of Vikramacōḷa, and that he was chosen by Rājarāja to succeed him on the Cōḷa throne as there was no one in the direct line suitable for the purpose.[95] Within a few years of the choice of Rājādhirāja for the succession, a great civil war convulsed the Pāṇḍya country in the south and the Cōḷas were compelled to take sides in the war to check the growth of Ceylonese influence on the mainland. The war had practically closed by the time of Rājarāja's death, but as its details are narrated in the records of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III, they will be considered in the next chapter.

NOTE C

ON THE PALLAVARĀYANPĒṬṬAI INSCRIPTION (433 of 1924).

This inscription of the 8th year of Rājādhirāja II is noticed at some length in *ARE.* 1924, Part II, paragraphs 19-21. It has been edited by Somasundara Desikar (*QJMS.* Vol. xix, pp. 57 ff.), who differs from the official epigraphist (Venkoba Rao) and holds that the inscription does not support the view that Kulōttunga III was a son of Rājārāja II and a baby at the time of his father's death. I think that Desikar is right on this point. But a careful consideration of this difficult record in the light of the data to be gathered from other contemporary inscriptions has led me to conclusions different from those of the two writers cited above, and considering the importance of the inscription for the history of this period, I proceed to examine it in detail. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar has also edited this inscription in *EI.* xxi, pp. 184-93.

The text given by Desikar in *QJMS.* is inaccurate in many ways, particularly because he has introduced emendations not all of which have been explained in his notes. The text published in the *EI.* is much more dependable, and agrees closely

with the transcript sent me by S. K. Govindaswami who studied the inscription *in situ*.

Lines 1—4 contain the usual *praśasti* of Rājādhirāja and the regnal year in words and call for no remarks. Lines 5—14 deal with the official position held by Pallavarāyar and the part he played in the choice and coronation of Rājādhirāja, first as heir-apparent to Rājarāja and then as his successor after his death, and this section, which is unique in its account of the circumstances of Rājādhirāja's accession, is also the most difficult to interpret on account of the gaps in the record. Lines 14—21 describe the part of Pallavarāyar in the Pāṇḍya Civil War and the expulsion of the Ceylonese forces from the Pāṇḍya country. Then follows the statement (l. 21) that he died of some disease, and the rest of the inscription records the gift of forty *vēlis* of *iṟaiyili* land to his relations and dependents by king Rājādhirāja in his eighth regnal year (ll. 21—28), the gift being attested by several officers of government (ll. 28—30). If this analysis of the record is correct, it follows that this record is dated after the death of Pallavarāyar which took place after that of Rājarāja II.

The general construction of ll. 5—14 may now be indicated; Pallavarāyar (5—6), perṟu niṉṟu (7), parigarittu (10), tiru abhiṣēkam paṇṇuvittu (13)[96] orupaḍiyum paṇṇi (14). All the actions indicated by the participles quoted were thus the acts of Pallavarāyar, and this fact must be firmly grasped. Line 5 is simple and gives details of the name and title of Pallavarāyar and the location of his fief. The words that follow and end with *perṟu niṉṟu* explain the status of Pallavarāyar. Though this general sense is clear, the exact import of the phrases employed is somewhat obscure. The whole passage may be rendered thus: 'having become the Captain (*mudaligaḷ*) of the ten *kōyil-kottus*[97] of Periyadēvar Rājarājadēvar and of the departments (*tuṟaigaḷ*) including the elephant (corps), cavalry and *agambaḍi-niyāyam*, having duties similar to those of all *mudalis*, and being in receipt of all honours including *mun ēval* due to *mudalis*.' The ten *kōyil-kottus* remind one of the passage in the *Kōyil-oḻugu* describing how Rāmānuja amplified the temple-organisation at Śrī-

rangam by dividing the attendants of the deity (*parijanangaḷ*) into ten groups (kottu), which took the place of the earlier and more restricted establishment of five *kottus*. The idea seems to be that Pallavarāyar had the control of the entire palace (*kōyil*) establishment. The term *agambaḍiniyāyam* (*nikāyam*) means the body of servants in immediate attendance on the king.[98] The meaning of *mun-ēval* is more difficult; literally it means 'first command.'[99]

The next part of the inscription ending with *parigarittu* (l. 10) begins with the mention of Rājarāja's death, and narrates the action taken by Pallavarāyar for the protection of the king's children who were aged one and two years and of his harem and treasures. On account of the tender age of the children, Pallavarāyar had to remove them from the cantonment (*paḍai-vīḍu*) at Āyirattaḷi to another place, evidently to insure their safety; the gaps in l. 9 render the drift of the passage extremely uncertain, but we may be sure that Pallavarāyar succeeded in his main object (*ellā aḍaivu kēḍugaḷam vārāda iḍattu* l. 10). What the particular danger was to which the children and harem of the late king would have been exposed had they remained at Āyirattaḷi is by no means clear.

We now come to the part of the inscription directly bearing on Rājādhirāja's accession (ll. 10—14). This part begins with the phrase *iva.....periyadēvar eḻundaruḷi.....nāḷilē*, and in spite of the gaps, the phrase is a clear warning that, having so far dealt with what happened on the death of Rājarājadēva, the inscription now proceeds to narrate something which took place in his life-time. There were no sons fit for succession—*tiru abhiṣēkattukku uriya piḷḷaigaḷ inṟiyē i(ruk)kiṟapaḍiyai pārttu*—and something had to be done: enquiries were made into the rights of possible claimants—*(a)nnāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi(cāraṇai)*[100] *śeydu*, and in the end, there was chosen for the succession a grandson of Vikramacōḷa, Ediriliperumāḷ, the son of Neṟi-uḍai-perumāḷ, of Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram. Apparently Pallavarāyar was commissioned to fetch the heir-apparent so chosen to Rājarāja's presence and to install him in his new place; four years later, he was anointed under the name Rājādhirājadēva with the

consent of the council of officers (*uḍan kūṭṭam*) and the *nāḍu*. A distinction is made between *maṇḍai kavippittu* (l. 12) and *tiru abhiṣēkam paṇṇuvittu* (l. 13), two ceremonies in which Pallavarāyar played a part. Edirilipperumāḷ was a grandson of Vikramacōḷa perhaps by a daughter, otherwise unknown.

Another view of this succession, first suggested by T. N. Subrahmanyan, is quite probable. On this view the grandson of Vikramacōḷa, named Edirilipperumāḷ, was not Rājādhirāja II, but Kulōttunga II who was crowned at the death of *peri(ya dēvar)*, i.e. Vikramacōḷa himself, and this furnished a precedent for the coronation of Rājādhirāja II, ascertained by enquiry—*munnāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi(cāraṇai) śēydu* of l. 11. So that *maṇḍai kavippittu* (l. 12) and *tirū-abhiṣēkam paṇṇuvittu* (l. 13) apply respectively to Kulōttunga II and Rājādhirāja. That Kulōttunga II was well known as Edirilā(i)pperumāḷ is clear from the *Piḷḷaittamiḻ* and from the inscriptions of his reign. An objection to this view arises, however, from chronology. Kulōttunga counts his reign from May-June A.D. 1133, and Vikramacōḷa continued to rule till two years later. But for Kulōttunga's case to be an exact precedent, we may have to assume that, like Rājarāja II, Vikramacōḷa saw that he had no heir in his direct line, and chose his grandson perhaps by a daughter as his successor, made him *yuvarāja* in 1133 and that the *yuvarāja* was duly crowned king at the proper time. This may well have been so. But the contemporary poet Oṭṭakkūttan calls Kulōttunga the son of Vikramacōḷa, and this T.N.S. explains away by assuming that the king adopted his daughter's son.

We may note further, that a Tamil inscription from Hemāvati (Anantapur district)—117 of 1899, *SII.* vi. No. 553—dated in Vijaya, Yr. 2 of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulōttunga—yields 1166-7 as the date of Kulōttunga III's accession. One wonders if he too was brought from Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram along with Rājādhirāja, and had to bide his time in exile, supported by feudatories like Mallideva Cōḍa Mahārāja till his position improved more than a decade later. The phrase: *Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapura(ttil eḻun)daruḷi irukkiṟa piḷḷaigaḷai (piṟa)yāṉam paṇṇu(vittu)* (l. 11) shows that two princes may have been

involved. And ll. 13-14 show that Rājādhirāja's accession was not smooth. But the matter is obscure and calls for more study in the light of many inscriptions of Rājādhirāja from Drākṣārāma, *SII.* iv. Nos. 1074—(where regnal year 61 is a mistake for 16), 1100, 1223, 1279, 1118 and 1330—which carry his reign up to the 49th year i.e. A.D. 1212 or 1215.

The rest of the inscription may be briefly dealt with before taking up the chronology of the events of Rājarāja's reign as suggested by it. After Rājādhirāja's anointment at the end of his four years' probation, there followed the Pāṇḍyan Civil War, and Pallavarāyar led the Coḷa forces to victory, and at the end of the campaign, he kept himself ready to carry out the further behests of his sovereign, (ll. 14—21). Then he took ill and died, evidently some time after Rājarāja's death already mentioned in the record, and Rājādhirāja gave 40 *vēlis* of land, which had been the *kāṇi* of Pallavarāyar and was now made tax-free for the benefit of his wives and relations. This was in the 8th year of Rājādhirājadēva's reign. Among the beneficiaries of this grant figures a Rājarājadēvan (read as Rājādhirājadēva by Somasundara Desikar) whose relations and children get some land for themselves; I doubt if this Rājarājadēvan can be identified with Rājarāja II as has been done (*ARE.* 1924, II, 21, *EI.* xxi, p. 185 *n.* 2). I am inclined to treat him as a son, otherwise unknown, of Pallavarāyar. But the fact that the largest share (eight *vēlis*) goes to his wife (*virundangaḷ*) and her children, and the leading part of Pallavarāyar in the removal of Rājarāja's harem and children to a safe place support the other view, and it is possible that Rājarāja's children were by the daughter of Pallavarāyar.

Venkoba Rao says: 'There seems to have been great opposition, both open and secret, to the coronation of Rājādhirāja from many quarters, against which the minister carefully guarded the prince and firmly established him on the throne after imprisoning all the suspected enemies.' (*ARE.* 1924 II 20). All this seems to be reading rather too much into the obscure and fragmentary thirteenth line in the record. I agree with Venkoba Rao when he says: 'unfortunately, the inscription is much damaged in certain important portions and leaves much for surmise' (*ibid*).

To turn to chronology: Rājarāja's reign began between 6 April and 11 July A.D. 1146. The latest regnal year clearly cited in his inscriptions is 26, and the 26th year must have begun after 6 April A.D. 1171. Rājādhirāja's accession was between 28 February and 30 March A.D. 1163, so that his eighth regnal year covers the period March 1170 to March 1171. The twenty-sixth year of Rājarāja did not begin, according to this calculation, until the eighth year of Rājādhirāja had closed, and it is difficult to see how to reconcile this with the present inscription which states that Rājarāja had died before Pallavarāyar whose death occurred some time in the 8th year of Rājādhirāja.[101] We shall see that the chronology of the Pāṇḍyan Civil War also requires that the reign of Rājādhirāja should be taken to commence somewhat later than was determined by Kielhorn.

Some inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II are known which do not work out correctly for the accession date fixed by Kielhorn and seem to indicate a later date for the commencement of his reign—19 of 1913, 571 of 1907, 428 of 1912; see *Ind. Eph.* I ii. p. 70 and *EI.* x. pp. 126-7. It should be noted with regard to these inscriptions that Sewell's suggestion that the regnal year in 571 of 1907 may be '15' is held to be impossible by Venkayya, and that 428 of 1912 contains the *kaḍal śūḻnda* introduction. These records point to a date somewhere in 1166 A.D. for Rājādhirāja's accession, a date which will fit in with the facts to which attention has been drawn above. On the other hand, 337 of 1914 (Pd. 138) clearly seems to imply an earlier date than Kielhorn's. And there is a record[102] at Punganūr which implies that one and the same regnal year of this king was described as either the twelfth or the fourteenth.

In regard to copper-plate 23 of 1916-7 which couples Ś. 1091 with the 23rd regnal year of Rājarāja II, Venkatasubba Aiyar makes the following observations. 'We know that Rājarāja II was not alive in A.D. 1169 and that the Cōḷa country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here (Vēngī) as a continuation of Rājarāja's reign.' These remarks seem to assume that no records of Rājarāja from the Tamil country are known to

be dated after the accession of Rājādhirāja (1163); if this is so, attention may be invited to 267 of 1901, 411 of 1909, and 96 of 1920, though it is a fact that records of Rājarāja dated after the 19th year have not been traced in the Tamil districts. Moreover no other example of the practice postulated by Venkatasubba Aiyar of a regent or his vassals continuing to issue records in the name of a deceased king is known in the whole of Cōḷa history. There is no evidence for the view that Rājādhirāja II ruled as regent for Kulōttunga III during his minority.

The exact date when Rājādhirāja was chosen for the succession must depend on whether the regnal years of this king as counted in his inscriptions included the initial period of four years when he was on trial; seeing that the title Rājādhirāja is said to have been conferred on him only at the time of his anointment at the end of four years and that inscriptions dated in the second year bear this title, the conclusion may be drawn that the period of probation preceded the date of anointment and that the tale of Rājādhirāja's regnal years did not include this period.[103] If this is correct, the first choice must have been made sometime in A.D. 1159 or 1162 according as we adopt 1163 or 1166 as the initial year of Rājādhirāja's reign. We have seen that the latter is the more likely. Rājarāja himself lived on some years after this date.

It seems quite impossible that Kulōttunga III was one of the children of Rājarāja said to have been one and two years old at the time of his death; for he came to the throne in 1178, within six years after Rājarāja's death, and took an active part in the War of Pāṇḍyan Succession which had begun while Rājarāja was still living. The evidence of the *Kulōttungankōvai* and *Śankaraśōḷan ulā* also points to the same conclusion. *Śen Tamiḻ* iii., pp. 164 ff., *contra ARE.* 1909 II, 48; 1924 II, 21.; *EI.* xxi. p. 186.

1. *EI.* vii, pp. 4-5.
2. 284 of 1923; 520 of 1920; 139 of 1902. *Ante*, p. 330.
3. 285 of 1912.
4. 408 of 1909 and 175 of 1911; 157 of 1925.
5. Hultzsch (*SII.* iii, pp. 179-81) is inclined to distinguish three periods in the career of Vikramacōḷa. I think, that a careful study of

the syntax of the *pū mālai miḍaindu* introduction warrants the view that the Kalinga war was waged in the period of the Viceroyalty of Vēngī.

6. 502 of 1922, (Yr. 11).

7. *EI.* vii, p. 5.

8. *SII.* ii, p. 308, n. 4; *EI.* vi, p. 224.

9. V. 776. It must be noted that Oṭṭakkūttan who mentions this *paraṇi* thrice in his works does not state that he wrote it. Hultzsch considers this a reference to the *Kalingattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār which, he says, describes the Kalinga war waged by Kulōttunga before A.D. 1095-6, (*SII.* iii, p. 180). In fact, Jayangoṇḍār's work had reference to the second Kalinga war of Kulōttunga's reign in which Vikramacōḷa seems to have had no part. The *Paraṇi* on Vikrama's war must have referred to the earlier occasion, (we have no evidence of any other war against Kalingam), and might have been composed by Kūttan some time in the reign of Vikramacōḷa.

10. *EI.* iv, p. 42, vv. 34-5.

11. 153 of 1897. See p. 330 *ante.*

12. 163 of 1897. Śaka 1054 is a mistake for 1057, *EI.* vii, p. 5.

13. 175 of 1911—*EC.* x. Sd. 9.

14. 467 of 1911—*EC.* x. Sp. 61.

15. 87 of 1900.

16. 30 of 1903.

17. 276 of 1901—*SII.* vii. 496. *Kālam pollādāy nammūr aḻindu kuḍi ōḍip-pōyk-kiḍandamaiyil.*

18. See *SII.* iii. p. 185, n. 2. It is possible that the benediction engraved on a gold leaf or plate was repeated at the end of each regnal year as it was completed and a new year began.

19. The date is: 15 April, A.D. 1128, Kielhorn, *EI.* vii, p. 3.

20. *Studies,* pp. 176 ff.

21. 282, 284, 287 of 1913.

22. 312 of 1913.

23. 71 of 1926; *ARE.* 1926, II, 27.

24. 168 of 1906.

25. 271 of 1927.

26. 299 of 1910; *ARE.* 1911, II, 27.

27. 63 of 1918.

28. 163 of 1902.

29. 272-3 of 1907; 49 of 1931. *Ulā* ll. 431, 662, etc.

30. *EI.* vi. pp. 227-30.

31. ix. vv. 7, 16; xiii, v. 89.

32. *SII.* iii, pp. 181-2.

33. 136 of 1895.

34. ll. 119 ff.

35. Curiously enough the Kalingar are also included in the list.

36. 229 of 1929. A certain Kulōttunga-cōḷa-Mahābali Bāṇarāja of Tiruvārūr claimed descent from the minister of the legendary Cōḷa king Manu, (164 of 1894).

37. This is perhaps the earliest mention of the fortress of 'Gingee'. Śeñji is called a dēvadāna of Tiruvēkambam Uḍaiyār in 159 of 1930.

38. 71 of 1926.

39. Maṇṇai is perhaps Mālkhed. But we cannot say when this event took place. 416 of 1893 calls Muḍikoṇḍān, whose elephant is specially mentioned, the king of the Vattar.

40. By the Cēdi country the poet means the land of the Cēdirāyas, the hilly area round about Tirukkōyilūr, Kiḻiyūr, etc. In the inscriptions there are three Malaiyamān chieftains mentioned: (1) Malaiyamān Tirukkala Maṟundan Āḻvangakāra Malaiyamān, (408 of 1909); (2) Ubaiyan *alias* Vikramacōḻa-cēdiyarāyan (286 of 1902: 371 of 1908); and (3) Śūṟṟiyan Rāman *alias* Rājēndraśōḻa Malaiyakularājan (177 of 1906; called Malaiyan Mallan in 373 of 1908).

41. Adigan's part in the Kalinga war is not mentioned in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* or the inscriptions. It should be remembered, however, that another *Kalingapparaṇi* by Oṭṭakkūttan is no longer accessible.

42. 128 of 1930.

43. *EI.* x, p. 128; xi, p. 287. No 135 of 1934-5 of Yr. 9 works out correctly for March 24 A.D. 1142, *ARE.* II, 15.

44. The beginnings of the chief forms of the *praśastis* with the time of their earliest occurrence may be noted:

Pū mannu pāvai—56 of 1893 of the 2nd year;
Pū maruviya puvi ēḻum—85 of 1895 of the same year.
Pū mēya (mēvi) vaḷar—422 of 1904 of the same year;
Pū mannu padumam—255 of 1929 of the 3rd year;
Pū mēvu tirumagaḷ—572 of 1907 of the 8th year; and
Pū mannu yāṇar—83 of 1895 of the 15th year.

See also *ARE* 1913, II, 35.

45. 155 of 1902.

46. The *Periyapurāṇam* (Caṇḍēśura v. 8)—mentions that five cities shared the honour of witnessing the coronations of Cōḻa kings.

47. 350 of 1927. *ARE.* 1927, II, 24.

48. ll. 69-116.

49. 363 of 1907 seems to open with a reference to this fact and this part of the inscription appears to have been wantonly damaged as the rest of it is in excellent preservation. Perhaps the earliest reference to the relative positions of the shrines of Gōvindarāja and Naṭarāja in Cidambaram is that of Māṇikkavāśagar in his *Tirukkōvaiyār* v. 86. Several ancient temples appear to have had shrines both of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and there seems to have been at one period a deliberate attempt to harmonise the relations between the followers of the two deities, an attempt giving rise to the cult of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa. The sectarianism of a later age proved itself intolerant of the eclectic arrangements of an earlier time.

50. ll. 58-66.

51. vv. 777, 808-10.

52. *ARE.* 1913, II, 34; 1927, II, 24.
53. *Kulōttungaśōḷan ulā,* l. 118.
54. 271 of 1915; 533 of 1921.
55. 85 of 1895.
56. 271 of 1915; 533 of 1921; 346 of 1911 and 531 of 1912 mention an officer Anapāya Mūvēnda Vēḷān.
57. 157 of 1902.
58. 363 of 1911; 312 of 1901, and *Śen Tamiḻ* xxv. pp. 271-5, *ARE.* 1912, II. 27.
59. 255 of 1929; 380 of 1908.
60. 157 of 1902.
61. 374 of 1902.
62. 391 of 1921; see also 467 of 1921 (Tiruvennainallūr). At *ARE.* 1922, II, 39 the former record is assigned to the reign of Kulōttunga III with confusing results.
63. 45. of 1903.
64. 43 of 1903.
65. 137 of 1900.
66. 572 of 1907.
67. 411 of 1902; Pd. 120.
68. *CV.* ch. 77. v. 28 and n. 1.
69. *Rājarāja-śōḷan-ulā,* ll. 66-7.
70. *EI.* ix, p. 210.
71. 465 of 1919.
72. 243 of 1930.
73. Iyal, Iśai, and Nāḍagam—roughly prose and poetry, song and drama.
74. 16 of 1903; 369 of 1911. Bhuvanamuḻuduḍaiyāḷ is also mentioned in *Rājarājan ulā,* l. 78.
75. 165 of 1908.
76. 219 of 1901. *ARE* 1909, II, 48-50 discusses the relations between Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III as seen from these *praśastis.* It is said there: 'It must be noted that the titles Rājakēsari and Parakēsari are applied to these kings indiscriminately.' I do not think this is correct; there are, of course, a few mistakes in some records where one title appears for another; but their number is not enough to warrant the general observation cited above. See also *ARE.* 1904 para, 21.
77. Cf. 219 of 1901 and 538 of 1904.
78. 486 of 1911.
79. 18 of 1900.
80. 267 of 1911.
81. 216 of 1893.
82. 163 of 1906.
83. 336 of 1917; *ulā* ll. 252; 685.
84. *Takkayāgapparaṇi,* v. 549 and n.
85. 128 of 1929; 45 of 1914.

86. 166 of 1906. *ARE.* 1937-8 II 39.

87. 486 of 1911.

88. 434, 435 of 1924.

89. 168 of 1918.

90. 52 of 1919; 244 of 1901.

91. 703, 704 of 1920.

92. 181 of 1899.

93. *EI.* ix. p. 211. But see p. 359 below.

94. 433 of 1924, *contra ARE.* 1909, II, 48.

95. 433 of 1924 is a difficult inscription and raises some problems in the chronology of the period. From *Note C.* that follows it will be seen that the gaps in the record greatly obscure its meaning.

96. In l. 13 V. V. reads *śellumbaḍi paṇṇi* [*vittaruḷi*] *nār;* my text has *paṇṇi u.....nār.* I think the word is not a finite verb, but a participle and a noun which should form the subject of the following verb *migai śeyyāda paḍi.*

97. V.V. reads *pērttu kōyiṟ-kottum,* and translates 'big household.' Also *āvaṟk-kudirai* 'body of armed cavalry', for my *ānai* (*k*) *-kudirai.*

98. 'The body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace.' V.V.

99. 'Class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution.' V.V.

100. V. V. suggests *vi* (*ṇṇappañ*) *jeydu.*

101. The position is made worse by 7 of 1893 which implies an interval of 15 years between the 1(9)th year of Rājarāja II and the 8th year of Rājādhirāja. *SII.* iii, p. 207. Perhaps the regnal year of Rājarāja mentioned in this record is 1(1) and not 1(9).

102. 209 of 1932.

103. V. V. points out that 337 of 1914 (Pd. 138) giving date A.D. 1162, Dec. 3, Monday, may be a record of the probationary period.

Chapter XV

RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II AND KULŌTTUNGA III
A.D. 1163-1216

Praśastis.

In the absence of an heir in the direct male line Rājādhirāja II, a grandson of Vikramacōḷa by a daughter, was chosen by Rājarāja II as heir-apparent towards the end of his reign, and Rājādhirāja reigned as co-regent with Rājarāja for some years.[1] Rājādhirāja's *praśastis* are found in three forms, all purely rhetorical and of no historical value. The form which begins *kaḍal śūḻnda pār magaḷum* (*mādarum*) and occurs as early as the second year[2] was obviously borrowed from Rājarāja's inscriptions; the other forms are: *pū maruviya tiśaimugattōn* which appears first in the fifth year[3] and was adopted later by Kulōttunga III, and *kaḍal śūḻnda pārēḻum*,[4] found in inscriptions of the sixth and tenth years from the Tanjore district. While the *praśastis* of the king are thus of no use to history, several inscriptions of his reign give a fairly detailed account of the incidents of the war of Pāṇḍyan succession which, on a comparison with the story of the war given in the *Mahāvamsa*, is seen to be quite trustworthy.

Pāṇḍyan Civil War.

From the re-conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by Kulōttunga I, we hear almost nothing of its affairs or of the fortunes of the ancient line of Pāṇḍya rulers until we reach the reign of Rājādhirāja II. The inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas, which may with more or less certainty be assigned to this period, show that even after Kulōttunga's southern wars, the Pāṇḍyas successfully maintained a part of the freedom they had gained from the initial difficulties which beset Kulōttunga I on his accession to the Cōḷa throne; they engraved inscriptions of their own with boastful *praśastis*, a thing which they did not or could not do when their country was ruled more firmly by the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys. They waged their own wars without reference to the central power to which their allegiance

tended to become more and more nominal. Parāntaka Pāṇḍya took part, as we have seen, in Vikramacōḷa's first Kalinga war and attacked Telinga Bhīma of Kolanu; but this real subordination to Cōḷa suzerainty apparently gave place to a more grudging recognition of it in the years that followed the death of Kulōttunga I, if not towards the end of his reign when the Cōḷa power underwent considerable curtailment by the loss of Mysore and Vēngī. Hardly any inscriptions of the Cōḷa monarchs are found in the Pāṇḍya country proper after the close of Kulōttunga's reign.[5]

Towards the close of the reign of Rājarāja II, some years after Rājādhirāja had been chosen for the succession, a fierce succession dispute broke out in the Pāṇḍya country, and one of the rival parties appealed to the powerful Sinhalese ruler Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-86) and the other to the Cōḷa monarch. The war soon resolved itself into a continuation of the old struggle between the Cōḷa and Ceylon kingdoms. The intercession brought no good to either; out of the ashes of the civil war arose the Pāṇḍya power which in its renewed strength soon swallowed up both the kingdoms which had espoused the rival causes of the protagonists in the civil war.

The early stages of the war are vividly described in the *Mahāvamsa*.[6] In A.D. 1169 Parākrama Pāṇḍya of Madura sent an appeal for help against Kulaśēkhara who was investing the city of Madura. Before the Ceylonese army sent under Lankāpura in response to this appeal could reach the mainland, events there had moved rather fast. Kulaśēkhara had captured Madura and put an end to the lives of Parākrama, his wife and children at a place called Tirimalakke. On hearing this Parākramabāhu sent word to Lankāpura that the war should be continued until the kingdom of Madura was taken from Kulaśēkhara and bestowed on a scion of the house of Parākrama. Lankāpura effected a landing on the opposite coast in the face of opposition, and advancing by way of Rāmēśvaram, he strongly fortified himself at Kundukala, on the tongue of land projecting from the mainland into the sea near Rāmēśvaram. The war was marked by savage ill-treatment of the prisoners of war, the Tamils who fell into Lankāpura's hands being either impaled or transported to Ceylon

The *Mahāvamsa* account.

to labour at the restoration of the Buddhist Vihāras of the island that had suffered during the Tamil domination. Without entering into the minute details of the marches and counter-marches and the numerous battles of the campaign which are of no direct concern to us, we may note that Lankāpura's task proved more difficult than was anticipated. Kulaśēkhara long kept up a brave resistance, and Lankāpura had to send for reinforcements to Ceylon and to placate the local chieftains of the Tamil country by means of presents and honours. When he learnt that Parākrama's son Vīra Pāṇḍya who had escaped the massacre of Kulaśēkhara was living in the Malaya (mountain) country, Lankāpura sent word to him to come and join him at a place not far from Madura. Kulaśēkhara put into the field army after army and a fierce war raged in the Ramnad and Madura districts, extending on either side to Pudukkottah and Tinnevelly. To judge from the length of the struggle and the way the Tamil chieftains repeatedly changed sides, the cause of Kulaśēkhara was apparently more popular in the Pāṇḍya country, and the support which Kulaśēkhara gained from his uncle in Kongu[7] and from the Cōḷas may be taken also to confirm this estimate. However that may be, the next stage of the war as recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* began with the return of Kulaśēkhara from the Cōḷa country with a Cōḷa force commanded by Pallavarāyar and others which he sent to Toṇḍi and Pāśi. In the battle of Kīḷenilaya that followed, victory was with Lankāpura 'who dyed the water of the ocean ruddy with the blood of the foe'.[8] Kīḷenilaya of the *Mahāvamsa* is doubtless identical with the modern Kīḻ-nilai in the Tirupattūr taluq of the Ramnad district. After another fight at Ponnamarāvati in which Kulaśēkhara was defeated and put to flight, Lankāpura gave over the government of the kingdom to Vīra Pāṇḍya (whose coronation he had already celebrated in accordance with the orders of Parākramabāhu), introduced the *kahāpaṇa*, the coin of Parākramabāhu, everywhere, and sent to Ceylon a vast amount of booty captured from the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa countries.

This account of the *Mahāvamsa* is on the face of it incomplete. It does not say how Vīra Pāṇḍya fared, or what happened to Kulaśēkhara, and seems deliberately to avoid stat-

ing that Lankāpura returned to Ceylon.[9] One gains the impression that the Ceylonese author has drawn a veil over the ultimate failure of the effort after its initial success.

That this is the fact becomes clear from a study of the Cōḷa inscriptions bearing on the war and from some events recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* under the reigns of the successors of Parākramabāhu I.

The Cōḷa version.

The Ārppākkam (Chingleput Dt.) inscription[10] of the fifth year of Rājādhirāja contains the earliest epigraphical account of this war. It says that the Ceylon army captured the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and drove out Rāja Kulaśēkhara from Madura; the army then proceeded against the *sāmantas* of Rājādhirāja, and made war in the region of Toṇḍi and Pāśī, and won victories which struck terror into the hearts of the people in the Śōḷamaṇḍalam and other tracts (nāḍus). Ediriliśōḷa Śāmbuvarāya, when he heard of these occurrences, became greatly concerned about how it was all to end and sought divine intercession through Svāmidēvar, a holy man, also called Umāpatideva or Ñānaśivadeva, a native of Dakṣiṇalāḍa in Gauḍa-deśa, whom he besought to ward off by prayer, sacrifice and worship the invasion of the Cōḷa country by the wicked troops from Ceylon and the resulting harm to the Brahmins and temples thereof; Svāmidēvar said in reply that he knew that the Ceylon army had put an end to worship in the temple of Rāmēśvaram and had plundered its treasury; he would endeavour by occult means to bring down disaster on the enterprise of the invaders who were Śivadrōhis. With this object he performed *pūjā* for full twenty-eight days, and then came news from Piḷ'ai Pallavarāyar that the *pradhānis* including Jayadratha and Lankāpuri *daṇḍanāyakas* and the entire force from Ceylon had sustained defeat. And the Śāmbuvarāya in his gratitude presented the village of Ārppākkam to Svāmidēvar.

The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai (Tanjore Dt.) inscription[11] of the eighth year is more explicit in its details. Like the *Mahāvamsa*, it begins by stating that Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya was ousted from Madura by the advent of the Ceylon army, that thereupon he entered the Cōḷa country, and appealed to the

Cōḷa monarch for help in regaining the Pāṇḍyan throne; the Cōḷa ruler then ordered that Kulaśēkhara was to be restored to his throne, and that Lankāpuri-daṇḍanāyaka and others were to be killed and their heads nailed to the gates of the city of Madura, the Pāṇḍya capital. Pallavarāyar *alias* Tiruc-cirrambalamuḍaiyan Perumāṇambi, who was entrusted with these tasks, entertained Kulaśēkhara suitably during his stay in the Cōḷa country, and having with his army, resources and zeal, brought about the reconquest of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, he carried out his master's orders to the letter by nailing the heads of Lankāpuri-daṇḍanāyaka and others to the gates of Madura. Kulaśēkhara thereupon re-entered Madura, and thus was averted the conversion of the Pāṇḍyan country into a province of Ceylon (*pāṇḍai-nāḍu Īḻa-nāḍāgādapaḍi pariharittu*).

A third inscription dated in the twelfth year, four years after the last one,[12] and found in the North Arcot district, carries the account of the war a stage further. The record is unfortunately much damaged and many gaps in it greatly obscure its meaning. This inscription records a gift of land to one Paḷaiyanūr-uḍaiyān Vēdavanam-uḍaiyān Ammaiyappan *alias* Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan, and narrates the war in recounting his services to the state.[13] After giving a brief account of the war up to the restoration of Kulaśēkhara to the throne of Madura,—an account which follows the earlier records summarised above and ascribes to Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan a prominent part in these events,—the inscription proceeds to narrate an expedition against Ceylon, organized presumably by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan. He heard that the Sinhalese king, Parākramabāhu, was preparing for another attack on the Cōḷa king and his *protégé* Kulaśēkhara and that, with this intent, he was concentrating his forces and building ships in Ūratturai, Pulaiccēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāḷ[14] and other places. To counteract this, Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan, acting on behalf of the Cōḷa monarch, employed Śrīvallabha, the nephew (*maru-maganār*) of the king of Ceylon and a claimant to his throne kept out of his rights[15] and now on the mainland ready to make common cause with the enemies of Parākramabāhu. The expedition that was sent with Śrīvallabha at its head captured and des-

the ruler of Ceylon had lost heavily in the fighting and his military and naval resources had been greatly damaged. The Cōḷa king now assumed the surname; 'who was pleased to take Madura and Īḻam,' (*Maduraiyum Īḻamum koṇḍaruḷina*).[19] While the capture of the Madura kingdom was a fact, the inclusion of *Īḻam* (Ceylon) in the title must be understood only as a claim to that kingdom like that set up by the English kings to the throne of France or as merely indicative of the military successes achieved by the Cōḷa ruler against the Ceylonese. If we follow the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa* and one set of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions, the events of the war may be placed between say A.D. 1169 and 1177.[20]

Extent of Empire.

That under Rājādhirāja the Cōḷa empire continued to retain the same proportions as under Rājarāja II may be inferred from the provenance of his inscriptions which are found in Nellore and Kāḷahasti and Nandalūr.[21] Even a part of the Ganga country would seem still to have been included in the Cōḷa empire, if the Cōḷa-mahārāja Ghaṭṭi-nuḷamba Bhujabala-vīra Āhōmallarasa, described in a Kāñcīpuram inscription[22] as the Mahāmaṇḍalika of Gangamaṇḍala, was in fact a feudatory of Rājādhirāja II. An inscription from Āttūr[23] in the Tanjore district is issued in the name of Tribhuvana-cakravartin Karikālacōḷadēva who took Madura and Īḻam, and obviously the inscription belongs to this period; it seems legitimate to infer that Karikāla was a title of Rājādhirāja II, an inference which is confirmed by another inscription (from Cidambaram) which couples the names Rājādhirāja and Karikāla.[24] A damaged record from Tiruvīḻimiḻalai,[25] which bears no date, mentions the place Komaran Kulōttunga-śōḷacaturvēdimangalam in the Tiruvaḷundūr-nāḍu; the village seems to have been named after prince Kulōttunga, afterwards Kulōttunga III, an inscription of whose reign[26] mentions gifts made in the same village as early as the third year of Periyadēvar, evidently Rājādhirāja II; the relation of Kulōttunga III to Rājādhirāja, if any, is not clear.

Titles.

Feudatories.

Among the officials and feudatories mentioned in the records of Rājādhirāja's reign, the following may be noted. The two most prominent were the two Pallavarāyars whose successes in the Pāṇḍyan

civil war have already been dealt with in detail. The elder Pallavarāyar of Kārigai-kuḷattūr, Tirucciṟṟambalam-uḍaiyān Perumāṇambi, was the trusted lieutenant of Rājarāja II and survived him only long enough to be of service to the widowed queens and the young children of Rājarāja after the demise of the king. The other Pallavarāyar, Paḷaiyanūruḍaiyān Vēdavanamuḍaiyān Ammaiyappan *alias* Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan came into prominence early after Rājādhirāja's accession as he is found making a gift of land in Tiruvārūr in the second year of the reign.[27] At the death of Perumāṇambi, it was Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan who decided the proportion in which the lands belonging to the former were to be distributed among his relatives.[28] He also endowed three lamps in the temple of Tiruvālangāḍu, North Arcot, in the thirteenth year of Rājādhirāja. Vēdavanamuḍaiyān Karuṇākaradēvan *alias* Amarakōn of Paḷaiyanūr who endowed lamps in Tiruvalañjuḷi and Pattiśvaram[29] was perhaps a relative of Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan.

The Sengēṇis and Kāḍavarāyas are strongly represented in the region of the Arcot districts and elsewhere. A certain Śengēṇi Ammaiyappan Śāmbuvarāyan made an assignment of some local taxes and dues to the temple of Tiruppulivanam towards the expenses of worship, offerings and repairs in the temple;[29a] as he could only have made over to the temple what was his own or within his power to dispose, it is clear that he must have either possessed a large assignment himself or been an important official of the central government with large powers devolved upon him. This Śāmbuvarāya was most probably the same as Edirili-śōḷa who is called Śengēṇi Ammaiyappan Śīyan Ammaiyappan in a Kāñcīpuram record,[30] and who granted the village of Ārppākkam as *ēkabhōga-iṟaiyili* to Umāpati-dēva *alias* Ñānaśiva-dēva for his celebrated worship of Śiva and prayers to him to avert the disasters threatened by the invasion of the Ceylon forces.[31] Other chieftains of the same dynasty are mentioned.[32]

Growth of feudal conditions.

From the reign of Kulōttunga I, the growth in the number of feudatories and the extent of their influence on the administration and policy of the central government is one of the most striking features of Cōḷa history. The multiplication of these

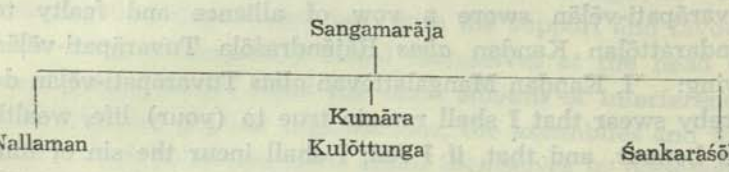
over-mighty subjects of the king naturally weakened the control exercised by his government over the general welfare of the country and removed considerable areas from its direct purview and constituted them into more or less independent jurisdictions. So long as village-communities and other popular organisations, rural and urban, were the only machinery of local administration by the side of the central government, the latter had a firm hold not only on the general administration as a whole but on the manner in which the various corporations carried on their affairs. It was not to be expected that powerful chieftains, who, though in the beginning they might have risen with the support and favour of the king, subsequently found themselves at the head of armed forces, would stand the same amount of interference as the humbler popular organisations, the assemblies and the guilds. Such chieftains often found themselves in possession of considerable areas of territory allotted to them by the king partly in recognition of their past services and partly with a view to enabling them to add a contingent of soldiers to the forces of the king in times of need. The growth in the number of such chieftains had two consequences. The first was to weaken the prestige of the king's government by increasingly restricting the sphere of its effective operation, and thereby to loosen its hold even on the rest of the administration. The inscriptions of the later Cōḷa rulers do not give rise to the same impression, as do those of the earlier monarchs, of a powerful central government ever active in restraining, correcting, advising and guiding the more or less autonomous local organisations in the various parts of the empire. The popular organisations seem to be for the most part left to themselves, and when they have anything to do with outside authorities, it is generally with the local chieftains who have come up in their neighbourhood that they have to deal. It is more often to them rather than to the king that they begin to look for large gifts or the permanent assignment of local taxes and dues for charitable purposes. Another consequence of the new situation was that the local chieftains began to enter into political compacts calculated to regulate their conduct towards the emperor. These compacts seem to have had an important rôle in effecting the transition

by which the class of official nobility, which had at first grown with the growth of the Cōḷa empire, converted itself into a number of petty local chieftaincies of a hereditary character. It is remarkable that the binding power of these compacts is often sought to be secured by the most fearful imprecations some of which are too shocking to be reproduced here. The earliest of these compacts are those found in the Ramnad district towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I and in the beginning of Vikramacōḷa's reign. In the forty-second year of the reign of Kulōttunga I, as we learn from an inscription from Śivapuri (Ramnad Dt.),[33] Kaṇḍan-Mangalattēvan *alias* Tuvarāpati-vēḷān swore a vow of alliance and fealty to Sundarattōḷan Kaṇḍan *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa Tuvarāpati-vēḷān saying: 'I, Kaṇḍan Mangalattēvan *alias* Tuvarāpati-vēḷān do hereby swear that I shall remain true to (your) life, wealth and honour, and that, if I fail, I shall incur the sin of him who becomes the husband of his mother and of consuming liquor (*surā*) and beef (*gō-māmsam*).' About ten years later, in the same place is registered another compact[34] between Rājēndraśōḷan *alias* Niṣadarājan and Kaṇḍan Sundarattōḷan *alias* Tuvarāpati-vēḷān by which the former swore fealty to the latter in similar terms. Another instance comes from North Arcot and belongs to the reign of Rājādhirāja II; an inscription from Māḍam dated in the eleventh regnal year of the king[35] registers a similar compact among three chieftains of the Śengēṇi family. It will become clear presently that under Kulōttunga III this tendency became much more general, and there can be no doubt that we have here unmistakable evidence of the approach of the end. The empire is dissolving into a number of warring principalities before the eyes of the king, now no longer powerful to enforce his will on his vassals who, though they still own allegiance to him, generally act very much by themselves and as best suits their divergent interests.

Accession of Kulōttunga III.

The latest regnal year traced in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II is sixteen,[36] so that his reign extended up to A.D. 1179 or 1182 according as we adopt A.D. 1163 or 1166 for the commencement of his reign. The inscriptions of Kulōttunga show that his rule commenced between 6 and 8 July, A.D. 1178.[37] It is thus clear

that Kulōttunga III had come to be recognised as the next sovereign before the death of Rājādhirāja. It has been shown above that Kulōttunga could not have been one of the tender children of Rājarāja[38] for whose protection the Pallavarāyar took effective steps at the time of Rājarāja's death. If the assumption is correct that Kulōttunga is identical with Kumāra Kulōttunga mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II,[39] then it would seem that he was not of the direct line of the Imperial Cōḷas any more than his predecessor. The *Kulōttungan-kōvai*[40] gives the pedigree of Kumāra Kulōttunga thus:



There is an *ulā* on Śankaraśōḷan which seems to mention his elder brother under the slightly different name Kumāramahīdhara. It must be noted, however, that as neither the *kōvai* nor the *ulā* mentions any historical events specifically traceable to Kulōttunga III of the inscriptions,[41] the identification of this king with Kumāra Kulōttunga of literature is still open to doubt. There is no means available at present of ascertaining the exact relation of Sangamarāja to the Cōḷa line.

Praśastis.

The records of Kulōttunga's reign are very numerous, and the chief *praśasti* that appears in many of them begins *puyal vāyttu* (or *vāykka*) *vaḷam peruga,* a formula which is borrowed from the inscriptions of Rājarāja II and is first found in this reign in a record of the third year.[42] Though at first this form is repeated almost exactly as it occurs in Rājarāja's reign and furnishes no data for the historian, by the ninth year of the reign an account of the Pāṇḍyan war of Kulōttunga is incorporated in it,[43] and this account is reproduced in almost all the subsequent editions of the *praśasti* with significant variations which will presently be discussed. The other *praśastis* of the reign, less frequently employed and of little historical importance, may be more briefly noticed. The formulas commencing *malar mannu poḻil-ēḻilum* and *pū mēvi maruviya* both

appear first in records of the fifth year;[44] a record from Māgaral, dated in the eleventh year,[45] has the *praśasti* beginning *pū mēvi vaḷar* of Kulōttunga II and cannot be distinguished from the inscriptions of that monarch except by the Parakēsari title of the sovereign. Some records of Kulōttunga III begin *pū maruviya tiśai mugattōn*, a form which first appears in the fifth year and of which only the first words are mentioned in a record of the seventeenth year.[46]

The inscriptions of Kulōttunga very often exhibit, besides the *praśastis*, some descriptive titles of the monarch which are a great help in the identification of his inscriptions and in the study of the history of the reign. In one record[47] of the second year, and more frequently from the fourth year[48] onwards, the phrase '*Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiyan muḍit-talaiyum koṇḍaruḷiya*,' meaning 'who was pleased to take Madura and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,' is employed to distinguish the king from his earlier namesakes. This shows that the Pāṇḍyan campaign of which we get a detailed account for the first time in the ninth year, must have commenced, if not actually been completed, some years earlier. The descriptive title quoted above is revised from time to time by the addition of Īḻam (Ceylon) in the tenth year,[49] Karuvūr in the sixteenth,[50] and of Kāñcīpuram in the twenty-fourth year.[51] The city last mentioned is not included in many inscriptions; Kulōttunga is also stated to have celebrated a *vīrābhiṣēka* and a *vijayābhiṣēka*.[52]

Disruption delayed.

The reign of Kulōttunga III is a remarkable example of the triumph of the personal ability of the monarch against the forces of disruption that were steadily increasing in their number and in the intensity of their action. Pāṇḍyan affairs had not reached a settlement when Kulōttunga came to the throne; and much active fighting was still needed; and though Kulōttunga succeeded for the best part of his reign in enforcing Cōḷa suzerainty over the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, it became clear by the end of his reign that the southern kingdom, after its recovery from the effects of the civil strife, was being ruled by able and ambitious monarchs who were prepared not only to assert their independence of the Cōḷa power, but to embark, in their turn, on a career of aggressive warfare and territorial

aggrandisement. We shall see that Kulōttunga lived long enough to experience the first shock of the newborn imperialism of the Pāṇḍyas. Elsewhere, the numerous feudatory dynasties were preparing to break off from the centre when opportunity occurred, and some of them like the Siddharasas of Nellore caused no end of anxiety to the emperor by their restless activity directed not seldom against the central power itself. All the energy and the strength of Kulōttunga was taken up in counteracting the machinations and undoing the mischief resulting from the actions of such overgrown vassals. In spite of everything, however, until towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga, the Cōḷa empire suffered no visible curtailment, and the period of his rule marks the last great epoch in the history of Cōḷa architecture and art. Literature did not fail to get its meed of encouragement. Kulōttunga himself must be counted as the last of the great Cōḷa monarchs. Under his weak successor, the empire went to pieces and its ruler suffered personal humiliation at the hands of one of his feudatories who was in alliance with the newly risen power of the Pāṇḍyas, and it was only the intercession of the Hoysala ruler Narasimha that restored the Cōḷa monarch to the semblance of sovereignty, though not to real power.

Pāṇḍyan War.

We have seen that Kulaśēkhara, on whose account Rājādhirāja II fought the powerful ruler of Ceylon, Parākramabāhu I, and his *protégé* Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, ultimately made his peace with the Ceylonese king, turned against his Cōḷa benefactor, and paid for his treachery by being driven out of Madura by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan who sought out Vīra Pāṇḍya and restored him to the throne of Madura. A solitary inscription of Vīra Pāṇḍya comes from Sucīndram;[53] it begins *pūmaḍandaiyum jayamaḍandaiyum* and records a gift of seven *vēlis* of land to the local temple on the occasion of the king's coronation; it seems more likely that this grant was made by Vīra Pāṇḍya when he was installed by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan, rather than on the earlier occasion when the Ceylonese generals secured for him a temporary hold on Madura. How long Vīra Pāṇḍya occupied the throne can only be surmised; there is no doubt, however, that in a short time he too succumbed to the blandishments of the king of Ceylon

and went over to his side. The fact was that the traditional alliance among the southern powers—Vēṇāḍ, Pāṇḍya and Ceylon—against the Cōḷa monarchy was too firmly established to be shaken by considerations of gratitude for help received at a critical juncture. We shall see that Vīra Pāṇḍya at a later stage sought refuge in Kollam when he was driven out of Madura. It will be recollected that when Parāntaka I extended the Cōḷa dominion to the south, the conquered ruler of the Pāṇḍya country, Rājasimha, found sympathy and support in Ceylon and Kēraḷa. That the general relations of these powers among themselves and towards the Cōḷas remained constant in the long interval that had elapsed up to the accession of Kulōttunga III must have become clear from the account that has been given in the preceding pages. Hence it was that both Kulaśēkhara and Vīra Pāṇḍya, though they were ready to seek Cōḷa assistance against each other, could not maintain that friendship after their object was attained, and drifted into the diplomatic situation normal to the ruler of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

Kulōttunga's inscriptions.

The further stages of the war as recorded in Kulōttunga's inscriptions, all of them commencing *puyal vāyttu vaḷam peruga*, may now be briefly summarised. An inscription from Cidambaram dated on the 88th day of the ninth year[54] records the coronation of the king at his accession, and then states that the king despatched an army when Vikrama Pāṇḍya sought his aid and in the campaign that followed, the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya fell,[55] Ēlagam was subdued, and the army of the *maṟavas* (*maṟappaḍai*) was beaten, while the Śiṅgaḷa soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea.[56] Vīra Pāṇḍya was attacked and compelled to turn back; Madura and his throne were seized from him and handed over to the Pāṇḍya (Vikrama) who had sought the aid of the conqueror; a pillar of victory was also set up. Another inscription, also from Cidambaram, dated on the 118th day of the eleventh year, says:[57]

> 'By a single army, (Kulōttunga) had the nose of the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya cut off before he was captured, bestowed on Vikrama-Pāṇḍya the great city of Kūḍal, and returned. After this, he took the crowned head of Vīra

> Pāṇḍya who had returned to the attack because of the disgrace (of his former defeat), and erected a pillar of victory at the end of the fight.'

Two records from Tirukkaḍaiyūr[58] dated in the fifteenth (?) and sixteenth years repeat the events recorded in the last preceding inscription in identical words and add the following:

> 'Having finished the fight, he (Kulōttunga) caused the best of his (Vīra Pāṇḍya's) women to enter (his own) *vēḷam*;[59] (he) set his foot on the crowns of the *Tennan* (Pāṇḍya), who had entered the Western Kollam with his relatives as he had no (other) refuge, and of the powerful Cēra, when they made obeisance at his lotus feet; (he) was pleased to confer on the Tennavan (Pāṇḍya) the sovereignty of the land of Śen-Tamiḻ (Madura country) and (its) crown; (he) put on the anklet of heroes and raised the banners of heroism and of liberality; (he) was pleased to be present when the chief of Kaikayas named his son after him (Kulōttunga) and gave him many robes; having bestowed a living, such as kings seldom got, on the *mīnava* (Pāṇḍya) Vīra Kēraḷa whom he had compelled to turn his back on the battle-field, whose finger he had cut off, and who had since surrendered himself into slavery; (he also) gave him to eat by his side from vessels given by him.[60]

A record from Tiruviḍaimarudūr, also dated in the sixteenth year,[61] states that the warriors of Kulōttunga began to guard all places in response to the order: 'Capture Īḻam in the South, so that the *tennavar* (southerners—Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa, and Śiṅgaḷa ?) may come and prostrate themselves, and the head of the Śiṅgaḷavan may be cut off; fill the wavy sea (to make a causeway).' Then we have an inscription of the nineteenth year from Śrīrangam[62] which repeats the incidents of the Pāṇḍyan war almost in the same words as the Cidambaram inscription of the eleventh year stating also that Vīra Pāṇḍya's second attempt to resist Kulōttunga was made on the field of Neṭṭūr, and adds that, at the end of the battle, he took into his *vēḷam* the young queen (*maḍakkoḍi*) of the Pāṇḍya ruler, and proceeds:

'When the Tennavan (Pāṇḍya), who had lost his fortune, and the Śēralan (Cēra) came (to the Cōḷa), bowed (to him) and sat down at the foot of (his) throne, (he) placed (his) feet on the crown of the former, granted (him) land, granted (him) a crown, and gave the Pāṇḍya permission (to go); and to him on whose flag was seen the bow (the Cēra),[63] he granted a fortune which (other) kings could not obtain.'

The inscription then mentions the defeat of Pāṇḍya Vīra Kēraḷa, whose finger was cut off and who was forced to turn back,[64] and the gifts made to him, as also the gift of much treasure, robes, and bejewelled vessels to the Pāṇḍya who bore the glorious name of 'chief of the family of the Sun'. From Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[65] we have an inscription of the nineteenth year which says, in the midst of much sham history, that Kulōttunga cut off the heads of Tennavan and Vikkalan; these statements, it is certain, deserve no credence and may be ignored. Another record from Tirumāṇikuḻi[66] of the twenty-first year follows the Śrīrangam inscription of the nineteenth year except that it omits the gifts of land and crown to the Pāṇḍya and of wealth to the Cēra when they both sat at the feet of Kulōttunga's throne and he placed his foot on the crown of the Pāṇḍya; it also adds at the end that Kulōttunga adorned with his feet the crown of the Ceylonese king (Iḷattān) in order that it may prosper.

Lastly, there are two records from the Pudukkottah state[67] with a unique form of the *praśasti* not so far traced in any other inscriptions of Kulōttunga. From one of these records, the date has been lost; the other is dated in the thirty-fourth year. This *praśasti* mentions the Pāṇḍyan campaigns of Kulōttunga at two points in a manner that clearly implies that the facts recorded in the other inscriptions cited so far do not take us to the end of the story and that there was another expedition some years later. Though we must reserve to a later stage a discussion of the events recorded in the *praśasti* but having no bearing on Pāṇḍyan affairs, it may still be useful to give here an analysis of the entire *praśasti*. It opens in the usual manner by recording the benevolent effects of the king's coronation; it then records the gilding of parts of the Cidambaram temple, the construction of Tribhu-

vanīśvaram, the gilding of Rājarājīśvaram and the institution of festivals in these temples; next follows a brief narration of a northern campaign culminating in the recapture of Kāñcī;[68] what follows, on the subjugation of Vaḍugu and the annexation of Vēngimaṇḍalam, the shower of gold (in the form of gifts) and the entry into Uṟangai, is evidently a record of further details of the same campaign not found in other inscriptions. Then begins the story of the Pāṇḍyan war, narrated in almost the same words as those of the Śrīrangam inscription cited above.[69] Kulōttunga is then stated to have conquered Īḻam (Ceylon), waged a fierce war against Kongu, entered Karuvūr and worn the 'great crown of victory' (*vijayamāmuḍi*), assuming the title Śōḻa Kēraḷa. Then he set out to wear the 'crown of heroism' (*vīra-muḍi*), fought against the warlike army of Malaya,[70] besieged Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḷikkōṭṭai, defaced some of the Pāṇḍyan troops by cutting off their noses and took captive the *maṟap-paḍai* and *ēḻagap-paḍai;* he then surrounded Madura with his troops, drove the Pāṇḍya, his younger brothers and his mother into the forests, demolished the coronation *maṇḍapa* of the Pāṇḍyas, and after ploughing its site with asses, sowed *kavaḍi* on it, and then wore the 'crown of heroism' after taking the title of Cōḻa-Pāṇḍyan. He then put on the anklet of heroes, assumed the title Tribhuvanavīra and went on a triumphal march round the city with the banner of heroism raised aloft; at the end of it, he worshipped the God of Madura,[71] and presented many fine jewels to the deity. He then proclaimed that the name of Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam was thenceforth to be Cōḻa-Pāṇḍiyan-maṇḍalam, and that of Madura was to be Muḍit-talai-koṇḍa-śōḻa-puram; he then inscribed the name 'Lord of the Cēra and Pāṇḍya' (Cēra-pāṇḍiyan-tambirān) on the *maṇḍapa* in which he had been camping, changed the name of the Pāṇḍiyan and conferred the title Pāṇḍya on the bard (*pāṇan*) who celebrated the prowess of his arms that took Madura to the discomfiture of the Tennavan (Pāṇḍya). He then opened a broad street in his own name for the procession of the God of Madura, instituted a new festival and stayed to worship the deity during the procession (in the new street). He then covered the Madura temple with gold so that it resembled a golden mountain, and distributed the tribute of gold and

iṟaiyili (lands) levied from the country of the Cēra (and) Pāṇḍya among the temples of Cidambaram, Tiruvārūr and Tribhuvanam. He also planted pillars of victory carrying the praise of his arms in every direction.[72] He finally restored the kingdom to the Pāṇḍya together with his regalia and assured him of his friendship.

Three Campaigns.

From these records, the Pāṇḍyan wars of Kulōttunga are seen to comprise three separate campaigns. The first of them began at the request of Vikrama Pāṇḍya and led to the deposition of Vīra Pāṇḍya and the appointment of Vikrama to the throne of Madura. It is to be noted that the inscriptions are silent on some important points. How did Vīra Pāṇḍya incur the displeasure of Kulōttunga ? This question has been examined above, and an answer has been suggested which must be held to be only tentative, till it is confirmed by direct evidence. Again, what happened to Kulaśēkhara after his expulsion from Madura ? How was Vikrama Pāṇḍya related to him? What were the circumstances under which Vikrama Pāṇḍya persuaded Kulōttunga to undertake an expedition for aiding him against Vīra ? In the absence of direct testimony, we can only assume what seems most probable, viz., that Kulaśēkhara was dead by the time this war began, that Vikrama Pāṇḍya was some near relative of his, if not his son, who inherited his rights to the Pāṇḍyan throne, and that he used very well the opportunities offered to him by the intrigues of Vīra Pāṇḍya with the natural enemies of the Cōḷa ruler. Though this campaign is not described in detail till after the commencement of the ninth regnal year (June A.D. 1186), it is possible that it was actually fought before A.D. 1182, the time when the title *Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiyan-muḍittalaiyum koṇḍaruḷiya* began to appear regularly in the inscriptions. If that was so, the campaign was fought in the last years of Parākramābāhu I of Ceylon, and the 'Śiṅgaḷa soldiers' who fought and suffered with Vīra Pāṇḍya must have been troops furnished by that king. The divergent accounts of the fate of Vīra Pāṇḍya's son or sons render it difficult to decide what actually happened to them.

When the Cōḷa forces had gone back after installing Vikrama Pāṇḍya on the throne of Madura, Vīra Pāṇḍya made

another effort to retrieve his fortune, and this led to the second campaign in which Vīra Pāṇḍya's attempt was crushed on the battle-field of Neṭṭūr. This battle must have taken place before A.D. 1189 when it is briefly mentioned, though not by the name, for the first time. Later inscriptions embellish the account by the addition of fresh details. The main feature of this part of the struggle was the co-operation of the ruler of Kēraḷa with Vīra Pāṇḍya. After the defeat at Neṭṭūr, Vīra Pāṇḍya apparently sought refuge in Quilon (Kollam) with the Kēraḷa ruler of Vēṇāḍ; but the latter had no desire to harbour his dangerous guest for long, and they both made up their minds to surrender themselves to Kulōttunga and thus put a stop to further fighting. Vīra Pāṇḍya seems on the whole to have been treated better than he had a right to expect; he had to eat the humble pie in the open durbar of Kulōttunga and naturally lost his kingdom and the insignia of royalty including the harem; but his life was spared and possibly he got some land and other forms of wealth suited to his new situation.[73] Who the chief of the Kaikayas was who named his son after Kulōttunga, who the Pāṇḍya Vīra Kēraḷa and who 'the chief of the family of the Sun', we seem to have no means of determining. Again, though the Tirumāṇikuḷi inscription states that Kulōttunga placed his foot on the crown of the king of Ceylon, this can hardly be accepted as true. Of the date of the second campaign, we can only say that it must have taken place before A.D. 1189; whether it came to an end in the life-time of Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon who lived to 1187, or dragged on to the reign of Niśśankamalla, separated from that of Parākramabāhu I only by the short reign of Mahinda VI, is therefore uncertain; it may be noted, however, that Īḻam first figures in the tenth year (A.D. 1188)[74] among the countries taken by Kulōttunga and that, in his numerous inscriptions, Niśśankamalla claims to have led three successful expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country and to have renovated a temple at Rāmēśvaram.[75] The last claim is borne out by a Sinhalese inscription in Rāmēśvaram engraved on a stone which, according to the inscription itself, was the seat (*āsana*) on which Niśśankamalla used to sit witnessing theatrical performances and listening to music. The inscription also records that the king spent vast treasures

in renovating the temple which came thereafter to be called Niśśankamallēśvara. The Pāṇḍyan expeditions of the Ceylon ruler were not by any means so brilliant as these inscriptions make out, and this may be the reason for the silence of the chronicle on the subject. [76]

The third campaign of Kulōttunga in the Pāṇḍya country is described, as we have seen, in the Pudukkottah records dated in the thirty-fourth year of the reign. This inscription states definitely that after celebrating a *Vijayābhiṣēka* in Karuvūr, Kulōttunga started on an expedition against the Madura country in order to wear the crown of heroism, that is, to celebrate a *Vīrābhiṣēka*. If account is taken also of the fact that the Vijaya- and Vīrābhiṣēkas seem to be mentioned first only about the twenty-ninth regnal year, we may not be far wrong in assigning some date about A.D. 1205 to this campaign. If this is correct, the expedition must have been directed against Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara who came to the throne in A.D. 1190, and was the first great ruler of the period of Pāṇḍyan revival that followed the close of the Civil War in which Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III had espoused the cause of one or the other of the rival claimants to the throne. It seems probable that Kulaśēkhara was the son and successor of Vikrama Pāṇḍya who had been supported by Kulōttunga. His inscriptions are found in the Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly districts.[77] They contain elaborate *praśastis*, one of which sets up the proud claim that before the Pāṇḍyan fish, the fierce tiger of the Cōḷa and the bow of the Cēra hid themselves (in fear). This claim and the desire of Kulōttunga for a Vīrābhiṣēka after his Vijayābhiṣēka at Karuvūr are the only indications that remain of the probable causes of the war between Kulaśēkhara and Kulōttunga III; the inscriptions of the former ruler do not mention the war or any of its incidents. We may not accept literally everything mentioned in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga; but there is no doubt that Kulaśēkhara paid a heavy penalty for his contumacy. As the war ends with the restoration of Kulaśēkhara, the success of Kulōttunga was certainly not so absolute, and the statement that the Pāṇḍyan ruler and his relatives[78] sought refuge in the forests is mere rhetoric. The sieges of Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḷikkōṭṭai—places not yet identified—the defeat of the

army of the Maṟavas and the specific act of vandalism, the demolition of the coronation-hall of the Pāṇḍyas, may well be accepted as facts. This harshness on the part of Kulōttunga proves his consciousness of the increasing weakness of his own position in contrast to the growing strength of the Pāṇḍyas. It also accounts for the retaliation that followed some years later when Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, who must have suffered along with his brother on the occasion of Kulōttunga's invasion, assumed the rôle of aggressor and carried fire and sword into the Cōḷa country, and performed a Vīrābhiṣēka in the coronation hall of the Cōḷas at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa-puram.[79]

Wars in the North.

The wars waged in the north by Kulōttunga are mentioned for the first time in the Śrīrangam inscription of the nineteenth year in the following terms:

> '(He) despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the Kings of the North, entered Kacci when (his) anger abated, and levied tribute from all the kings there.'

The Pudukkottah inscriptions, dated more than ten years later, add the following:

> 'having subdued the Vaḍugu (Telugus) who were fierce in war and (thus) brought Vēngai-maṇḍalam under his sway, he was pleased to shower gold and enter the golden city of Uṟangai.'

Political conditions.

The incidents thus recorded in Kulōttunga's inscriptions cannot be understood without a brief résumé of the political changes that were taking place outside the Cōḷa Kingdom. Towards the close of the life of Rājarāja II, the Velanāṇḍu kings felt themselves equal to the task of asserting and maintaining their independence against their Cāḷukya-Cōḷa suzerains. This was the period when the Kākatīyas were coming up in the north, while in the west the Cāḷukyas, having suffered a defeat from Kākatīya Prōla, were thrown into the shade by the usurpation of Bijjala. The consequent weakness of the W. Cāḷukya kingdom gave the occasion for the Hoysalas to rise to the rank of an independent power; at the

same time the Telugu-Cōḍas and the Velanāṇḍu rulers, who had till then been either subordinate to the Cāḷukyas or had lived in fear of them and therefore in subordinate alliance with the Cōḷas, breathed more freely and soon began to entertain plans of aggrandisement. It is remarkable that few inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II have been found in Nellore or the Circars. And it appears that perhaps Gonka II at the close of his reign, and certainly his son Rājēndracōḍa, assumed the titles and insignia of independent status.[80] In fact with the close of Rājarāja's reign we have come to that interval in the history of the Telugu country in which the Cōḷa power was withdrawn, and the Kākatīya power had not yet taken its place—a period of about a generation in which many minor dynasties like the Kōṭas, Cāgis, Kōnas and others divide the country and owe no allegiance to a common power. About the same time the Telugu-Cōḍas rise into prominence farther south in the districts of Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput, and it is to them that the Cōḷas lost Kāñcīpuram and from them that Kulōttunga III recovered the city.

Telugu-Cōḍas.

The history of the Telugu-Cōḍas of this period presents some difficult problems of chronology and genealogy, and though there is no lack of evidence, epigraphical and literary, attesting their power and importance, all attempts to evolve a consistent history of the dynasties that comprise this group of kings have met only with limited success.[81] All these rulers called themselves Cōḍas and their sway extended over a considerable portion of the Telugu country; all of them claimed to be descended from Karikāla and to come of the solar race and *Kaśyapa gōtra*. The presence of members of these dynasties as feudatories of Kulōttunga I and his successors in different parts of the Telugu country is attested by the inscriptions of each reign. We have now to trace in some detail the relations between the Nellore branch of the Telugu-Cōḍas and Kulōttunga III in order to explain the necessity for Kulōttunga's recovery of Kāñcīpuram.

The genealogy of the family starts with two shadowy figures. The first of them was Madhurāntaka Pottappi Cōḷa,

so called because he is said to have conquered Madura and founded Pottapi, which has been identified with a village of the same name in the Pullampet taluq of the Cuddapah district.[82] The other king was Telugu Vidya (Viccaya of the Tamil Cōḷa inscriptions), who erected a pillar of victory with a Garuḍa on its top at a place called Ujjapuri (Ujjini, Kudligi tq., Bellary Dt.). The historical part begins with Bēta, the feudatory of Vikramacōḷa.[83] Bēta's son was Eṟasiddhi who had in his turn three sons—Nallasiddha *alias* Manmasiddha,[84] Bēta and Tammusiddha. Some inscriptions[85] of Tammusiddha state that the younger Bēta had no mind to rule and that, on the death of Manmasiddha, he gave up his rights in favour of his younger brother Tammusiddha who crowned himself at Nellore in Ś. 1127 or a little before that date;[86] on the other hand, another inscription from Kāvali, dated Ś. 1129,[87] omits all mention of the younger Bēta, and states that while Nallasiddha[88] was the crowned king (*abhiṣikta*), his younger brother, Tammusiddha, was ruling the kingdom by his grace—*tat kaṭākṣādēva rājyam karōti*. It is therefore difficult to say whether Tammusiddha ruled only after Manma's death, or conjointly with him. A review of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga III which mention the kings of this line will show that the Kāvali inscription seems to be nearer the truth; it will also bring out clearly the relations in which these kings stood to Kulōttunga in the different stages of his reign.[89]

Their relations to Kulōttunga III.

In the ninth year of Kulōttunga III, A.D. 1187, Nallasiddharasa, the ruler of Nellore acknowledges the suzerainty of Kulōttunga III.[90] Three years later, A.D. 1190, a Siddhi, called also Madhurāntaka Pottappiċ-cōḷa, makes a gift to the temple at Nellore, citing the twelfth regnal year of his Cōḷa overlord, Kulōttunga.[91] Then we have a number of gifts, registered in the name of Nūngama, the queen of Nallasiddha, to the temples at Tiruppālaivanam (Chingleput), Kāḷahasti (Chittoor), and Nandalūr (Cuddapah); these records are dated in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twenty-fourth regnal years of Kulōttunga III.[92] It may be noted in passing that a record of Kulōttunga himself, dated in his nineteenth year, is found in the town of Nellore.[93] In another inscription from Nan-

dalūr,[94] Nallasiddha, the son of Madhurāntaka Pottappic-cōḷa Eṟamasiddha, acknowledges the overlordship of Kulōttunga in his twenty-sixth year, A.D. 1204. The latest record in which Nallasiddha recognises Kulōttunga's suzerainty is dated nine years later, A.D. 1213.[95] But in the interval between 1204 and 1213, we have two records of his brother Tammusiddha[96] from the Nellore and Chingleput districts, one of his son Bētarasa[97] at Kāñcīpuram; another from Nandalūr of probably the same prince or another, who is here called Tirukkāḷattidēva, the Tikkaṉṟpa of literature, and who makes an endowment for the benefit of his father Manumasittarasan and of (*alias* ?) Nallisiddha;[98] and in all these inscriptions, the princes concerned take good care to define in an unmistakable manner their vassal position in relation to Kulōttunga. And this relation is continued almost up to the end of Kulōttunga's reign by another record of the Tirukkāḷattidēva mentioned above[99] dated in the 36th year of Kulōttunga, and yet another[100] from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, dated two years later and mentioning an agent of Śittaraśan in that place.

Kulōttunga's work in the North.

This survey of the relations between the Telugu-Cōḍas and Kulōttunga throughout his reign shows clearly that the Telugu-Cōḍas did not once find themselves strong enough to defy Kulōttunga for any length of time. And the statement in the Śrīrangam epigraph that 'Kulōttunga entered Kāñcī with his anger abated' shows that the campaign was of the nature of a punitive expedition directed against vassals who had raised the standard of revolt. The Cōḷa supremacy was certainly still maintained in its full vigour up to Cuddapah and Nellore at the time of Kulōttunga's accession.[101] And, except for the short interlude now engaging our attention, Kulōttunga's inscriptions do not give a contrary impression. There were many indications, to which we have drawn attention in the course of the narrative, that the feudatories of the empire were increasing in their strength and that the moment the central government passed into incompetent hands, the empire would go to pieces. But Kulōttunga III was by no means a weak ruler and on the whole he succeeded, in the midst of many troubles, in maintaining the integrity of his inheritance. The temporary loss of Kāñcīpuram in this reign and the need that

arose for recovering it after a fight were the first clear indications of what was coming in the future.

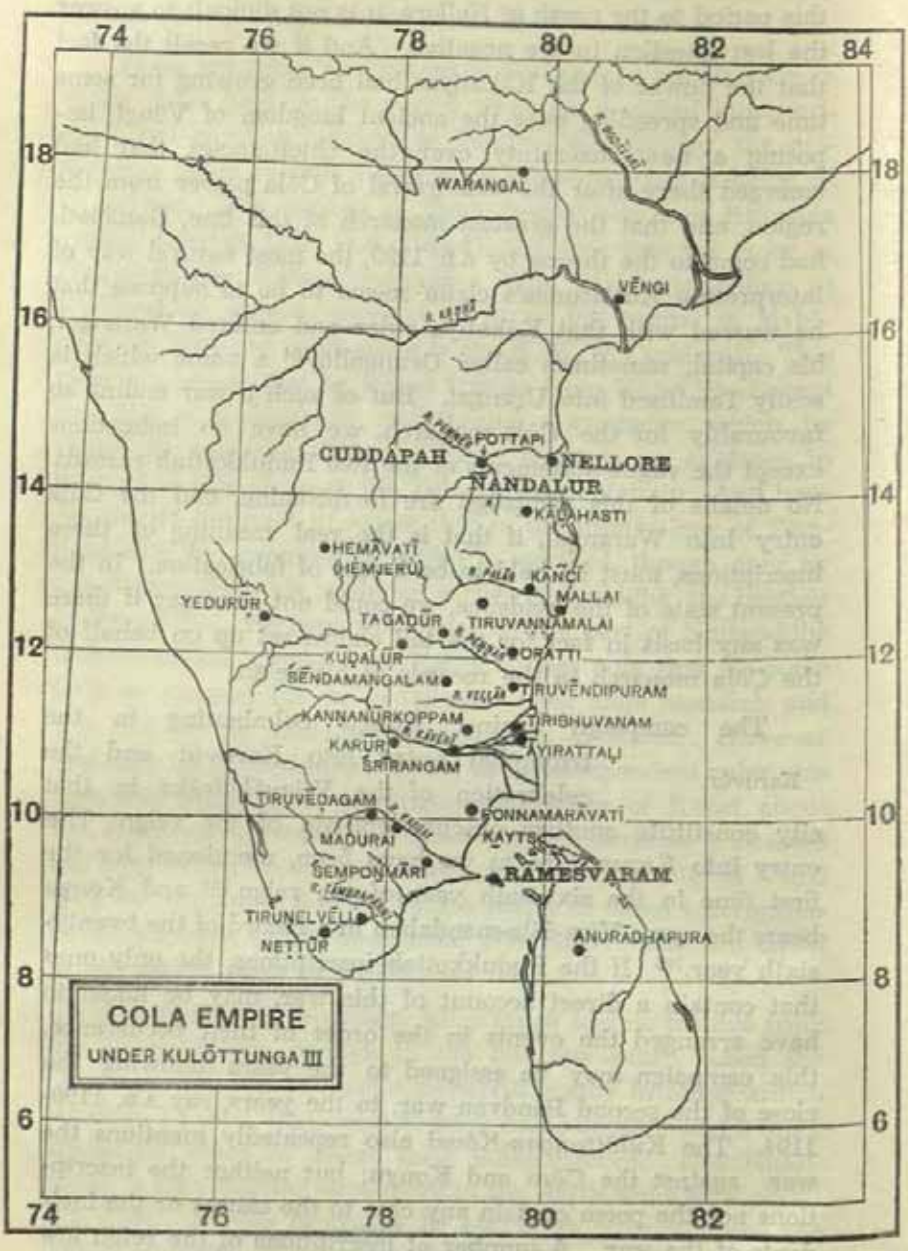
There are some inscriptions of Nallasiddha which seem to throw some light on the period when he declared independence, but as often happens in Telugu-Cōḍa history, the evidence of these records raises more questions than it helps us to answer. The earliest of these inscriptions is a Kannaḍa record dated Ś. 1114 (A.D. 1192-3) and describes the ruler as Bhujabalavīra Nallasiddhanadēva Cōḷa Mahārāja ruling at Vallūrapura, already familiar to us as the capital of Mahārājapāḍi 7000 and eight miles to the N. W. of Cuddapah. This chieftain boasts that he levied tribute from Kāñcī.[102] Except the fact of Kulōttunga undertaking a campaign which he closed by entering Kāñcī in force, there is no evidence in support of this claim of the Telugu-Cōḍa chieftain. And here we should not omit to notice that in the inscriptions of Tammusiddhi, the conquest of Kāñcī is ascribed, though only by a metaphor,[103] to his uncle, an earlier Nallasiddha, the brother of Eṟasiddha. Perhaps this claim on the part of Nallasiddha to have levied tribute from Kāñcī implies only that for some time he stopped the usual tribute to the Cōḷa monarch and was still left in undisturbed possession of Kāñcī. However that may be, Nallasiddha's career as an independent ruler was soon cut short by Kulōttunga's occupation of Kāñcī about A.D. 1196, and the success of Kulōttunga's enterprise is attested not only by his inscriptions which state that he entered Kāñcī with his anger abated, but by the series of dated inscriptions of Nallasiddha which have been cited above and are dated in the regnal years of Kulōttunga III.

For the rest of his reign, Kulōttunga had no trouble from the Telugu-Cōḍas, though in the last few years, when the Cōḷa monarch had to meet a powerful enemy in Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, they seem to have made another and a more successful effort to assert their independence. But Kulōttunga is seen fighting once more in the north some time about A.D. 1208. In this campaign he claims to have subdued the fierce Vaḍugas (Telugus), established his supremacy over Vēngī and entered Uṟangai. Who were the fierce Vaḍugas and where was Uṟangai ? Is there any reason to suppose that Vēngī was regained for the Cōḷa empire by Kulōttunga even

for a short while? In the absence of a single Cōḷa record of this period to the north of Nellore, it is not difficult to answer the last question in the negative. And if we recall the fact that the power of the Kākatīyas had been growing for some time and spreading over the ancient kingdom of Vēngī, imposing a new suzerainty over the chieftaincies that had emerged there after the withdrawal of Cōḷa power from the region, and that the greatest monarch of this line, Gaṇapati, had come to the throne by A.D. 1199, the most natural way of interpreting Kulōttunga's claim seems to be to suppose that he warred with that Kākatīya ruler and entered Warangal, his capital, sometimes called Orungallu,[104] a name which is easily Tamilised into Uṟangai. But of such a war ending so favourably for the Cōḷa monarch, we have no indications except the vague statements of the two Pudukkottah records. No details of this campaign are forthcoming, and the Cōḷa entry into Warangal, if that is the real meaning of these inscriptions, must be held to be a case of fabrication. In the present state of the evidence, we could not even say if there was any basis in fact for the tall claims set up on behalf of the Cōḷa monarch in the records of his reign.

Karuvūr.

The campaign against Kongu culminating in the triumphal entry into Karuvūr and the celebration of the *Vijayābhiṣēka* in that city constitute another obscure episode of the reign. The entry into Karuvūr is, as we have been, mentioned for the first time in the sixteenth year of the reign,[105] and Kongu bears the name Vīra-śōḷa-maṇḍalam in a record of the twenty-sixth year.[106] If the Pudukkottah inscriptions, the only ones that contain a direct account of this war, may be taken to have arranged the events in the order of their occurrence, this campaign may be assigned to the years following the close of the second Pāṇḍyan war, to the years, say A.D. 1190-1194. The *Kulōttungan-Kōvai* also repeatedly mentions the war against the Cēra and Kongu; but neither the inscriptions nor the poem contain any clue to the causes or the incidents of the war. A number of inscriptions of the reign are also found in Karuvūr. Others are found elsewhere in the Kongu country, including Tagaḍūr, and in parts of Mysore, and clearly point to a recovery of Cōḷa dominion in this quar-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(HEMJERU)
KĀNCĪ
MALLAI
YEDURUR
TAGADŪR
TIRUVANNAMALAI
KŪDALUR
ORATTI
SĒNDAMANGALAM
TIRUVĒNDIPURAM
KANNANŪRKOPPAM
TIRIGHUVANAM
KARŪR
ŚRĪRANGAM
VIRATTALI
TIRUVĒDAGAM
PONNAMARĀVATĪ
MADURAI
KAYTS
SEMPONMĀRI
RAMESVARAM
TIRUNELVĒLI
NETTŪR
ANURĀDHAPURA
COLA EMPIRE
UNDER KULŌTTUNGA III

ter, and a partial reversal of Hoysala expansion that began at the end of the reign of Kulōttunga I. We shall see that the Adigaimāns once more acknowledged the Cōḷa suzerainty in this reign, and the inscriptions of the Adigaimān who styles himself Viḍukādaḷagiya Perumāḷ suggest that he might have had a share in the restoration of Cōḷa dominion in this quarter.[107]

Pāṇḍyan Invasion.

Towards the end of Kulōttunga's reign, the Pāṇḍyan throne passed to Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (1216), possibly after the demise of his brother Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, and the new ruler lost no time in starting a war against the old Cōḷa monarch who had, more than ten years before, deeply humiliated him and his elder brother in their own capital and perhaps also demolished their coronation-hall in Madura. For the successes of Sundara Pāṇḍya against Kulōttunga III, we have to depend solely on the inscriptions of the former. The Cōḷa inscriptions of the period observe a total silence which will cause no surprise when it is recollected how the inscriptions of the reign of Sōmēśvara I, W. Cāḷukya, omit all reference to the battle of Koppam. But the records of Sundara Pāṇḍya are quite specific and full. And their account of the misfortunes of the Cōḷas is by no means less trustworthy than the record of Pāṇḍyan defeats in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga himself.

In an inscription of the third year[108] (A.D. 1218-19) of Sundara Pāṇḍya, he is described by the title: *Śōṇāḍu valangiyaruḷiya*, 'who was pleased to give (back) the Cōḷa country.' Another inscription of his fifteenth year[109] states specifically that he gave a crown and Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷa-puram to Kulōttunga-Cōḷa. Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscriptions are actually found in the Cōḷa country, though none of them seems to fall within Kulōttunga's reign.[110] But the two inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya just cited leave no room for doubt that the last years of Kulōttunga turned out disastrously for him and that in his old age, he had to taste the bitter fruit of the Pāṇḍyan policy of his earlier years. We must now let the *praśasti* of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I describe the course of events:

'In order that the authority of the tiger (seal) might recede to the land of Ponni (Cōḷa country) and that of

the carp might gain the upper hand in the land of Kanni (Pāṇḍya country), (he) spread (over the land) horses and elephants, fierce (in war), and consigned to the red flames (of fire) (the cities of) Tañjai and Uṟandai; destroyed the excellence of the crystal water in the wells and rivers, so that the *kāvi* and *nīlam* (flowers) lost their beauty; razed (to the ground) many pavilions, high ramparts, great enclosures, towers, theatres, palaces, mansions and *maṇḍapas;* drew tears in streams from the eyes of the women belonging to the kings who did not come to make their submission; ploughed (the enemy country) with asses and sowed *kavaḍi* (coarse millet); fought the Śembiyan (Cōḷa) till his anger abated, and drove him into the wilderness; seized (his) crown of fine gold, and was pleased to give it to the Bāṇa;[111] spread his fame by performing a *vīrābhiṣēka* in the coronation hall of the Cōḷa Vaḷava at Āyirattaḷi, which was too good for verse and had a golden enclosure which touched the sky (traversed by) the Sun; mounted the strong rutting elephant which returned each day after plucking the fearful heads of enemy kings; accompanied only by his fair arms and (his) sharp disc which abolished common (ownership) of the whole earth surrounded by the water (ocean), he entered the sacred precincts of the divine Puliyūr, where dwelt the Brahmins whose knowledge of the excellent Veda was free from doubts, and (there) rejoiced in his heart at the sight of the sacred form of the (god) who, with the goddess on his side, so danced that the golden hall increased in lustre, and made obeisance to the flower-like red feet, unattained alike by Brahmā (seated) on the beautiful flower and Viṣṇu (wearing) the cool basil; and seated in the shining crystal *maṇḍapa,* resembling the high Mēru, the support of the world, brought and fixed in Pon-Amarāvati surrounded by lotus ponds, in which the humming of bees roused from their sleep swans with curved wings, he invited (the Cōḷa) saying (that he would) restore (to him) the Cōḷa land rich in gardens and fields, and the garland and crown he had lost; the Vaḷava, who had got beyond the Vālagiri after he had lost (his) high estate, now entered with his relatives, presented his son (to the Pāṇḍya) saying:

'Your name', and prostrated himself, a suppliant beneath the victorious throne; (then the Pāṇḍya) made a gift (to the Cōḷa) with water which cooled the heat caused by his earlier loss, and sent him back after restoring to him what he had once lost, viz., the title of *Cōḷapati* and the old city, together with a (royal) letter (*tirumugam*) marked by the beautiful carp which shone by being worshipped by the kings of the sea-girt earth and (setting forth that it was) the agreement witnessing for all time the restoration of the wide land at an auspicious hour (?)'.

The main incidents of the campaign were thus an invasion by Sundara Pāṇḍya of the Cōḷa country reaching as far north as Cidambaram and marked by considerable damage to life and property along the route of the march; the inability of Kulōttunga to resist the advance of the Pāṇḍya ruler and his seeking refuge in flight; finally, the restoration, possibly after some negotiations, of the kingdom and crown to Kulōttunga on condition that he acknowledged Sundara Pāṇḍya as suzerain. The tables were thus completely turned; in almost every detail, Sundara Pāṇḍya followed the example set by Kulōttunga during his third campaign against the Pāṇḍya country. At one stroke the Pāṇḍya king not only destroyed the overlordship of the Cōḷa and declared his own independence, but actually compelled his quondam superior to do homage to him in turn. This was in 1216-17. We shall see later that the attempt of the Cōḷa ruler to regain his independence led to another Pāṇḍyan invasion with more disastrous results.

Results of the Invasion.

Now why did the Pāṇḍya, if he was so successful against Cōḷa as his inscriptions assert, not annex the Cōḷa country to his kingdom? One would expect that after all that they had suffered from the Cōḷas since the days of Rājarāja I, if not earlier, the Pāṇḍyas, when they got the chance, would put a final end to the power of their ancient rivals. But that is not the way of Indian monarchy. In its code, respect for an ancient and established line of royalty was a more abiding sentiment than irritation due to transient political occurrences. Never to disestablish an old line of kings is the rule of honour and

principle of policy laid down in the *śāstras*. However drastic their treatment of individual Pāṇḍyan kings might have been, the Cōḷas did not venture to displace the Pāṇḍyan line altogether. Sundara Pāṇḍya could not act differently towards the Cōḷas now. And this no doubt is part of the answer to our question. But there was more. The subsequent course of history shows that the Pāṇḍya did not reap the full benefit of his victory on this occasion and that the Cōḷa kingdom suffered less damage than it might have done.

Hoysala intervention.

There was a third power at this time in South India which seems to have interfered to redress the balance in favour of the Cōḷas. This was the power of the Hoysalas which had been growing steadily for a century since the time when Viṣṇuvardhana started the policy of expansion and put an end to Cōḷa power over a great part of the Mysore country. By the time of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's invasion of the Cōḷa country, the reign of Ballāḷa II was drawing to a close. Among his queens is mentioned a princess, Cōḷa-mahādēvi, probably of Tamil Cōḷa origin, and it is likely that the Cōḷa ruler turned to Ballāḷa for help in his trouble. At any rate, there is a Hoysala inscription which clearly implies that when Ballāḷa was still living, his son Vīra Narasimha marched against Śrīrangam in the South.[112] The date of this inscription presents some difficulties; but it corresponds in all probability to 12 September, A.D. 1217.[113] Another inscription describes Ballāḷa himself as the establisher of the Cōḷa kingdom and the lion to the Pāṇḍya-elephant (*Cōḷa-rājyapratiṣṭhācāryam, Pāṇḍya gaja-kēsari*), calls his son Narasimha *Cōḷakulaikarakṣa Magadhorvīpāla-nirmūlaka* (the sole protector of the Cōḷa line, uprooter of the Magadha King, i.e. the Bāṇa ruler of Magadaimaṇḍalam), and implies that Ballāḷa II must have assumed his titles before the beginning of A.D. 1218.[114] An inscription from Gōvindanahaḷḷi describes with great force the valour of Narasimha in the campaigns he undertook for the restoration of the Cōḷa. A still later grant from Bēlūr (Ś. 1184) states that he rescued the Cōḷa hidden behind the dust, viz., the crowd of his enemies, and earned for himself the titles *Cōḷasthāpana* and *Pāṇḍyakhaṇḍana*.[115] It can be seen from the names of Narasimha's enemies that this campaign is different from the one

recorded in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rājarāja III's reign, and is perhaps the earlier one with which we are here concerned. And though the Kannaḍa *campū*, the *Jagannātha-vijaya* identifies the Cōḷa king protected by Ballāḷa II with Rājarāja (*rājarāja-pratiṣṭhānirattam*),[116] this does not necessarily mean that Kulōttunga III was no more at the time; for the Pāṇḍyan invasion and the Cōḷa restoration alike fall within the short period of the joint-rule of Kulōttunga and Rājarāja (1216-18); Rājarāja who had a long reign before him was the real beneficiary of the Hoysala intervention, and this must be the reason for his name being chosen by the Kannaḍa poet. On the other hand, Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscriptions mention Kulōttunga III where they specify the name of the Cōḷa monarch, and this is equally intelligible; for there was glory in having defeated a glorious monarch who had fought many wars with success, and no point in mentioning a young prince who had just been made heir-apparent and of whom little was yet known. It is thus clear that the Hoysala intercession on behalf of the Cōḷa must have had something to do with the generosity of Sundara Pāṇḍya towards his vanquished enemy.

Death of Kulōttunga III.

Kulōttunga III must have died soon after the Pāṇḍyan invasion. The latest regnal year found in his inscriptions is the fortieth,[117] A.D. 1217-18. Kulōttunga III was also called Vīra-rājēndradēva, and a whole series of inscriptions containing this title, though not the name Kulōttunga, undoubtedly belong to this reign and are dated in regnal years ranging from the second to the thirty-sixth. As already noted, the king seems to have had also the title Komara or Kumāra Kulōttungan.[118] A new street formed in Tiruppugalūr in the tenth year of the reign was called Rājākkaḷ-tambirān-tiruvīdi,[119] possibly after another surname of the ruling king. One inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[120] is dated in the eleventh year of Tribhuvana-Vīra-Cōḷa-dēva; but considering the fact that the astronomical details preserved by this record were found by Kielhorn[121] not to work out correctly for this reign, it may be doubted if this title was assumed by the king so early in his reign. The earliest genuine record containing this title seems to be dated in the twenty-fourth year;[122] the name

recurs thereafter in several later inscriptions and in the great temple, Tribhuvanēśvara, in Tribhuvanam, in the Tanjore district. The form Tribhuvanacōḷadēva is also known.[123] The town of Karuvūr was renamed Muḍivaḷangu-śōḷapuram;[124] there is also mentioned, in another inscription, a village of the name of Muḍi-vaḷangu-śōḷa-caturvēdimangalam;[125] these facts show that Muḍi-vaḷangu-śōḷa was one of the titles of the king, assumed, doubtless in commemoration of the restitution of the Pāṇḍya crown to the rulers of that country.[126] An inscription of the twenty-third year gives the characteristic titles of Kulōttunga III and calls the ruler Tribhuvanacakravartin Śōḷa-Kēraḷadēva,[127] thus confirming the statement of the Pudukkottah inscriptions that after the conquest of Karuvūr, he assumed that title. Kongu came to be called Śōḷa-Kēraḷa-maṇḍalam. It is doubtful, however, if some inscriptions with no other titles in them than Śōḷa-Kēraḷadēva can be ascribed to Kulōttunga III.[128] Lastly, as can be seen from a record of one of his feudatories, the king seems to have also had the title Karikāla-Cōḷa.[129]

Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram is mentioned in the inscriptions of the reign rather less frequently than one might expect,[130] but there is no doubt that it was the capital of the kingdom. The more ancient cities of Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr still occupied a prominent position and, together with Āyirattaḷi, constituted subsidiary capitals, the capture of which gave Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I the practical mastery of the Cōḷa kingdom. Vikramaśōḷapuram is mentioned early in the reign as another royal residence.[131] A record of the thirty-fifth year casually mentions the king's stay at Madura, perhaps a reference to the third Pāṇḍyan campaign of Kulōttunga.[132]

Buildings.

Kulōttunga III was a great builder and his reign is a noteworthy epoch in the annals of Cōḷa architecture. The public buildings, mostly religious structures, undertaken and completed in the reign are enumerated in the Pudukkottah inscriptions cited earlier and in a Sanskrit inscription[133] engraved round the central shrine of the temple of Kampaharēśvara (called Tribhuvana-vīrēśvara in the inscription) at Tribhuvanam, the most magnificent monument of the reign. Though its general design recalls in many ways that of the Tanjore temple, it

has still several significant features that distinguish it from the earlier model and mark the growing desire to fill the entire wall space with sculpture panels and decorative designs. The temple contains also an excellent series of Rāmāyaṇa reliefs that await detailed study. It was consecrated by the king's spiritual guru, Īśvaraśiva, the son of Śrīkaṇṭha Śambhu and the author of a theological treatise, the *Siddhānta-ratnākara*.[134]

Besides constructing this fine temple, the king claims to have erected the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of Sabhāpati, the *gopura* of goddess Girīndrajā (Śivakāmi) and the verandah round the enclosure (*prākāra harmya*) in the temple at Cidambaram; he also improved the temples of Ēkāmrēśvara at Kāñcīpuram and of Hālāhalāsya at Madura; the great Śiva temples at Tiruviḍaimarudūr and Tiruvārūr besides the Rājarajēśvara temple, perhaps of Dārāśuram, were the recipients of the king's devoted attention. At Tiruvārūr, he built the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* and the big *gōpura* of Valmīkēśvara.

Famine and famine relief.

In the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of the reign, there was apparently a wide-spread scarcity of food-grain resulting in acute famine. The inscriptions record nothing of state action by way of famine relief; but it would not be safe to conclude that the state did nothing in such a situation. It should not be forgotten that the inscriptions are the records of a narrow range of transactions and are by no means the Moral and Material Progress Reports of the times. It is therefore not a little remarkable that an inscription from North Arcot (Tiruvaṇṇāmalai)[135] records that during the famine, when rice was selling at one-fourth of a measure per *kāśu*, two persons started relief works in the form of an embankment for the river and the construction of a fresh tank, and paid the labourers in gold, paddy or any other form that they desired. The idea of organised famine relief was therefore quite well known, and it is only reasonable to presume that when private charity undertook such relief when required, the government would not have omitted to exert itself likewise. On the other hand, it is clear that the relief afforded by such measures did not go far enough, and unfortunate

individuals who were the victims of famine were sometimes forced to seek other remedies. A Tanjore (Tiruppāmburam) inscription[136] of the twenty-third year states, for instance, that owing to bad times and the high price of food-grains, a *veḷḷāla* and his two daughters sold themselves as slaves to the local *maṭha* for 110 *kāśus*, in order to escape death by starvation.[137]

Administration and extent of the empire.

The difficulties that Kulōttunga faced and, for the most part, overcame, did not result in the break-up of the administrative system or in the diminution of the extent of the empire, at least, up to the invasion of Sundara Pāṇḍya and the subversion of Cōḷa authority. The repeated references to officials like Kaḷappāḷarāya, Nuḷambādhirāja and Pāṇḍya-rāja,[138] and the part they take in conducting local enquiries on important affairs that came on appeal to the central government,[139] together with the careful watch they maintain over the constitution and functioning of rural assemblies,[140] form sufficient proof that the system of administration developed in the tenth and eleventh centuries was still functioning with tolerable efficiency at the beginning of the thirteenth. That a partial resurvey of land must have been undertaken in Tanjore becomes clear from some inscriptions of the reign of Rājēndra III from Kōvilūr[141] which mention a survey of the thirty-eighth year of Periyadēvar Tribhuvanavīradēva. The extent of Kulōttunga's sway is attested by the presence of his records at Tinnevelly in the south,[142] at Hēmāvati, Avani and Yedurūr in Mysore,[143] at Taḍāvūr, Tagaḍūr and Karuvūr in the Kongu country, [144] and in the north, at Nellore and Reḍḍipāḷem in the Nellore district and at Nandalūr and Pottappi in the Cuddapah district.[145] It is remarkable that one of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga from Mysore states that Vallāḷadēva was ruling that earth in the twelfth year of Kulōttunga III[146] doubtless a reference to Ballāḷa II, the Hoysala ruler, whose queen was a Cōḷamahādēvi, clearly a Cōḷa princess.[147]

Feudatories.

The relations between Kulōttunga and his Telugu-Cōḍa vassals of the north have been discussed already. We may now proceed to enumerate the feudatories of the emperor in other parts of the dominion, and also notice some Telugu chieftains not mentioned already. A *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalla Malli

Cōḍa of Hēmāvati acknowledges Kulōttunga's supremacy very early in the reign.[148] The Ganga chieftain of Kōlār, Amarābharaṇa Śīyaganga, is represented by inscriptions ranging from the third to the thirty-fourth year of Kulōttunga's reign. He had also the name Sūra Nāyaka, and one of his sons endowed a lamp at Kāḷahasti in the third year (A.D. 1181).[149] This chieftain was the patron of the Tamil grammarian Pavaṇandi, a Jaina writer, whose *Nannūl* has practically displaced all other manuals of Tamil grammar. Other chieftains of Ganga extraction are also known.[150]

Gangas.

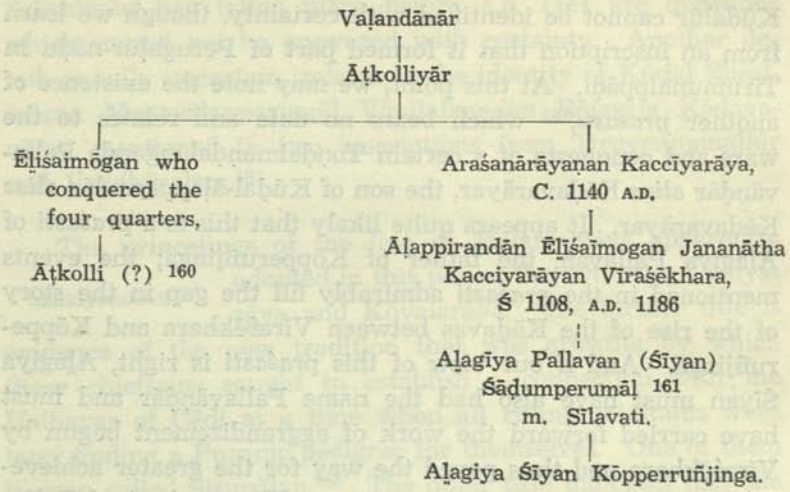
The prominent Bāṇa chieftain of the period was the ruler of Magadai-maṇḍalam represented in several inscriptions of the reign, some of them in good Tamil verse, as the hero of several battles and the builder of many temples. He is often called Ponparappina Magadēśan in commemoration of his having gilded the roof of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[151] One of his ministers (*sandhi-vigrahi*) is said to have constructed a *maṇḍapa* in Kīḷūr. He himself endowed some lamps at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and assigned some dues as revenue to the Kīḷūr temple. One of his *agambaḍi mudalis* also endowed lamps in Araganḍanallūr. He is also called Āragaḷūruḍaiyān and Rājarājadēvan; Āragaḷūr in the Salem district was his headquarters and it would seem that being born in the reign of Rājarājadēva, he was named after the ruling sovereign of the time. One other chieftain, perhaps of the same family, is mentioned as enjoying the *kāṇi* of Kūgaiyūr in South Arcot where he constructed a stone temple, Śrī Kailāsa, with *maṇḍapas, prākāras* and *gōpuras,* and set up an image called Ponparappina-Īśvara.

The Śengēṇis or Śāmbuvarāyas, the Kāḍavarāyas and the Cēdirāyas form three clans of powerful feudatories in the region comprising the two Arcot districts, and portions of Chingleput and Chittoor. There were also the Yādavarāyas. Omitting details regarding these princes let us turn to the Kāḍavas. The rôle of this important line of feudatories in the history of this period has been briefly pointed out already.[152]

The Kāḍavas.

The inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttunga III attest the increasing power of these chieftains who claimed descent from the ancient Pallavas. The central figure among the Kāḍavas of this reign was Kūḍalūr Araśanārāyaṇan Ēḷiśaimōgan *alias* Jananātha Kacciyarāyan.[153] He was, as his name implies, the son of that Araśanārāyaṇan who flourished in the reign of Kulōttunga II, and this fact is expressly mentioned in a record of A.D. 1184.[154] There is an inscription found in two places, Vṛddhācalam and Tiruveṇṇainallūr,[155] which is a *praśasti* in Tamil verse, recounting the deeds of some members of the Kāḍava line. The chief last mentioned in this *praśasti* is called Āḷappiṛandān Vīraśēkharan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan, and is described as the son of Araśanārāyaṇan Kacciyarāyan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan. This fact together with the date of the *praśasti*, Śaka 1108 (A.D. 1186), leads us to identify him with Ēḷiśaimōgan, the son of Araśanārāyaṇa.[156] If this is correct, he must have inherited the title Kacciyarāyan from his father. Inscriptions mentioning Vīraśēkhara and giving him the titles Āḷappiṛandān, Kāḍavarāya, etc., or mentioning his connection with Kūḍalūr occur also, as we shall see, in the later regnal years of Kulōttunga III; this fact also tells in favour of the identity proposed above. The Kāḍava *praśasti* gives the genealogy of the line for four generations. After Vīraśēkhara, however, there is a break. The next name we come to is that of Kūḍal Āḷappiṛandān Aḷagiya Pallavan Kāḍavarāyan who figures in an inscription of the thirty-third year of Kulōttunga III. The inscription says that he confirmed the gifts made by his grandfather,[157] whose name is unfortunately not stated. Another inscription of the thirty-fifth year mentions that the mother of Kōpperuñjinga, the son of Aḷagiya Pallavan, set up an image of the goddess in the temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr.[158] The name of the lady is given as Śīlavatī in other records.[159] If we assume, what is most likely, that Aḷagiya Pallavan and his son were in the main line of the Kāḍavas, and that it is this line that is represented in the *praśasti* mentioned above, then we may assume further that Aḷagiya Pallava was the son of Vīraśēkhara, and that the grandfather whose gifts he confirmed in A.D. 1211 was no other than Araśanārāyaṇa of the time of Kulōttunga II. The genea-

logy of the main line of the Kāḍavas thus reached is as follows:



We see thus that this family worked its way up more or less steadily from the days of Vikramacōḷa, if not from the latter part of the reign of Kulōttunga I. And the Vṛddhācalam *praśasti* is extremely interesting from this point of view. It says that Vaḷandānār fought against the Sinhalese and the Gangas, and this may well be true as his age would fall in the later part of Kulōttunga I's reign when there was much fighting in the Ganga country, though there is no definite evidence of a war against Ceylon or even the Pāṇḍya country at the time. The verses on the next two chiefs, Āṭkolli and the 'conqueror of the four quarters', contain no data of historical value. To Araśanārāyaṇan is attributed an expedition against the enemy stronghold Vādāvi, *muraṇ iraṭṭar temmalai Vādāvi śenṟeṟindāy*, which is by no means easy to explain. His humbler, and certainly less apocryphal, achievements have been noted under Kulōttunga II. There are three verses, mostly of empty rhetoric, on Vīraśēkhara; the only fact mentioned of him is that he started from the western side of Gaṇḍarādittan Vāśal on an expedition against Kūḍal of Karkaṭaka-mārāyan and the land of Adiyamān and that he devastated both the territories named. Evidently these are local conflicts among the feudatories of Kulōttunga III. But the capture of Kūḍal appears to have marked a definite stage in the rise of the Kāḍavas who thereafter style themselves:

'born to rule the land of Kūḍal'—*Kūḍal-avani-yāḷappiṟanda*, Vīraśēkhara himself being the first to do so. Kūḍal or Kūḍalūr cannot be identified with certainty, though we learn from an inscription that it formed part of Perugaḷūr-nāḍu in Tirumunaippāḍi. At this point, we may note the existence of another *praśasti*,[162] which bears no date and relates to the wars and conquests of a certain Toṇḍaimaṇḍalangoṇḍa Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar, the son of Kūḍal-āḷappiṟandār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar. It appears quite likely that this is a *praśasti* of Aḷagiya Pallavan, the father of Kōpperuñjinga; the events mentioned in the *praśasti* admirably fill the gap in the story of the rise of the Kāḍavas between Vīraśēkhara and Kōpperuñjinga. And if our view of this *praśasti* is right, Aḷagiya Śīyan must have also had the name Pallavāṇḍār and must have carried forward the work of aggrandizement begun by Vīraśēkhara and thus paved the way for the greater achievements of his son on a wider stage. The *praśasti* of Pallavāṇḍār states that he gained success in a hard-fought battle at Śēvūr;[163] the enemy against whom he fought is not specified, but the result of the battle seems to have been his mastery over Toṇḍai-nāḍu. This is implied by the titles, 'ruler of the land of the Peṇṇār,' 'ruler of the northern Vēngaḍam hill (Tirupati),' 'the Pallava of Kāñcī,' applied to him later in the same *praśasti*.

We may now consider the other references to the Kāḍavas in the inscriptions of the reign. Vīraśēkhara Kāḍava, also called Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappiṟandān, presented a necklace (*ēkāvalli-vaḍam*) of precious stones to the deity at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the thirteenth year of Kulōttunga (A.D. 1191);[164] twelve years later, he bears the title Adigaimān of Kūḍalūr, evidently assumed after his expedition against Kūḍalūr and Adigaimān mentioned before, and endows a lamp at Tiruveṇṇainallūr.[165] Two inscriptions of the third year (A.D. 1181) from the same place mention Kūḍal Mōhan Āḷappiṟandān and Uḍaiyār Kāḍavarāyar,[166] perhaps names of one and the same person; one of his *agambaḍi mudalis* is said to come from Śēndamangalam, the fortress city which held an important place under the Kāḍavas; there is thus clear indication that Kūḍal and Śendamangalam were already in the possession of the Kāḍavas. Whether Mōhan Āḷappiṟandān or Uḍaiyār

Kāḍavarāya is the same as Vīraśēkhara, and whether, if that be so, we must assume that the expedition against Kūḍal and Adigaimān had taken place before A.D. 1181 are questions which cannot yet be answered with certainty. Another detail, equally uncertain, relates to the identity of Kūḍal Ēḻiśaimōgan Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Vāṇilaikaṇḍān Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan mentioned in two inscriptions from Tiruveṇṇainallūr and Vṛddhāchalam.[167]

Malaiyamāns.

The princelings of the line of Malaiyamāns apparently adopted in this period the two titles Cēdiyarāya and Kōvalarāya. The former title is evidence of the new tradition that was growing by which these chieftains sought to establish a connection with the Haihayas of Cēdi at a time when all ruling chieftains were busy finding a Puranic pedigree for themselves. One of them is even called Śiśupālan.[168] The other title indicates that the power of this group of feudatories centred round Kōval, Tirukkōvalūr on the bank of the Peṇṇār in the district of S. Arcot. Some of the names and titles imply close dynastic connections among the different feudatory rulers: such names, for instance, as Vāṇa-kula-rāyan borne by a Kiḻiyūr Malaiyamān;[169] Vāṇa-kōvaraiya Malaiyamān;[170] and, strangest of all Śōḻa-Ganga-Pallavaraiyan, a surname of the Śiśupālan already noticed.[171] There is also a Pon-parappinān among the Malaiyamāns of Kiḻiyūr;[172] the origin of the title is not explained. The mention of a Malaiyan Narasimha-varman, also called Karikāla Śōḻa Āḍaiyūr Nāḍāḷvān, in inscriptions from Cengama and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai,[173] shows that the Narasimha title, which first occurs in the name of Narasinga-munaiyadaraiyar, a contemporary of Sundaramūrti, and again in that of a contemporary of Rājēndradēva II,[174] still survived in the family of Malaiyamāns in the days of Kulōttunga III.

Adigaimāns.

The ancient line of Adigaimāns of Tagaḍūr rise into prominence again in this reign as the subordinate allies of the Cōḻa monarch. It seems probable that, as has been observed already, the Cōḻa power regained in this period, with their assistance, part of what had been lost in consequence of the wars of Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana. The mention of Ballāḷa II in an inscription

of Kulōttunga and the name Cōḷa-mahādēvi of Ballāḷa's queen also imply a more friendly relation between the Cōḷas and Hoysalas, perhaps the result either of a successful campaign or diplomatic mediation undertaken for the Cōḷas by the Adigaimāns. Rājarājadēvan *alias* Adiyamān of Tagaḍūr in Ganga-nāḍu made a gift to the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of the entire village of Malaiyanūr on the north bank of the Peṇṇār in Tagaḍūr-nāḍu.[175] His title Rājarājan shows that the friendly relations between the chiefs of Tagaḍūr and the Cōḷas had been resumed in the life-time of Rājarāja II, if it had been at all completely broken off before. Rājarājadēvan's son was the more celebrated Viḍugādaḷagiya-Perumāḷ (*vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjvala*), who describes himself as of the family of Eḷini, famous in Śangam literature, and has left many interesting inscriptions. The Sāmantan Adiyamān who gave a golden zone to the deity of Tirumāṇikuḷi in the nineteenth year of Kulōttunga III[176] might have been either the father or the son. The inscriptions of the son are found in Salem, North Arcot and South Arcot. Only some of them are dated in the reign of Kulōttunga; but as most of them are in verse, the absence of the suzerain's name need not necessarily mean that the chieftain declared his independence.[177] In an inscription dated in the twenty-second year of Kulōttunga, he calls himself lord of the three rivers Pālār, Peṇṇār, and Kāvēri, and states that he built a stone temple at Śiṟukōṭṭai on the banks of the Peṇṇār and called it after his own name.[178] Another inscription from Tirumalai says that he renovated the images of a Yakṣa and Yakṣī near the Jain settlement on the Tirumalai hill originally set up by the Cēra king Eḷini, one of his ancestors.[179] Yet another inscription from Cengama, North Arcot,[180] engraved at his instance, shows how very influential he was in reality among the feudatories of the Cōḷa in this part of the country. It mentions an earlier compact concluded by him, in the twenty-first year, perhaps of Kulōttunga III, with two chiefs, and renews the terms of the alliance. The two chiefs are Karikāla-śōḷa Āḍaiyūr-nāḍāḷvān and Śengēṇi Ammaiyappan Attimallan *alias* Vikrama-śōḷa-nāḍāḷvān. The terms of the compact include the provision that, so long as this mutual alliance holds, the Adigaimān should contract no alliance with certain other chiefs, Śīya-

gangan being one of them. These local compacts of a political and diplomatic character with no reference whatever to the suzerain ruler furnish clear proof of the growing disruption of the Cōḷa kingdom.

Decay of central control.

Attention has been drawn, earlier in this chapter, to the effects, on the central government, of the progressive multiplication of quasi-independent local chieftaincies. The long list of Kulōttunga's feudatories, some given above, and the rest to be gathered from the inscriptions of the reign, shows how rapidly conditions were changing for the worse from the stand-point of the central administration. It was a movement in which cause and effect reacted on each other. The growing weakness of the centre rendered necessary new arrangements of a more or less feudal character for local regulation and defence; these arrangements in their turn stood in the way of the centre regaining its former ascendancy when it attempted to do so. Political compacts among local rulers attest the growth of *imperia in imperio* until the local *imperia* burst the shell of the central *imperium* under whose protection they had at first begun to take shape; and these compacts are now seen to become even more numerous in the reign of Kulōttunga III than under his predecessor. If it is remembered that no Cōḷa inscriptions of this period are forthcoming from the Pāṇḍya country and that, apparently, the authority of the Cōḷa ruler was not felt in the day-to-day administration of this area, it will be seen that the sphere of these compacts among local rulers is co-terminous with the territory under the direct rule of Kulōttunga. It is needless to detail the compacts or their terms here.[181] It should, however, be noted that for every such recorded agreement to which we have access at present, there must have been many others which were unrecorded or of which the records have either perished or are yet to be recovered. By these local alliances, therefore, the regular functioning of the king's government must have been very seriously hampered. It is true that, as we shall see, under Kulōttunga III and even under his unlucky successors Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III, the forms of administrative procedure present the same appearance as in the best days of

the empire under Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I; but the spirit behind these forms could no longer have been the same.

1. Accession dates from 28 Feb.—30 Mar., A.D. 1163, Kielhorn, *EI.* ix, p. 211. But see note C. *ante.*

2. 558 of 1904 (Yr. 2); 43 of 1922 (Yr. 3).

3. 262 of 1902.

4. 172 of 1908 (Yr. 6); 540 of 1904 (Yr. 10).

5. Only two inscriptions of Vikramacōḷa from Śivapuri (Rd.)—47 and 55 of 1929; none of Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II; one of Rājādhirāja II from Tirukkaḷākkuḍi (Rd.)—43 of 1916.

6. *CV.* ch. 76, v. 76—ch. 77. v. 103.

7. 336 of 1928, a record of the Kongu-cōḷa ruler Kulōttunga, furnishes striking epigraphical confirmation of this fact mentioned in the *CV.* It also gives some clue to dynastic and political relations in S. India in this period.

8. *CV.* Ch. 77, v. 85. Geiger (n. 3) doubts the accuracy of this description apparently because he understands Madhurā in v. 83 to mean the city. I think it is the kingdom that is meant. Kīḻenilaya is on the n. border of the old Pāṇḍyan kingdom in the present Ramnad Dt., and the fight which raged over four *gāvutās* might have extended from this village to the sea. We shall see that the Cōḷa inscriptions confirm this view.

9. Cf. Geiger *CV.* ii, p. 100, n. 1.

10. 20 of 1899 *SII.* vi. no. 456, *ARE.* 1899—paras 23-38.

11. 433 of 1924.

12. 465 of 1905.

13. 261 of 1925 is another similar gift of land and contains a fragmentary copy of the same account of the war and is useful in filling some of the gaps.

14. Ūrattuṟai is Kayts on an island to the W. of Jaffna. Mātōṭṭam is Mahātittha, Mantota. Vallikāmam is called Valikagāma in the *CV.* (ch. 83, v. 17) and is about 5 miles S.E. of Mannār. Māṭṭivāḻ is perhaps the same as Mattuvil, 10 miles east of Jaffna. Venkatasubba Aiyar, *EI.* xxi. p. 187, nn.

15. This prince had once (c. 1154) been taken prisoner by Parākramabāhu and forced to march in front of his triumphal procession. *CV.* ch. 72, vv. 291, 299. Ceylon was rent by a protracted civil strife before P. succeeded in uniting the whole of the island under his sway. *CV.* Ch. 70—2.

16. The expression employed is: *Īḻattānuḍan sambandam paṇṇavum,* and this may mean a matrimonial alliance.

17. 'People of Ēḻagam,' perhaps identical with Ēḍagam in the Madura taluq. *SII.* iii, p. 212, n. 1. The phrases *maṟappaḍai* and *Ēḻagappaḍai* may, however, imply two sections of the Pāṇḍyan forces; if that be so, Ēḻagattār here must also be a reference to the troops, which shows that some among them had gone over to the enemy, while the rest remained loyal to the suzerain power.

18. The general was rewarded by the grant of ten *vēlis* of *iṟaiyili* land in Paḷaiyanūr.

19. 36 of 1906; 731 of 1909 etc. Some records, e.g., 474 of 1905, combine the usual *praśasti* and this surname.

20. See *ante*, pp. 359-60.

21. *NI.* N. 108, 105 of 1922; 571 of 1907.

22. 48 of 1893.

23. 129 of 1927.

24. 263 of 1913. See *ARE.* 1927 II, 27. The Cidambaram inscription was understood to refer to a grant made in the reign of Kulōttunga III and the titles Karikāla and Rājādhirāja were both assigned to that ruler in *ARE.* 1914 II, 17. It seems to be really a case of a grant of Rājādhirāja being confirmed by his successor, 263 being the original grant, and 262 the confirmation in the reign of Kulōttunga. Another possibility is that 262 is a record of Kulōttunga II, the Parakēsari title in it being a mistake.

25. 420 of 1908.

26. 259 of 1925.

27. 538 of 1904.

28. 433 of 1924.

29. 619 of 1902; 270 of 1927.

29a. 393 of 1923 (Yr. 4).

30. 7a of 1893.

31. 20 of 1899.

32. 195 of 1904; 202 of 1902; 71 of 1919; 222 of 1904.

33. 65 of 1929.

34. 55 of 1929.

35. 252 of 1919. Other instances at *ARE.* 1934-5 II 16; 1937-8 II 41; 1939-40—1942-3, II. 40.

36. 389 of 1921.

37. *E.I.* viii, p. 260—Kielhorn. See p. 357 *ante* for the Hemāvati Tamil inscription giving a date pointing to 1166-7 as the year of Kulōttunga's accession. There are on the other hand several inscriptions of Rājādhirāja in the Telugu districts (Drākṣārāma in particular) to show that he lived there many years after his rule ended in the Tamil country. In the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription, there is a hint of some trouble at the time of Rājādhirāja II's coronation after the death of Rājarāja II; this may have occurred in 1166, one of the starting points of the chronology of Rājādhirāja's reign, and the year in which Kulōttunga also claims to have begun his reign (Hemāvati record). It may be suggested that Kulōttunga never gave up his rivalry, and brought about the exile of Rājādhirāja to the Telugu country in 1178 when he seized the Cōḷa throne with the aid of his partisans. The relations between Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III obviously need closer study in the light of the records briefly noticed here and of future discoveries.

38. 229 of 1917 of the second year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulōttungacōḷadēva mentions the 'nineteenth year of *Periyadēvar Rājarājadēva*'. This does not necessarily imply a filial relation as it is employed also of Rājādhirāja II in 37 of 1925 (Yr. 28).

39. *Ante*, p. 372.

40. This work is sometimes ascribed to Oṭṭakkūttan by mistake. Pandit R. Raghava Aiyangar has shown that it is later than the *ulās* of that poet, and contemporary with the *Śankara-śōḻan ulā*. *Śen Tamiḻ*, iii, pp. 164—70.

41. The author of the *Kōvai* is more keen on identifying his hero with Viṣṇu and attributing to him the legendary achievements of that god, than on treating him as a human ruler and mentioning the incidents of his career. In this respect, this *Kōvai* compares unfavourably with the *Pāṇḍikkōvai*, which furnishes most of the illustrative stanzas in the commentary to the *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*. Even so, attention may be drawn to the following expressions of the *Kōvai* which, by alluding to victories against Kongu and Pāṇḍya and mentioning specially the King's devotion to Śiva, may be taken to support in some measure the identification of the hero of the *Kōvai* with Kulōttunga III—especially as there is nothing traceable in it against such an identification:

> Kong-ōṭṭum vēngaik-koḍiyōn (v. 82).
> Pattiyāl-urugi nāgā-paraṇanai-yēttum Kulōttungan (88);
> Maḻu-vāḻiyaip-pōyt-tān śūḻtaru-tirut-tāḻān Kulōttungan (103);
> Mīn pōda ven-kaṇḍa (114);
> Kongōḍak-kuttun-gaḷirrān (133);
> Aḍi ninṟa mīnamuñ-Jāpamum-moḻiyaḍavi-pugak-koḍi-ninṟa vēngai-yuyarttōn (170).
> Mīnavar Śērarai venkaṇḍa vīram viḻuk-kaviñarā-navar pāḍum-Kulōttungan (195);
> Tangum-araṇam pirid-onṟilād-andac-*cāvagamum-kongum-iṟaiñjum kumāra-Kulōttungan* (270).

The mention of Śāvakam (Zābag) among the countries acknowledging Kulōttunga's supremacy deserves to be particularly noted.

42. 165 of 1902—*SII.* iii, 85.

43. 457 of 1902; *SII.* iii, 86. The Tirukkollambūdūr inscription (1 of 1899) has the same form, but its exact date is uncertain, as yr. 4 mentioned in ll. 14—15 is obviously not the date of the record. *Contra* Venkayya, *ARE.* 1899.

44. 173 of 1918; 196 of 1901.

45. 215 of 1901.

46. 176 of 1908; 313 of 1902.

47. 190 of 1904.

48. 24b of 1903.

49. *NI.* N. 85.

50. 397 of 1925.

51. 2 of 1905.

52. First mentioned in the twenty-sixth year—120 of 1912. As this record mentions year 37, the earliest reference is in 658 of 1902 (Yr. 29). A solitary record from Kāñcī (517 of 1919) seems to mention these *abhiṣēkas* in yr. 1(3), which may be a mistake for 30, the figures ൩ and ൧ being reversed by a mistake of the engraver.

53. *TAS.* ii, pp. 18 ff. The record is valuable as showing the partial

survival of the Cōḷa administrative system through all the disturbances and rebellions in the south.

54. 547 of 1902, (*SII.* iii, 86); 1 of 1899 is similar.

55. 1 of 1899 has 'sons'. Hultzsch translates: 'the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya was subdued', *SII.* iii, p. 212 (l. 2); but *paḍa* as applied to men implies loss of life.

56. 94 of 1918 (yr. 14) has a more picturesque phrasing which includes also the Maṟava forces: *'Śiṅgaḷappaḍai maṟappaḍai veṭṭuṇḍalai kaḍal pukkaḷari vīḻa.'*

57. 458 of 1902, (*SII.* iii, 87).

58. 254 of 1925; 42 of 1906.

59. This word does not seem to mean 'harem,' but the female part of the palace establishment. 42 of 1906 omits this fact.

60. The text relating to Vīra Kēraḷa, as I read it from the two inscriptions mentioned above, is: *Mīnavanām Vīra-kēraḷan ve(nai)—koṇḍu viral taṟittut-tān aḍimai pugudalāl tarādipar peṟā vāḻvaḷittu pakkamirundunna parikala-pariccinna-nalgi.* The last phrase has apparently the same meaning as the corresponding expression in *SII.* iii, 88 l. 6, viz., *parikalattil-amudaḷittu.*

61. 288 of 1907.

62. 66 of 1892—*SII.* iii, 88.

63. This seems to be the real meaning of: *'Koḍivaḷangu-villavan'* which Hultzsch translates: 'the Villavan (i.e., the Cēra king), who formerly had) distributed crores.' *Vaḷangudal* means *ulāvudal, Tamiḻc-collagarādi.* cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *S. India and her Muhammadan Invaders,* p. 14, n. 3.

64. In this inscription the phrase read as *'ve(nai) koṇḍu'* and corrected into *'venai kaṇḍu'* by Hultzsch occurs after *'viral taṟittu'* and not before it as in the Tirukkaḍaiyūr inscriptions noticed before; the Pudukkotah records to be noticed later follow the Śrīrangam reading. The phrase *'tānaḍimai-pugududalāl'* is omitted in the Śrīrangam and Pudukkottah records.

65. 404 of 1896.

66. 170 of 1902.

67. 163; 166 of *Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions*: (Texts). Both the records are in a bad state of preservation, and the published text is full of gaps and possibly some misreadings.

68. The words employed here are the same as in *SII.* iii, 87, ll. 2—3.

69. *Ibid.,* 88. ll. 3—6.

70. I have to omit some obscure expressions at this point.

71. I must not omit to reproduce the beautiful words of the original here: *'Māmaduraiyai valangoṇḍu Tiruvālavāy uṟaiyum tēn-malarkkoṉṟaivār-śaḍaic-ceḻuñjuḍaraittoḻudiraiñji.'*

72. An inscription of the thirty-fourth year from Tirumalavāḍi (74 of 1895) gives yet another variant of the *puyal vāyttu* introduction which describes the achievements of the armies of Kulōttunga in the different quarters of the world—a description of no value to history.

73. Cf. *paḍi-vaḷangi muḍi vaḷangi* of *SII.* iii, 88, l. 5.

74. *NI. N,* 85.

75. *CV.* ii. 128, n. 6.

76. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, G. II, pp. 105—6. Also *CV.* ii, p. 128, n. 6. The inscription mentioned above is 90 of 1905 wrongly noted as Vaṭṭeluttu and damaged in *ARE.* 1905. S. Paranavitane, *JRAS—Ceylon Branch*—xxxi, pp. 384—387, postulates three invasions of Ceylon by the Cōḷas before A.D. 1200 on the strength of a statement regarding Kitti in the Sinhalese poem *Sasadāvatā* and the old commentary (*sanne*) on it. The details of the invasions are given only in the commentary, and it may be doubted if, without more evidence, we may connect the rather vague statements in the commentary with the equally vague references to Ceylon in Kulōttunga's inscriptions. P. also says: 'It seems there was a state of chronic warfare between the Cōḷas and Sinhalese from the closing years of the reign of Parākramabāhu I to the end of Polonnaruwa period, in which there were invasions and counter-invasions with varying fortune.' I doubt if the evidence of the *CV.* can support this statement; there was strife in Ceylon and one party or other always sought and gained aid, perhaps mercenary, from the continent. Anīkānga, Lokissara, and Māgha himself came to Ceylon with armies recruited on the mainland. Lokissara II (1210-11), however, rewarded 'Loka Arakamenā for valour shown in disposing of the Cōḷas for His Majesty' (*EZ.* iv. p. 88).

77. *PK.*, pp. 142—3.

78. Note that younger brothers are specially mentioned among these; I have pointed out elsewhere, *PK.* pp. 143—4, that Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the successor of Jaṭ Kulaśēkhara, was his younger brother.

79. Among Kulōttunga III's inscriptions from the Pāṇḍya country may be: two from Tirukkaḷākkuḍi (Rd)—39 and 40 of 1916 (Yr. 14), one from Tinnevelly, 28 of 1927 (Yr. 18), one from Caturvēdi-mangalam (Rd)—311 of 1928 (Yr. 21), and one from Tēnūr (Md)—606 of 1926 (Yr. 39).

80. 49 of 1909; 670 of 1920; *ARE.* 1921, II, 64.

81. *IA.* xxxviii, pp. 7—10; *NI.* pp. 1430 ff.

82. *EI.* vii, p. 121, n. 5; *ARE.* 1908 II 79.

83. 583 of 1907.

84. 578 of 1907 says that Nallasiddha was the son of Eṟasiddha; other inscriptions call the eldest son Manmasiddhi. (*EI.* vii, pp. 153 ff). Hence the identity of Manmasiddha and Nallasiddha may be accepted *pace* Venkayya, *IA.* xxxviii, p. 10, n. 56. Cf. Sewell, *HISI.* p. 130, n.

85. 104 of 1892; 35 of 1893; 407, 408 of 1896—all in *EI.* vii ed. Lüders.

86. *EI.* vii, p. 155.

87. *NI.* KV. 39.

88. Venkayya would read Manmasiddha here, *I.A.* xxxviii, p. 10, *n.* 56.

89. Sewell has suggested that Bēta II was Nallasiddha. *HISI*, p. 395. But the number of Nallasiddha's inscriptions and their provenance, together with the claim of levying tribute from Kāñcī (483 of 1906; *NI.* R. 36, G. 1), imply such an active life for Nallasiddha as to falsify completely the statement in the Tammusiddhi inscriptions regarding Bēta's exclusive devotion to religious austerities. On the other

hand, if we identify Manmasiddha with Nallasiddha, the other statement in the Tammusiddhi records, that Manma was dead in A.D. 1205 must be declared to be wrong. And it must be acknowledged that the Kāvali inscription (*KV.* 39) mentions only Nallasiddha (Venkayya would read Manmasiddha here, and if this is correct, it directly contradicts the Tammusiddhi records) and Tammusiddha, and states that though the former was the anointed sovereign, still Tammusiddhi carried on the affairs of state by his grace, and thus supports Sewell's suggestion. But if Bēta was Nallasiddha, and was anointed after Manma's demise, who was the author of the Nallasiddha inscriptions, of which there are several, dating from A.D. 1192, if not earlier, some of which doubtless precede the death of Manma, c. A.D. 1205? There seems to be no means of reconciling all the statements in the Tammusiddhi records with the data furnished by the Nallasiddha records. It must be noted also that *NI.* G. 86, dated A.D. 1214, mentions Bācaladēvi, the queen of Manmasiddha, in a manner that implies that Manma was still alive.

90. *NI.* N. 85. Venkayya says rightly that the inscription is mutilated and the date is lost. *IA.* xxxviii, p. 10, n. 58. But the '*padāvadu*' with which the second line begins, and the dates in the other inscriptions cited above, make it probable that the regnal year is the ninth of Kulōttunga though it might also be the nineteenth or twenty-ninth. However that may be, it is not easy to accept Venkayya's statement: 'As the former (Nallasiddha) appears to have been a contemporary of Kulōttunga III from his 27th to 35th year, it is clear that he must have come after Tammusiddhi,' when there is no mention of Tammusiddhi earlier than Ś. 1127 i.e. roughly the 27th year of Kulōttunga III, while Nallasiddha figures in many earlier inscriptions.

91. *NI.* N. 40. Venkayya thinks that the name of the Nellore king was Manmasiddha (*ibid.* n. 54). This is very likely; for, seeing that Tammusiddha is invariably so styled in Sanskrit, the Siddha of the Sanskrit part of No. 40 may be the elder of the Siddha brothers.

92. 317 of 1929; 198 of 1892; 601 of 1907.

93. 197 of 1894.

94. 578 of 1907.

95. *NI.* A. 18. Another similar inscription (205 of 1894) is dated A.D. 1209 (Yr. 31).

96. 195 of 1894; 120 of 1930.

97. 456 of 1919, cf. *NI.* G. 76 (Yr. 27 of Kulōttunga III) which says that Bētarasa was the son of Nallasiddha.

98. 582 of 1907; *NI.* N. 101.

99. *NI.* R. 8.

100. 201 of 1912.

101. *ARE.* 1905, II, 19; 571 of 1907; 195 of 1892; *NI.* N. 85, etc.

102. 483 of 1906. Venkayya was inclined to distinguish between the Bhujabalavīra Nallasiddhanadēva Cōḷa Mahārāja of this inscription and Nallasiddha, the son of Erasiddha (*IA.* xxxviii, p. 10). The former is represented also by other inscriptions from the Nellore area. *NI.* G. 1 is dated Ś. 1.05, which may be 1105, (A.D. 1183) and contains the expression.....*kappam konna*....KV. 13 also mentioning the levying of tribute from Kāñcī is dated Ś. 1136, and R. 36 with the same

titles as 483 of 1906 is dated three years later A.D. 1217. The Bhujabalavīra records are few and extend over practically the whole of Kulōttunga's reign; I think that Nallasiddha, the son of Eṟasiddha, is himself the author of these records, the titles in which are indicative of his claim to independence. Such pretentious records could not be issued every day and were published whenever, in the estimate of Nallasiddha, Kulōttunga was too preoccupied to notice his action. Some such assumption would explain the facts so far known. But this means, once more, that we set aside the testimony of the Tammusiddhi records on the death of the eldest son of Eṟasiddha. If these assumptions are correct, we may distinguish two periods when Nallasiddha found it possible to act like an independent king: (1) A.D. 1183-1192, when Kulōttunga was engaged in the Pāṇḍyan campaigns, (2) from A.D. 1214 towards the close of Kulōttunga's reign when that monarch was, as we shall see, once more drawn into an encounter with the Pāṇḍyas. It may be noted that in this second period, we get records of a Bhujabalavīra Eṟṟasiddha (*NI.* A. 38, R. 38, G. 59, G. 58) who rules in the early years of Rājarāja III, and like Nallasiddha, sometimes acknowledges the Cōḷa suzerainty and sometimes does not. Was this Eṟṟasiddha the son of Nallasiddha? There is a record in Tiruppukkuḻi (Ch.), 192 of 1916, of the fifteenth year of a Nallasiddharasa of the family of Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi. It is engraved in very faulty language and gives the usual Pallava titles. Its date and relation, if any, to the Telugu-Cōḍa Nallasiddha cannot be determined.

103. *EI.* vii, p. 150—*dik dakṣiṇā galita-Kāñciguṇā babhūva* (l. 17).

104. 163, 169 etc. of 1913.

105. 397 of 1925; 18 of 1925 which is doubtfully dated (1)5 also mentions it.

106. 227 of 1917.

107. *ARE.* 1907 II, 67.

108. 322 of 1928.

109. 9 of 1926. *ARE.* 1926, II, 32; 1928 II, 18. *Contra PK.* pp. 152, *n.* 1.

110. *PK. ibid.*

111. Cf. 481 and 482 of 1908 on a Sundara Pāṇḍya's grant of the Cōḷa country to the Bāṇa-pati. No. 196 of 1938|9 records division of Kāviri-nāḍu by Sundara between the Vaḷava (Cōḷa) and the Māgadar-kōn (Bāṇa); no. 197 the demolition of the Cōḷa palace, excepting the 16-pillared *maṇḍapa* where *Paṭṭinappālai* of Kaṇṇan had been published of old. *ARE.* 1938-9 II 27.

112. *Hoysaṇa Śrī-Vīraballāḷa-dēvana magam Vīra-narasimha-dēvanu téṅkalu-Rangana mēle naḍavandu. EC.* vi, Cm. 56.

113. *JIH.* vi, p. 205. *Contra EI.* vii, p. 162 and n. 10. See p. 420, n. 15 below.

114. *EC.* iv. Nl. 29; *JIH.* vi. p. 201.

115. *EC.* iv, Kr. 63; also Bl. 74. *PK.* p. 150; *JIH.* vi, pp. 203—4.

116. *JIH.* vi, p. 200.

117. 162 of 1926; 273 of 1914 etc.

118. 259 of 1925; *ante,* p. 376.

119. 80 of 1928.

120. 522 of 1902.
121. *EI.* viii, pp. 7—8.
122. 554 of 1904. *Contra* Hultzsch *SII.* iii, p. 205 and n. 5.
123. 316 of 1909 (n.-d.)
124. 61 of 1890 (Yr. 23).
125. 659 of 1902 (Yr. 37).
126. Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I also took the title: Muḍivaḷangum-perumāḷ, *PK.* p. 153.
127. 75 of 1925.
128. *ARE.* 1925, II, 22.
129. 538 of 1902 (Yr. 27).
130. 454 of 1912.
131. 114 of 1919.
132. 339 of 1914.
133. 190 of 1907. *Acārya Puṣpāñjali* (1940), pp. 3-7.
134. *ARE.* 1908 II, 64—5.
135. 560 of 1902: *irupattu-nālāvadu pañjattilē kāśukku uḻakku ariśi viṟkka ponnum tēḍina arttamum nellum aḍaiya iṭṭu tirunadiyaik-kaṭṭi ēri kāṉ-kaiyālum.*
136. 86 of 1911.
137. The price of paddy mentioned in 86 of 1911 is 3 *nāḻis* per *kāśu;* this would mean, in terms of rice (converting at the ratio ⅖ of rice to paddy, the usual rate quoted in inscriptions), 1⅕ measures of rice per *kāśu.* 560 of 1902 of the next year from North Arcot gives the rate ¼ measure per *kāśu.* If the *kāśu* was the same coin in both instances, the famine must have prevailed over a somewhat wide area, and become very much more acute in the second year of the scarcity than in the first. If this surmise is correct, 86 of 1911 would be the case of a man whose resources gave way at an early stage in the famine, when measures of public relief either by state authorities or by private individuals were not yet thought of.
138. 457 of 1902.
139. 83 of 1926.
140. 113 of 1928.
141. 188, 216 of 1908.
142. 28 of 1927.
143. 117 of 1899; 460 of 1911; 473 of 1911.
144. 461 of 1913; 563 of 1902; 60 of 1890; 141 of 1905.
145. 193 of 1894; *NI.* G. 86; 601, 602 of 1907; 435 of 1911.
146. 460 of 1911—*EC.* x. Mb. 44 (b).
147. *ARE.* 1912 II 30. PK. p. 148.
148. 117 of 1899 (Yr. 2). See n. 37 *ante.*
149. 195 of 1892; also 10 of 1893; 116 of 1922; 303 of 1897.
150. 546, 558 of 1902; 559 of 1906 (Yr. 14); 546 of 1912 (Yr. 34).
151. 24 b of 1903 (Yr. 4); 557 of 1902 (Yr. 35). See also 291 of 1902 (Yr. 20), 532 of 1902 (Yr. 21); 283 of 1902 (Yr. 33); 388 of 1902 (Yr. 31) and *n.* 111 *ante.* 93 of 1918 (Yr. 6).
152. *Ante,* pp. 349-50.
153. 157 of 1906.
154. 413 of 1909.

155. 74 of 1918; 463 of 1921.

156. He is said to be of the *Kāṭṭuk-kuḍi,* Kāḍava line in 381 of 1921, n-d.

157. 63 of 1919.

158. 487 of 1921.

159. 197 of 1905.

160. 486 of 1921, of the eleventh year of Kōpperuñjinga, from Tiruveṇṇainallūr, records the re-engraving of an older inscription of the 12th year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājarājadēva recording a gift by Āṭkolli Kāḍavarāya for the birth of a son.

161. No. 488-a of 1902, 508 of 1902; *ARE.* 1937|8 II 41 (496 of 1937-8).

162. 296 of 1912 of which v. 3 forms 178 of 1921. The theory of two Kōpperuñjingas (*SII.* xii Intrn. p. viii and no. 130) is both unnecessary and unwarranted by the sources.

163. *ARE.* 1913, II 66 says that Kākatīyas were expelled from the south as a result of this battle by Kāḍava II. There is no basis for this statement unless it be one stanza in the *praśasti* which has reference to *vaḍamannar,* northern kings. This verse stands in no relation whatever to the Śēvūr fight, and it gives us the precious historical information that the 'northern kings' who did not come and make obeisance to the Kāḍava, could not find even a hill or a forest to which they could fly for refuge!

164. 531 of 1902.

165. 312 of 1902.

166. 477, 479 of 1921.

167. 313 of 1902 (Yr. 17), 133 of 1900 (Yr. 28).

168. 73 of 1906 (Yr. 38).

169. 390 of 1902 (Yr. 11).

170. 534 of 1902 (Yr. 25).

171. 73 of 1906 (Yr. 38).

172. 414 of 1909 (Yr. 6).

173. 114 of 1900 (Yr. 3); 538 of 1902 (Yr. 27).

174. *Ante* p. 266.

175. 536 of 1902 (Yr. 10).

176. 161 of 1902.

177. Cf. the undated inscriptions of Naralōkavīra—*Studies* vii; *ante* p. 333.

178. 8 of 1900.

179. *SII,* i, 75; *EI.* vi, pp. 331—3.

180. 107 of 1900; *SII.* vii, 119.

181. See in particular 440 of 1913; 223 of 1904; 56 of 1922 (Yr. 13); 483 of 1908 (Yr. 18); 115 of 1900 (Yr. 20); 516 of 1902 (Yr. 27); 435 of 1913 (Yr. 35); 489 of 1912 (Yr. 40). Also *n.* 35 *ante.*

Chapter XVI

RĀJARĀJA III AND RĀJĒNDRA III, THE END 1216-1279

Accession of Rājarāja III.

The date of Rājarāja's accession falls between June 27 and July 10, A.D. 1216.[1] This date no doubt marks, not his accession to the throne in his absolute right, but his recognition by his predecessor as heir apparent. It must have been some time after this that Sundara Pāṇḍya's invasion of the Cōḷa country and the intercession of Vīra Narasimha to secure a respite for the Cōḷa power occurred. And Kulōttunga III died soon after. The reign of the third Rājarāja began badly, and these initial misfortunes were but the precursors of much greater calamities; again the Hoysalas had to come to the rescue.

What was the relation of Rājarāja to Kulōttunga? Was he the son whom the Cōḷa monarch (Kulōttunga III) on his return from exile, presented to the Pāṇḍyan conqueror who sent for him in order to give him back his kingdom? This may have been so, but we lack definite evidence. Rājarāja's inscriptions call Kulōttunga III *periyadēvar* (the elder lord);[2] so do the inscriptions of Rājarāja's successor Rājēndra III.[3] But this is not enough to sustain the inferences that Rājarāja was a son or nephew of Kulōttunga III or that Rājēndra was his brother.[4] *Periyadēvar* does not seem to signify anything more specific than priority in succession; Rājēndra III describes Rājarāja III also by the same term.[5] There seems to be no reason why we should not suppose that Rājarāja was the son of Kulōttunga, and Rājēndra of Rājarāja; but this cannot yet be proved.

Praśastis.

The most common *praśasti* of the reign is a relatively short description of the glories of Cōḷa rule under Rājarāja III; it begins *śīr manni iru nāngu tiśai*,[6] and does not contain a single historical fact, and it is not worth studying the minor variations in the words of the *praśasti*. Two inscriptions containing the *praśasti*

call for some remark. One of them comes from Tiruvorṟiyūr[7] and is dated in the third year of a Parakēsari *alias* Tribhuvana Cakravarti Ulaguyya-vanda-perumāḷ. Now the expression Ulaguyya-vanda-perumāḷ, the lord by whose coming the world was saved, is a title rather than a name, and is found in the inscriptions in relation to Kulōttunga III[8] and Rājarāja III.[9] The title Parakēsari in this inscription points to Kulōttunga III; but no other inscription of that king is known to contain the *praśasti* now being considered. On the other hand, the *praśasti* itself and the contents of the record which have reference to the punishment of some persons for treason, a recurring feature of the reign of Rājarāja, point to the successor of Kulōttunga III. This record is, therefore, best assigned to the reign of Rājarāja, the Parakēsari title given in it being held to be mistake for Rājakēsari.[10] The same explanation holds also with regard to the second of the inscriptions mentioned above, a record from Tiruveṟumbūr with *śīr manni* introduction and Parakēsari title.[11] Such chance mistakes can hardly justify the assumption, sometimes put forward, that, in this period, the Rājakēsari and Parakēsari titles were applied rather indifferently to one and the same king.

Another much longer *praśasti* of a high literary quality, also of little use for purposes of history, begins with the words *śīr mannu malarmagaḷ*.[12] The state of the country, the personal appearance and the character of its ruler, and the subject races paying tribute to him, are all described in this *praśasti;* but the description is so hyperbolic and conventional that we learn from it more of the ways of court-poets than of the subjects they handle. Two queens are mentioned, the senior, a Bāṇa princess who is said to have shared equal authority with the king and to have been consecrated with him,[13] and the junior having the title Buvana-muḻuduḍaiyāḷ.

Political changes.

The reign of Rājarāja was a period of continuous trouble. It coincides with an epoch of great changes in the political map of the South, and Rājarāja was obviously no great warrior or statesman. The Cōḷas were exposed to assaults from within and without. The Pāṇḍyas in the south and the Hoysalas in the west had by now risen to the rank of great powers led by rulers of exceptional merit, and the one chance of survival

for the Cōḷas was the rivalry between these two new powers neither of which would let the ancient Cōḷa Kingdom fall a prey to the other. In the north-west the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi had given way before the newly risen power of the Sēuṇas. In the north-east, the Telugu-Cōḍas of Nellore held an important place and their relations with the Hoysalas on the one side and the Kākatīyas on the other formed another remarkable chapter of the history of the time. Nearer home the Kāḍava chieftains of Kūḍalūr and Śēndamangalam were not slow to take advantage of the growing weakness of their suzerain.

For two centuries and a half after the invasion of Kṛṣṇa III, in the middle of the tenth century, the Cōḷa empire had grown in strength and prestige, and the set-back it suffered at the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I had no vital consequences and had left the somewhat diminished empire quite as strong and influential as ever. And it took a leading part in settling the succession dispute in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. But the disaster that followed not long after, the invasion of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttunga III, exposed the hollowness of the Cōḷa power in this period. For the first time in many generations, the Cōḷa capitals were sacked by an enemy and the Cōḷa king reduced to the position of a wandering refugee, a fate that the Cōḷas had often inflicted on their enemies. The Cōḷa king indeed regained his position, but after begging for it from his conqueror and on terms that no longer left him an independent ruler. And even this mercy was due to Hoysala aid. This was the signal for the overgrown vassals of the Cōḷa Kingdom to disregard the authority of their suzerain, and at the earliest opportunity that offered itself, either to transfer their allegiance or to declare their independence. This was the state of affairs when Kulōttunga III died, and the reign of Rājarāja III began.

Disturbances in the fifth year.

Inscriptions from the Tanjore district mention that there were great disorders in the fifth year of the reign resulting in loss of security and damage to property.[14] These disorders are only vaguely characterised as *duritangaḷ* (troubles) and *kṣōbham* (agitation), and there is no more indication of their

exact nature. It is clear from the inscriptions, however, that they led to the temporary desertion of one temple, its images and movable property being carried elsewhere for safety, and the permanent destruction of the records and title-deeds of two villages which had subsequently to improvise fresh records after inquiry. These disturbances might have been purely local; at any rate there is no clear evidence of their being due to war or foreign invasion.[15]

Other conflicts.

There were other conflicts going on in what was still nominally Cōḷa territory, conflicts of which we hear only faint echoes in the records of the time. An inscription dated A.D. 1223-4 from the North Arcot district,[16] mentions a fight between Vīranārasingadēva Yādavarāya and the Kāḍavarāya at Uratti, perhaps Oratti of to-day in the Chingleput district. The fight is mentioned incidentally in commemorating the heroism of a soldier, who fought in the army of the Yādavarāya and lost his life in an attack on the Kāḍavarāya himself. Both these chieftains acknowledged the supremacy of the Cōḷa ruler. We have no information concerning the occasion for the conflict and we cannot say if the Kāḍavarāya was Kopperūnjinga himself or, what is perhaps more likely, his father.[17] The Kāḍavarāya also came into conflict with the Hoysala about the same time if not earlier. In an inscription which from its cyclic year may be dated about A.D. 1218,[18] Vīra Narasimha styles himself *Kāñcī-Kāñcana Kāḍavakulāntaka* and *Kāḍavarāyadiśāpaṭṭa*. If the date of the inscription were not uncertain, we may even suppose that the Kāḍava had taken advantage of the invasion of the Cōḷa country by the Pāṇḍya king or entered into league with him, and that, in order to save the Cōḷa kingdom, the Hoysalas had to deal with the Kāḍava as well as the Pāṇḍya himself.[19] Whatever that may be, there are other inscriptions which bring Narasimha into definite relation with Kāñcī in this period. One of them, A.D. 1230,[20] states that Vīra Narasimha was ruling from Kāñcī, and another inscription, undated, mentions that some of his troops (*bhēruṇḍas*) were stationed at Kāñcī.[21] These references to local disturbances and wars among feudatories and to the supervening of Hoysala influence in different directions give a measure of the disintegration of the

Cōḷa Kingdom and the helplessness of its ruler in the midst of growing difficulties. This impression is strengthened by the unusually large number of trials for treason reported in the inscriptions of the reign.

Pāndyan Invasion

Rājarāja was evidently not only weak but foolish. For, if we may trust the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of the time, he deliberately broke the terms of the treaty with his Pāṇḍyan overlord and thus contrived to bring about the capital disaster of the reign. 'The Cōḷa' says the *praśasti* of Māṟavaraman Sudara Pāṇḍya I,

> 'no longer considered it the proper course to own allegiance to the ruler who had bestowed the crown on him on a former occasion. He began once more to feel that his security lay in his own fertile country, and declined to do the usual honour to the commands (of the Pāṇḍya), refused to pay the usual tribute, and (instead) despatched a large army (*pēraṇi*) preceded by an advance guard (*tūśi*).'

The events that followed this attempt to throw off the Pāṇḍyan allegiance are described in the Pāṇḍya *praśasti*, in a unique historical inscription from Tiruvēndipuram,[22] and in the historical romance, *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* of Kālakaḷabha, composed not many years after the events. The reference to the events of the time by the last author is very brief, but illuminating. Without his assistance, the proper sequence of events must have remained a matter of conjecture, and not the certainty that it now is.

To begin with the Pāṇḍyan side of the story.[23] The expeditionary force sent by the Cōḷa was rolled back and a pitched battle fought in which the Cōḷas suffered heavy loss in men, horse and elephants; the enemy country was irrigated with the blood of fallen foes and sowed with *kavaḍi*, the whole body of women in the enemy's harem including the chief queen of the Cōḷa monarch were taken captive, and made to carry the water-jar and other auspicious objects before the Pāṇḍyan ruler on the occasion of his triumphal entry into the Cōḷa capital, Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram, where a *vijayābhiṣēka* (the anointment of victors) was performed.[24] The *Gadyakarṇā-*

mṛta takes up the story at this point and connects it with the events recorded in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription. It says:[25]

> 'Defeated in battle by the Pāṇḍya ruler, King Rājarāja abandoned his capital and together with his retinue (*saparivāram*) sought to reach the side of his ally, the ruler of Kuntala; while on his way, he was overtaken by the Kāḍava king—who had a vanguard of forest troops and had grown strong by the accession of the troops from foreign lands (*mlēcchadēśa*),—and together with his followers was taken captive after a fight. By this enemy who had descended on him like a bolt from the blue, who, by his many stratagems, seemed a partial incarnation of Śambara, who was the very embodiment of guile in the cunning devices he adopted,—by this enemy, the King (Rājarāja) was dragged to his own city Jayantamangala. When he heard this painful news, (Narasimha) started (from his capital) in a few days, reached the northern bank of the Kāvēri and encamped in the neighbourhood of Śrīrangam, and despatched his *daṇḍanātha* to punish all the enemy *sāmantas*, brought about the release of his friend, the Cōḷa king, and levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya....'.

Kōpperuñjinga's part.

The Tiruvēndipuram inscription narrates the campaign of the Hoysala Daṇḍanāthas in considerable detail, and establishes the identity of Kāḍava chieftain, who attacked and imprisoned Rājarāja and subsequently released him, with the celebrated Kōpperuñjinga (Mahārāja-simha in Sanskrit) who fills a rather large place in the annals of the period. Other inscriptions from the Tamil and Kannaḍa country confirm these facts.

That Kōpperuñjinga had come of age and was already prominent among the Kāḍava chieftains, and that these chieftains still acknowledged the overlordship of the Cōḷa, at least in name, may be inferred from an inscription[26] found in Vṛddhācalam, dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja (A.D. 1230) and recording an endowment by one of the *agambaḍi mudalis* of Kōpperuñjinga. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription opens with a statement of the facts mentioned in the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*, adding piquancy to the reports of Kōpperuñjinga's misdeeds

that reached Narasimha; for here he is said not only to have imprisoned the Cōḷa emperor (*śōḷa-cakravarti*) at Sēndamangalam, but to have employed his troops to devastate the Cōḷa country and desecrate its temples including Viṣṇusthānas—the Hoysalas were staunch Vaiṣṇavas. Narasimha left Dōrasamudra, continues the inscription, saying that he would not allow his trumpet (*kāḷam*) to be blown until after he had re-established his name as the Defender of the Cōḷa monarchy (*Cōḷa-maṇḍalapratiṣṭhācārya*); he uprooted the Magara kingdom,[27] doubtless an ally of the Pāṇḍya and Kāḍava, on his way, and encamped at Pāccūr, two miles to the north of the Coleroon opposite Śrīrangam. From his camp, Narasimha despatched two *daṇḍanāyakas*, Appaṇṇa and Samudra Goppayya, with orders to carry destruction into the country of Kōpperuñjinga and re-instal the Cōḷa emperor in his place. Accordingly, the two commanders sacked Eḷḷēri and Kalliyūr-mūlai held by Kōpperuñjinga, and Toḷudagaiyūr held by Śōḷa-kōn, evidently one of his lieutenants, killed some of the *mudalis* of the king (Rājarāja) and Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon, who had joined the enemy, and, after worshipping the God of Cidambaram, they devastated many places such as Toṇḍamānallūr, Tiruvadi and Tiruvakkarai, to the south of the river Vāraṇavāsi (Gaḍilam) and east of Śēndamangalam, and struck terror into the hearts of the inhabitants by burning crops,[28] capturing women and plundering people; finally they made preparations to invest Śēndamangalam, when Kōpperuñjinga sent word to Narasimha that he was ready to restore the Cōḷa emperor to liberty and his throne, and Narasimha transmitted the offer to his commanders. Then they received the Cōḷa emperor with honour and accompanied him back to his country.

So far the Tiruvēndipuram inscription. The suggestion has been made that the inscription is found engraved in this village, because it was here that the Hoysala generals took leave of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III, after his restoration.[29] All the villages mentioned in this inscription have been traced in the South Arcot district. It is not clear, however, who the Ceylon ruler Parākramabāhu was. He cannot be identical with Parākramabāhu II of Ceylon who came to the throne in 1236,[30] for here Parākramabāhu is said to have lost

his life in the year 1230. He was perhaps some other prince of the Ceylonese royal family and may be taken to correspond to the *mlēccha* and *vaidēśika* help which Kōpperuñjinga commanded in this fight, according to the author of the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*.

Other inscriptions confirm these facts and in one important respect supplement the Tiruvēndipuram record. One of them states that Appaṇṇa and Goppayya earned the praises of Narasimha by attacking the Kāḍavarāya and releasing the Cōḷa.[31] Another inscription dated A.D. 1232 states that the country round Nīḍūr in the Tanjore district was formerly ruled by Kōpperuñjinga, and records a revision of the rules of tenancy cultivation rendered necessary thereby.[31a] An undated inscription from Vāyalūr (Vailur, N. Arcot)[32] mentions that Kōpperuñjinga *alias* Aḷagiya Śīya defeated the Cōḷa King at Teḷḷāṟu (30 miles south of Kāñcī), a fact mentioned nowhere else, and having cast him and his ministers in prison, occupied the Cōḷa country. After the brief prose passage recording these facts, there occur five verses in different metres in praise of Kōpperuñjinga's heroism in which, of course, we hear nothing of the release of the Cōḷa or of the success of the Hoysala generals, but only of the defeat of the Karṇāṭas and the glories of Kōpperuñjinga, also called by the titles Avani-Nārāyaṇa, Nṛpatunga, and ruler of Toṇḍai and Mallai. The same features recur in other inscriptions of his in the Sanskrit language.[33] That Kōpperuñjinga and the Hoysalas continued their fights becomes clear from the fact that Vīra Sōmēśvara is said to have encamped at Mangalam in the course of a campaign against the Kāḍava in the year Durmukha (A.D. 1236).[34]

Defeat of the Pāṇḍya.

While his generals were carrying out his instructions regarding Kōpperuñjinga and the Cōḷa king, Narasimha himself conducted operations against the Pāṇḍya. The *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* asserts that Narasimha levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya ruler, and it seems that the decisive encounter between the Pāṇḍya and Hoysala troops took place at Mahēndramangalam on the Kāvēri river.[35] An inscription at Haranahaḷḷi[36] mentions that Narasimha was encamped at Ravitaḍānakoppa

with the object of leading a campaign against the Pāṇḍya king and states that the sea was roaring out its advice to the latter to give up everything to the Hoysala and live in peace as his servant. Other Hoysala inscriptions state that Rāmēśvaram was reached in the course of this campaign or soon after.[37] We hear nothing of all this from the Pāṇḍya inscriptions. In the *praśasti* of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, the account of his second campaign against the Cōḷa stops with the *vijayābhiṣēka*, and this is obviously not the whole truth; for it leaves unexplained the restoration of Rājarāja to the Cōḷa throne after he was forced to relinquish it to the Pāṇḍyan invader. There can be no doubt that for a second time the Hoysala maintained the balance of power among the southern kingdoms by preventing the abolition of the independent Cōḷa monarchy and the annexation of its territory to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The political settlement reached at the close of these campaigns in aid of the Cōḷa seems to have been sealed by dynastic marriages; Vīra Sōmēśvara, the son of Vīra Narasimha, is called *māmaḍi* by the successors of both Māṟ. Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Rājarāja III.[38]

State of the Cōḷa Power.

For the rest of his reign, Rājarāja continued to enjoy his position without any serious trouble. The provenance of Rājarāja's inscriptions shows that for the bulk of the period his nominal sway extended over practically the whole of the Cōḷa kingdom as it was at the death of Kulōttunga III. The contents of the inscriptions indicate equally clearly the growing dependence of the Cōḷa power on Hoysala support and the progressive increase of local disorders and treasons and the disregard of the feudatories of the empire for the central power. The forms of central government and local administration appear to have remained the same as before; but the executive strength of the government, never very great in the Hindu state, but realised in a greater measure under the great Cōḷas than under any other dynasty, was now visibly on the wane. In A.D. 1246,[39] Rājēndra was recognised as heir apparent, as is seen from the dates in his inscriptions. But Rājarāja lived on till at least 1260.[39a]

The inscriptions of Rājarāja III dated up to the thirtieth year if not later are found in the modern districts of Salem,

Chittoor, Cuddapah and Nellore; we find also the inscriptions of his successor Rājēndra III over practically the same area; these facts imply that the hegemony of the Cōḷa power continued to be recognised over the whole of this area in this period. But this was no more than a traditional form which apparently persisted for some time after its substance had disappeared. For nothing stands out in clearer relief from the records of the time than the absence of a central co-ordinating authority, and the readiness with which treasons and conspiracies seem to have been set on foot. We have traced the growth of the practice among local chieftains of contracting alliances for offence and defence without any regard to the central government; the habit had spread to the heart of the Cōḷa country by the beginning of Rājarāja's reign and there is an instance[40] of three chiefs in the Tanjore district itself contracting such a mutual alliance in the third year of the reign, A.D. 1219; except for the facts that the inscription recording this event is dated in a regnal year of Rājarāja III, and the treaty of alliance acknowledged a common fealty due from the allies to the Cōḷa king, which perhaps meant that the alliance would not hold against that ruler, there is no evidence that the government of Rājarāja had anything to do with it. Another instance of a rather protracted feud ending in a matrimonial alliance between the parties is furnished by a record of A.D. 1232 from Tiruveṇṇainallūr;[41] the parties to the dispute and to the alliance that followed it were members of the Kāḍavarāya and Cēdirāya families.

Disorder and weak government.

Instances of treason have reached us not through direct testimony, but by the indirect evidence of inscriptions recording the public sale of land and other property forfeited to the state on account of treasonable offences (*rājadrōham*); it is not possible, therefore, to discover the exact nature of the offences which led to the punishment or any details regarding them. Though such cases were not unknown under other Cōḷa rulers, the number of reported instances is unusually large during Rājarāja's reign, and it appears legitimate to suppose that this is partly due to the unsettled condition of the land and the loss of strength and efficiency in the central government. There was a public auction (*Rājarājapperu-*

vilai) in Shiyali (Tanjore Dt.) on the 317th day of the eighth regnal year of the king,[42] at which the king's officers specially chosen for the purpose disposed of lands belonging to some traitors and such among their relations, employees and slaves as had been involved in the treason (*drōhattukku uṭpaṭṭārum*). An inscription from Valivalam (Tanjore district)[43] records that in A.D. 1230, a commission of eight royal officers realised 33,000 *kāśus* as proceeds of a similar sale of lands forfeited by persons who had turned against the king—*drohigaḷāyp-palaraiyum kāṇi māṛina nilam*. Again at Kōyil Tirumāḷam,[44] an order of confiscation issued on the 348th day of the 20th year, was given effect to on the 80th day of the succeeding year, at an interval of about three months, and five *vēli* and four *mā* of land yielded to the royal treasury a sum of 13,000 *kāśūs*. More details are forthcoming in regard to the next instance from Śivapuram (Tanjore Dt.) and of the twenty-third regnal year;[45] these details show that the charge of *rājadrōham* should not be understood in the sense that suggests itself at first sight, that of treason in a political sense, but in that of turbulence or persistent insubordination. In this particular case, two *śiva-brāhmaṇas* (temple priests) were punished by the *māhēśvaras* (the congregation) and the *ūr* for *rājadrōham* and *śivadrōham*. The inscription says that the accused handed over to a concubine the jewels belonging to the goddess, misappropriated temple funds entrusted to them, refused to pay the dues on lands held by them, and misbehaved in other ways; they not only ignored commands issued to them by the king, but maltreated the messengers of the king by beating them and ducking them. They are also said to have committed indescribable sins through the *Kannaḍiyas* and to have collected 50,000 (coins?), perhaps a case of irresponsible local oppression. The mention of the *Kannaḍiyas* must be particularly noted; for it points to an incidental result of Hoysala intervention in the Cōḷa kingdom and indicates the presence of bands of mercenaries who had no sympathy with the local population and were ready to carry out the biddings of any ruffian who commanded the means to pay them. There is yet another instance also from the Tanjore district (Tiruveṇkāḍu)[46] of forfeiture of property for treason which is seen, from the name of the *tirumandira-ōlai*, to be clearly

of the reign of Rājarāja III. It is remarkable that all these instances come from the central regions of the Cōḷa kingdom, clear proof that the administration was floundering even in the limited area to which it had become confined by the increasing independence of the greater vassals in the outlying parts of the kingdom.

Hoysalas.

The intervention of the Hoysala power secured for the Cōḷa kingdom a somewhat longer lease of life than the Pāṇḍyas would have allowed it; but this respite was not obtained without some cost, and it is worth while tracing the part of the Hoysala princes and generals in the affairs of the Cōḷa country as revealed by the Cōḷa inscriptions themselves. An inscription from Tiruvaḍatturai (in the Vṛddhācalam taluq of the South Arcot district) dated in the tenth year,[47] A.D. 1226, states that the Hoysala king Narasimhadēva had destroyed the country and carried away images from the temple of that village some time before, and records the re-consecration of the temple. The date of this record seems to rule out the possibility of connecting these transactions with the campaign of Appaṇṇa and Samudra Goppayya, recorded in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription.[48] It has been pointed out before that Narasimha might have taken the side of the Cōḷa earlier on the occasion of the first Pāṇḍyan invasion and proceeded against the Kāḍava ally of the Pāṇḍyan invader.[49] Possibly, Tiruvaḍatturai was then in the occupation of the Kāḍava and suffered damage as part of the enemy country. The Kāḍava was forced once more to acknowledge the Cōḷa overlordship, and when peace was restored, the people became free to repair the damages inflicted by war. The presence of Hoysala troops (*bhēruṇḍas*) at Kāñcī about this time is attested by the gift of a lamp to Attiyūr Āḻvār by Bācaladēvi, the daughter of Bhūtadēya-nāyaka of Dōrasamudra,[50] of another lamp three years later by the *mahāpradhāni* Ammaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka,[51] and of a whole village by Goppayya Daṇḍanāyaka in A.D. 1231.[52] Some time later a *pradhāni* of Sōmēśvara, the son and successor of Narasimha, also makes a gift at Kāñcī.[53]

Hoysala influence in other parts of the kingdom is attested by records of gifts by Vallaya Daṇḍanāyaka, a *pradhāni* of

Narasimha, at Tirumalavāḍi[54] by a member of the subordinate esfablishment (*śiṟupiḷḷaigaḷ*) of Narasimha's queen Sōmaladēvi at Tirugōkarṇam;[55] Vallaya is also seen making another gift at Kāñcīpuram in A.D. 1238, when he is called a *pradhāni* of Sōmēśvara.[56]

In fact, after they began sometime about 1218 to take the side of the Cōḷas against the Pāṇḍyas in the struggle between these two powers, the Hoysalas appear steadily to have improved their position and influence in the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms. They evidently aspired to a sort of hegemony over the whole of South India and to some extent succeeded in realising their ambition for a time, during the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Depending for their very existence on the backing of the Hoysalas, the Cōḷas were in no position to offer any resistance to their aggrandizement; even the Pāṇḍyas found themselves compelled to purchase peace with the Hoysalas by a tacit recognition of their dominant position. Attention may be drawn here to the frequent mention of Hoysala kings and generals in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of the period,[57] and in particular, to two records from Pudukkottah,[58] dated about A.D. 1245, which mention the capture of Kāna-nāḍu by Ravi-dēva, a general of the Hoysala Vīra-Sōmēśvara. It was not till the rise of the greatest Pāṇḍya ruler of the time, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, i.e., till after the middle of the century, that the expansion of the Hoysala power received a check.

Feudatories of Rājarāja III.

For all its weakness, the Cōḷa power maintained the appearance of sovereign rule over a considerable territory almost till towards the end of Rājarāja's long reign. This becomes clear from a review of the inscriptions dated in his regnal years and issued by rulers who still called themselves vassals of the Cōḷa emperor. Even the notorious Kōpperuñjinga was no exception. We have seen that the attempt of this chieftain to throw off his allegiance to his Cōḷa overlord was suppressed in 1230-31 by the intercession of Vīra-Narasimha. The inscriptions of Kōpperuñjinga, however, show that he had a rather long and stormy career, and that in the political confusion that prevailed in the period, he

found it easy to set himself up as a more or less independent ruler and pursue a policy of his own towards the neighbouring states. He counts his regnal years from A.D. 1243 and inscriptions citing these years run in a series up to the thirty-sixth year, c. A.D. 1279, i.e., almost to the end of the period covered by this chapter. It is needless to follow here the details of his career. His conflicts with the Hoysalas and the Kākatīyas whose supremacy he had to acknowledge in the north,[59] the attack on his capital Śēndamangalam delivered by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, and the numberless gifts made and constructions undertaken by Kōpperuñjinga at various places in the whole area extending from Tanjore as far as Drākṣārāma and Tripurāntakam—these do not properly belong to Cōḷa history. It should, however, be noted that as late as A.D. 1246 and 1247 we find the officials and relatives of Kōpperuñjinga, if not the chieftain himself, acknowledging the overlordship of Rājarāja III.[60] Among the other feudatories, the Telugu-Cōḍas, of whom something has been said already, may be noted first. Manumasiddharasa who had the title Cāḷukya-nārāyaṇa and made a gift to the great Śiva temple at Kañcīpuram in A.D. 1218;[61] Madhurāntaka Pottappiccōḷa Eṟasiddharasa, gifts from whose officials and relatives are recorded in Rājarāja's inscriptions from Kañcīpuram and Nellore between his fifth and eleventh regnal years;[62] Malamādēvarasa and Puḍōliyarasa mentioned in records of the sixth and eighth years of Rājarāja from the Chittoor district;[63] and the great Tikka I himself who figures under the name Gaṇḍagōpāla along with his queen and his officials in a large number of Rājarāja's inscriptions,[64] are the chief among the Telugu-Cōḍas who flourished in this reign. Likewise we find a number of Yādavarāyas, Śāmbuvarāyas and Cēdiyarāyas also among the feudatories, particularly in the earlier years of the reign; it is not necessary to repeat the names of these chieftains which may be gathered by a perusal of the inscriptions of the reign; but the fact that so many of these well-known local dynasties continued to acknowledge the Cōḷa overlordship till so late in the reign of Rājarāja is of some significance in the history of the decline and fall of the Cōḷa empire. Some of the names show that chieftains of Bāṇa, Vaidumba, Nuḷamba and Ganga extrac-

tion were also counted among these feudatories. We have already mentioned Hoysala generals citing the regnal years of Rājarāja while recording their gifts in Kāñcīpuram, Karuvūr[65] and other places. Even a Kalinga ruler Aṇiyanga Bhīmadēva Rāhuta adopts this course in making an endowment in Kāñcīpuram in the twentieth year of Rājarāja, A.D. 1236.[66] These facts show that the hold of the Cōḷa empire on the imagination of the people was still great, even after the disasters brought on it by the incompetence and cowardice of Rājarāja III.

The position of Rājēndra.

Rājēndra, who, as we have seen, was recognised as heir apparent in A.D. 1246, was an abler prince than Rājarāja III. His inscriptions contain a Sanskrit *praśasti* which records his efforts to restore to the Cōḷas at least a part of their ancient power and prestige which they had lost so completely owing to the utter incapacity of Rājarāja. For fourteen years after his right to the succession was recognised, Rājarāja continued to rule in name, but there can be little doubt that during all this period, and perhaps even for some years before, the substance of power lay in the hands of his abler colleague. The inscriptions of Rājarāja diminish in their number and range in the closing years of his reign, particularly from the thirty-fourth regnal year, when they are confined practically to the two modern districts of North Arcot and Nellore. In the same period, the inscriptions of Rājēndra, on the other hand, are relatively more numerous and come from practically all parts of the Cōḷa kingdom. This can hardly be an accident, and must be ascribed to some definite understanding by which the baneful effects of Rājarāja's political incompetence were circumscribed. There is no evidence that Rājarāja and Rājēndra were ever engaged in a civil war, as has sometimes been thought, or that there was a formal division of the kingdom, or finally, that Rājarāja was murdered by Rājēndra.[67]

The success of Rājēndra.

It may be doubted if the *praśasti* of Rājēndra mentions the historical facts recorded in it in the order of their occurrence, and considering the fact that the *praśasti* can be traced to the seventh year of Rājēndra,[67a] A.D. 1253, when Rājarāja was

still alive, we may conclude that in a few years after he became heir apparent, Rājēndra had gone some way to realise his ambitious programme of recovery. The evidence of Hoysala inscriptions renders it even probable that he entered on this task earlier than 1246. The *praśasti* says that Rājēndra avenged the humiliation put upon the Cōḷa power and that by his prowess he enabled Rājarāja to wear two crowns for three years.[68] In some redactions, the *praśasti* also states that Rājēndra was expert in cutting off the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,[69] while an inscription from Tripurāntakam,[70] dated in the fifteenth year, contains the more sober claim: *iruvar pāṇḍyar muḍittalai-koṇḍaruḷina*. Rājēndra is also said to have plundered the Pāṇḍya country. It is clear that Rājēndra gained some success against the Pāṇḍyas and that the second crown he claims to have bestowed on the Cōḷa ruler was the Pāṇḍyan crown.[71] The Pāṇḍyas had carried fire and sword into the Cōḷa country twice in twenty years and had been the cause of the rebellion of Kōpperuñjinga and his imprisonment of Rājarāja. Rājēndra's anxiety to strike the first blow at them was therefore quite natural. But when did he get his chance, and why did the effect of his success not last for more than three years? And who were the two Pāṇḍyan kings who had to own defeat at his hands? Now it seems hardly likely that Rājēndra achieved anything against the powerful Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. But after his death, until the accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I in A.D. 1251, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was held by weak rulers, and it is quite possible that Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (acc. 1238) was the king who was compelled for a time to acknowledge the Cōḷa overlordship. The identity of the other Pāṇḍya, perhaps co-ruler with Māṟavarman Sundara II, remains obscure. We are perfectly justified in assigning these events to the reign of Māṟavarman Sundara II, because he is known to have been a weak ruler, and in his reign, as in the earlier part of the reign of Rājarāja III Cōḷa, the influence of the Hoysalas on the affairs of the kingdom is visibly on the increase.[72] This may be due to the same cause, the Hoysala protection afforded to its ruler against the aggressions of a more active and powerful neighhour. Vīra-Sōmēśvara is called, in some Mysore records, *Pāṇḍya-kula-samrakṣaṇa-*

dakṣa-dakṣiṇa-bhuja,[73] (the king) whose right arm is expert in protecting the dynasty of the Pāṇḍyas. About the same time, Sōmēśvara is said to have defeated Rājēndra on the field of battle and to have protected him when he sought refuge.[74] It is probably these facts that account also for some expressions found in Rājēndra's inscriptions.[75]

An inscription from Vēdāraṇyam[76] states that in the twenty-fifth year of Rājarāja III, A.D. 1241, Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka invaded that part of the Cōḷa country, that the inroad led to the cessation of worship in a temple, and that some time later, the temple had to be reconsecrated at a cost of 50,000 *kāśus*. A duplicate inscription from Pudukkottah,[77] dated in A.D. 1245, mentions the capture some years before of Kāna-nāḍu on behalf of Vīra Sōmēśvara by his *daṇḍanāyaka* Ravi-dēva. We have thus sufficient evidence to show that after Rājēndra came on the field, there was a change in the part played by the Hoysalas. When the Cōḷas showed signs of recovery under the energetic leadership of Rājēndra and the Pāṇḍyas were, in their turn, somewhat weakening, the Hoysalas lent their support without any hesitation to the Pāṇḍyas, as against the Cōḷas. The trend of Hoysala diplomacy is plain. It was to keep the balance even between the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa powers, to encourage both to look to the Hoysalas for assistance in times of need and thus to secure for themselves a dominant place in the state-system of the south. Evidently, Rājēndra was compelled to give up all claims to supremacy over the Pāṇḍyas after a period of three years, marked by some hard fighting in different areas. We have as yet no clear knowledge of the details.[78]

Cōḍa Tikka.

The growth of differences between Sōmēśvara and the Cōḷas on their Pāṇḍyan policy forced the latter to seek other allies for themselves. The Telugu-Cōḍas of Nellore had attained considerable power and were ruling over an extensive territory in the Nellore, Chingleput and Cuddapah districts. We have seen that these rulers were on the whole more friendly with the Cōḷa monarchs of the south and ready to acknowledge their formal suzerain position. Tikkanṛpati *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla[79] was the contemporary ruler of Nellore and there is clear literary evidence of his friendship with the Cōḷas and his hostility to

the Hoysalas. In the introductory verses to his *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇamu,* Tikkana has given a fairly complete and sober account of the achievements of Tikka, the father of his patron Manmasiddha. From this account we learn that Tikka fought against Śamburāja and other enemy *maṇḍalikas* and that he compelled Kāñcī, Cēdimaṇḍala and the Kāḍavapati to acknowledge his supremacy. The importance of these successes was that they checked the predatory activities of the turbulent Kōpperuñjinga and his confederates and thereby strengthened the position of the Cōḷa monarch. The presence of Gaṇḍagōpāla's inscriptions dated about A.D. 1230 and later[80] in Kāñcīpuram and its neighbourhood, and the fact that many of them are dated in the regnal years of Rājarāja corroborate the statements of Tikkana Sōmayāji on the relations between Tikka and the Cōḷas. The same poet also states expressly that Tikka subdued the Karṇāṭa ruler Sōmēśvara and thereby easily established the Cōḷa in his position and earned for himself the title *Cōḷasthāpanācārya.* This is again confirmed by a Hoysala inscription of Ś. 1162 (A.D. 1240)[81] which mentions an expedition of Sōmēśvara against the Gaṇḍagōpāla. Once more the date of the Hoysala record indicates that Rājēndra's activities for the restoration of Cōḷa power were begun some years prior to his formal installation as heir-apparent. We thus see that the accession of a weak Pāṇḍyan ruler, the commencement of Rājēndra's campaign of recovery, the estrangement between the Cōḷas and the Hoysalas, and the alliance of the Cōḷas with the Telugu-Cōḍas all hang together and constitute a revolution in the political condition of South India. In fact it was an age of rapid changes in the political map of South India. The particular phase that was created by the advent of Rājēndra and has just been described furnishes, it may be noted in passing, a very good example in practice of the diplomatic theory of the *maṇḍala* developed in the scholastic treatises on Hindu polity. The Cōḷa kingdom is surrounded by enemies on all sides, and its only ally is a ruler whose territory lies beyond that of a neighbouring enemy.[82]

Uttara Lankā.

Another of Rājēndra's successes is described in his *praśasti* in the phrase: 'the very Rāma to the prosperous Northern Lankā celebrated for

its Vīra-rākṣasa (s)'. This is clearly a reference to a campaign against the Śāmbuvarāyas, some of whom called themselves Vīra-rākṣasa and who held sway in the region of North Arcot.[83] Tikkana Sōmayāji states that Tikkanṛpati undertook expeditions against Śamburāja and other hostile *maṇḍalikas* before he established himself at Kāñcīpuram, and it is quite possible that in the wars he co-operated with Rājēndra in the restoration of Cōḷa power.

It is thus seen that the attempts of Rājēndra met with a considerable measure of success and that for some years, between 1238 and 1250, the Cōḷa power once more held its own against its enemies and 'feudatories', thanks to the loyalty and co-operation of the Telugu-Cōḍas of Nellore. The attempt to put down the rising power of the Pāṇḍyas necessarily failed; this would have been the case even if Sōmēśvara had not gone to the aid of the Pāṇḍyas; for the latter had always been too strong for the Cōḷas even when the Cōḷa empire was in the prime of its strength; and from the time of Vikramacōḷa, the Cōḷa hold on the Pāṇḍya territory had been little more than nominal; and now the Pāṇḍyas had the added prestige born of their recent successes against their quondam suzerains. For the rest of it, however, Rājēndra's achievement is sufficient justification for his being described in his *praśasti* as the 'restorer of the race of Manu' and the 'ruler who avenged the humiliation of the Cōḷas.'

Loss of Kāñcī.

Kāñcīpuram does not figure among the conquests of Rājēndra and it is worth while to notice briefly the fortunes of the city in this period. The latest Cōḷa records traceable here appear to be dated about A.D. 1245[83a] in the twenty-ninth year of Rājarāja III, and not a single record of Rājēndra III is to be found in Kāñcīpuram. On the other hand we find an inscription of Kākatīya Gaṇapati dated Tuesday, June 8, A.D. 1249 recording a large grant by one of his ministers Sāmanta Bhōja.[83b] There is an inscription from Nandalūr which, in spite of many gaps, clearly shows that Tikka's son, Manmasiddhi, and Ganapati were friends.[83c] There is again a tradition that the great Telugu poet Tikkana secured the intercession of Gaṇapati in the affairs of the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom on behalf

of Manmasiddha when he was sought to be kept out of the succession.[83d] We have not as yet any decisive evidence of the date of Gaṇapati's interference, if he actually did interfere in the manner just mentioned. We may also note that some years later, when Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya killed Gaṇḍagōpāla, i.e. Tikka, in battle and conquered the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom, he became master of Kāñcīpuram and Nellore[83e] and put Gaṇapati to flight. We may therefore suppose that Kāñcīpuram had for some years become part of the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom under Tikka, that he held it in nominal subjection to Rājarāja III in the beginning, and to Gaṇapati later on, until the city was captured by the Pāṇḍyan invader. The Cōḷas then did not long keep their hold on Kāñcī for which Kulōttunga III had fought successfully in the latter part of his reign. With the rise of Kōpperuñjinga into independence, the Cōḷa king must have found it difficult to maintain his power in Kāñcī and acquiesced in the virtual annexation of the city by his ally, the Telugu-Cōḍa ruler.

Rājēndra and the Hoysalas.

Their differences over the Pāṇḍyan policy resulted, as we have seen, in hostilities between the Cōḷas and the Hoysalas in which the former were aided by the Telugu-Cōḍa Tikka I; this seems to have been, however, only a passing phase; the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara imply the resumption of friendly relations between him and Rājēndra, after a temporary estrangement, and this is confirmed by the inscriptions of Rājēndra in which Hoysala officers figure as donors as in those of Rājarāja III.[84] This friendship between the Cōḷas and the Hoysalas was continued up to and even beyond the death of Sōmēśvara. Two inscriptions from Tiruccatturai[85] in the Tanjore district are of great significance in this regard; one of them mentions the tenth year of Vīra Rāmanātha, the successor of Sōmēśvara in the southern half of the Hoysala kingdom, and records a sale of land effected in the twentieth year of Rājēndra (A.D. 1265-6), while the other couples the fifteenth year of Rāmanātha with the twenty-fifth of Rājēndra. These records attest the closest possible alliance between the two rulers, if not actually their joint rule over the territory where the inscriptions are found.[85]

Pāṇḍyan Expansion.

The reason for this close alliance between the Cōḷa and Hoysala is doubtless to be found in the new danger from the south that threatened both. The accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, A.D. 1251 to the Pāṇḍyan throne brought on the stage one of the most famous warriors and conquerors of Southern India. Under him the second empire of the Pāṇḍyas attained its greatest splendour, and all the other powers of South India, up to the river Kṛṣṇa and even beyond, felt the weight of his arm, the Hoysalas and the Cōḷas being the first to do so.[87] The Pāṇḍyan ruler had achieved signal success against the Cōḷa and the Hoysala before the seventh year of his reign, A.D. 1258; he had laid the Cōḷa under tribute and compelled the Hoysala to seek safety by retiring to the Mysore plateau; and when Sōmēśvara renewed the war, he was defeated and killed in a battle fought near Kaṇṇanūr, A.D. 1264. Very soon after, he carried his arms across the territory of the Kāḍavas and Telugu-Cōḍas, up to Nellore where he held a *Vīrābhiṣēka*. When the tide of Pāṇḍyan power was thus rising to its full height, Rājēndra III and Vīra Rāmanātha had to carry on anyhow without provoking the mighty conqueror and they must have been drawn more closely together by their common adversity. They were both defeated in battle about 1279 by Māṟavarman Kulaśekhara, the successor of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Very few inscriptions of Rājēndra are found outside the Cōḷa country proper, and none after his fifteenth year, A.D. 1261. An inscription of the thirteenth year A.D. 1259 from Nandalūr in Cuddapah, and another dated two years later from Tripurāntakam (Kurnool) are the last traces of a suzerainty that had long ceased to be more than nominal.

End of Rājēndra's reign.

The latest regnal year cited in the inscriptions of Rājendra is the thirty-third, corresponding roughly to A.D. 1279. An undated inscription from Tirukkaṇṇapuram[88] mentions a certain Śēmāppiḷḷai called by the king '*nammagan*', 'our son'; but as this description is often applied to feudatories in Cōḷa inscriptions, it is doubtful if Śēmāpiḷḷai was really a son of Rājēndra III.[89] He also figures as a feudatory of Vīra

Pāṇḍya. A queen of Rājēndra is apparently mentioned under the title Śōḷa-kula-mādēviyār in an inscription from Tiruveṇṇainallūr about A.D. 1263.[90] Rājēndra apparently had few feudatories under him; a Śōḷa-Gangan and a Kaḷappāḷan are the only names to be noted in this connection.[91] Gangai-koṇḍa-cōḷapuram continued to be the capital, and God Naṭa-rāja of Cidambaram the *iṣṭadēvata* of the king.[91a]

At the close of Rājēndra's reign, the Pāṇḍyan empire was at the height of its prosperity and had taken the place of the Cōḷa empire in the eyes of foreign observers like the Chinese and the Arabs. There is no evidence that Rājēndra was followed immediately by another Cōḷa prince, so that the Cōḷa kingdom was more completely absorbed in the Pāṇḍyan empire than the southern kingdom ever was in the Cōḷa empire in the days of its glory. The name Cōḷa-maṇḍalam long survived the Cōḷa kingdom itself and was subsequently corrupted into Coromandel. Chieftains of later times sometimes claimed descent from the Cōḷas either through branches of the Telugu-Cōḍa dynasty or more directly from the Cōḷas of the Tamil country. A certain Vīra Śaiva Vīra Pratāpa Cōḷa Rāja with many high-sounding titles is found ruling in the Bangalore district in Ś. 1223, A.D. 1301.[92] About the same time Vīra Cōḍa and his son Vīra Campa are found in the North Arcot district.[93] An otherwise unknown branch of Telugu-Cōḍas is represented in the Madras Museum plates of Bhaktirāja dated Ś. 1277.[94] Very much later, in A.D. 1481 and 1530 we find inscriptions in the island of Śrīrangam recording gifts by Vālaka Kāmaya and Cennaya Bālaya, both bearing the characteristic Telugu-Cōḍa title, *Uṟaiyūrpuravarādhīśvara*.[95] The Cōḷas are mentioned in the Koḷiñjivāḍi plates of Acyutadēvarāya.[96] Among the latest references to chieftains of Cōḷa extraction must be counted an interesting record from Kumbakōṇam of the grant of two villages for worship and offerings to Ādi-Kumbhēśvara by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gururāja Rudradēva-Śōḷa-Mahārāja in Ś. 1476 (A.D. 1554).[97]

1. *EI.* viii, p. 280, Kielhorn. 169 of 1942-3 couples Ś. 1162 (A.D. 1240) with year 24 of Rājarāja III—*ARE.* 1939|40—42|3, II 42.
2. 409 of 1908.

3. 216 of 1908.

4. Contra *ARE.* 1909, II, 51, 52. Rājendra is regarded by some as the son of Rājarāja III by Sōmaladēvī, daughter of Hoysaḷa Narasimha II, *ARE.* 1936-7 II 33 and 48; also 1938-9 II 24. *EI.* xxvii p. 194 makes him son of Kulōttunga III on very slender evidence.

5. 116 of 1911 (n-d).

6. 51 of 1931, 76 of 1920, 23 of 1891, 93 of 1892, etc.

7. 125 of 1912.

8. 120 of 1912 (Yr. 20), also from Tiruvorriyūr.

9. 321 of 1911 (Yr. 2).

10. *ARE.* 1915 II 28.

11. *ibid,* 142 of 1914.

12. 504 of 1918 (Yr. 4), 392 of 1918 (Yr. 7 + 1). The latter is badly conserved and the stones on which it is engraved seem to have been displaced; and it is doubtful if the part containing an account of the conquest of 'the great city of Ceylon' really belongs to this *praśasti*: '*Kaḍalaḍaiyādē korravenjilai vaḷaiyādē venrilangai mānagar koṇḍu*'.

13. *Ulaguḍaiya perumāḷuḍan okka muḍi kavittāḷ Irājarājan piriyā vēḷaikkāri . . . . Irājarājan tiruttāḷi perruḍaiyāḷ . . . . . urai śiranda taniyāṇai udanāṇai perruḍaiyāḷ puvaniyēḷ tanadānaiyir-purakkum-andappurap-perumāḷ . . . . Vāṇar-kula-nila-viḷakku.*

14. 141 of 1926 (Yr. 16 + 1). 213 of 1925 (Yr. 19). 309 of 1927 (n-d).

15. It is possible that *EC.* vi. Cm. 56 assigned to A.D. 1217 by Venkatasubbaiya (ante p. 396) is really dated, as Hultzsch thinks, in 1222 (*EI.* vii, p. 162), and that Narasimha's march to Śrīrangam had something to do with these disturbances which might have been the result of a Pāṇḍyan invasion. Cf. *ARE.* 1923 II 7. If that was so, it is somewhat strange that we hear nothing more of this invasion from either the Cōḷa or the Pāṇḍyan side.

16. 271 of 1904.

17. Possibly the verse on the northern kings in the Atti *praśasti* of the Kāḍavarāya (296 of 1912) has reference to the conflict with the Yādavarāya.

18. *EC.* ix, Kn. 87.

19. 228 of 1929, (Yr. 10), discussed later in this chapter, p. 428.

20. *EC.* xii, Tp. 42.

21. *EC.* v. Cn. 211 b, (c. 1221); also vi Chikmagalur 150. In 1233 Narasimha is said to have been *Cōḷa-nāḍu Pāñcāḷa nelevīḍinoḷu* (*EC.* vii Ci: 52) where Pāñcāḷa may stand for Pāccūr.

22. 142 of 1902, *EI.* vii, pp. 160 ff.

23. The *praśasti* containing these events has not been traced in any inscription dated before A.D. 1236, *PK.* p. 144 *n.* 3. But the date of 142 of 1902 (A.D. 1231—2) and the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* show clearly that they occurred about 1230—31.

24. A fragmentary inscription dated Ś. 1152, 419 of 1914, from Tirucculi (Rd.) mentions the defeat of Jananātha (who refused to make obeisance) by Sunda . . . . . This may be a reference to this campaign; if so, Jananātha would be Rājarāja III.

25. Extract by M. R. Kavi in *Tirumalai Śrī Venkaṭēśvara* vi, pp. 677—8. See *ARE.* 1938-9 II 22 for details regarding the family of the author of the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta.*

26. 136 of 1900, *EI.* vii, pp. 163—4.

27. Parts of the Salem and S. Arcot districts, *QJMS.* ii, p. 121, n. 2. Narasimha also captured the women and treasures of the Magara king.

28. This, I think is the meaning of: *Kuḍikkāḷgaḷ(um) śuṭṭum aḷittum,* rather than 'drinking channels'. *Kuḍikkāl* is perhaps a variant of *koḍikkāl.*

29. *EI.* vii, p. 162.

30. *CV.* ii, p. xiv.

31. *Kāḍavarāyaṇa kiḍisi Cōḷaṇa biḍisi tandu allige mecci*—*EC.* xii, Gb. 95.

31-a. 536 of 1921.

32. 418 of 1922, *EI.* xxiii pp. 180-1.

33. 419 of 1893; 197 of 1905; 182 of 1919 etc. *ARE.* 1923 II 5—8 discusses the Kōpperuñjinga problem with reference to 418 of 1922, and reaches the conclusions that Aḷagiya Śīyan was different from Mahārājasimha, and that the former defeated and imprisoned Rājarāja III twice, once in 1221-22 after Teḷḷāṟu and about 1231—2 (Tiruvēndipuram record). The reasons for these surprising conclusions are said to be two: that the Vāyalūr (Vailur) record calls the king, Aḷagiya Śīyan and that it does not mention Śēndamangalam. We are also solemnly assured that Mahārājasimha is in his records Kṣīrāpagādakṣiṇa-nāyaka and Penṇā-nadīnātha, 'titles not known of Aḷagiya Śīyan Kōpperuñjinga whose conquests extended only up to the Kāvēri in the South' (paragraph 8). In fact, Aḷagiya Śīyan Kōpperuñjinga means Kōpperuñjinga, the son of Aḷagiya Śīyan. The Vāyalūr record opens with the following prose passage: (l. 1) Savasti Śrī Sakalabhuvana-Cakravarti Śrī Kōpperuñjingan Śōḷanait-teḷḷāṟṟil (l. 2) venṟu sakala pariccinnamum-goṇḍu Śōḷanaic-ciṟaiyiṭṭu vaittuc-cōṇāḍu koṇḍa A(l. 3) ḷagiya Śīyan. It is seen then, that the name Kōpperuñjinga is given at the very outset, and then the king is also called Aḷagiya Śīyan, 'the beautiful lion'—either the name of the father being applied to the son or the expression being used merely as a title. After the mention of the name Kōpperuñjinga, the omission of Śēndamangalam is immaterial. There is no reason then to postulate a double imprisonment of the Cōḷa king. The Vāyalūr *praśasti* is said to be a composition of Śokka-Śīyan (paragraph 5). In fact, the end reads: *idu śokkac-cīyan āṇai* meaning, 'this is by order of Śokka (Aḷagiya) Śīyan (engraved).'

34. *EC.* v. Ak. 123. Mangalam is a village in the Vṛddhācalam taluq about ten miles south-west of Śēndamangalam.

35. M. R. Kavi, *ibid.*

36. *EC.* v. Ak. 123.

37. *QJMS,* ii, p. 122, *PK.* p. 150.

38. We do not know the details of these marriage alliances. Sewell's statement (*HISI.* p. 135) that Narasimha II gave his daughter in marriage to the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III seems to be no more than a plausible guess.

39. March 21 to April 20—*EI.* viii, p. 7, Kielhorn.

39a. 192 of 1939-40, (Yr. 44) *ARE.* 1939|40-1942|43 II 42.

40. 23 of 1897.

41. 480, 481 of 1921.

42. 393 of 1918.

43. 112 of 1911.

44. 244 of 1917.

45. 279 of 1927; *ARE.* 1927 II 30.

46. 506 of 1918 (Yr. 18).

47. 228 of 1929. The name of Rājarāja does not appear in the record; but it is surely of his reign. *ARE.* 1929 II 48.

48. *Contra ARE. ibid.*

49. *Ante* p. 420.

50. 349 of 1919 (Yr. 11).

51. 408 of 1919 (Yr. 14).

52. 404 of 1919 (Yr. 15).

53. 369 of 1919 (Yr. 20). Other gifts by Hoysala generals: 611, 612, 615 of 1919 (Yr. 24); 138 of 1905 (Karuvûr, Yr. 24).

54. 39 of 1920 (Yr. 20).

55. Pd. 183 (Yr. 20).

56. 366 of 1919.

57. *PK.* pp. 158—9.

58. Pd. 340, 341.

59. 419-c of 1893. Ambadēva, the feudatory of the Kākatīyas, is called *Kāḍavarāya-vimardaka*, 173, 268 of 1905.

60. 504 of 1902; 488-a of 1902.

61. 8 of 1893.

62. 363 of 1918; *NI.* R. 38, G. 58.

63. 104 of 1922; 88 of 1889.

64. *ARE. passim.*

65. 138 of 1904 (Yr. 24).

66. 445 of 1919. Also 444 of Yr. 19 (A.D. 1235).

67. The relations between Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III have been much misunderstood. We have one more instance here of a tentative suggestion put forward by a pioneer scholar being regarded as an established fact and made the basis of further reconstructions. Dealing with 64 and 65 of 1892, two inscriptions of Rājēndra of the seventh and eighth regnal years, Venkayya observed in 1900: 'That there was at least one other Cōḷa contemporary of Vīra Sōmēśvara is shown by two inscriptions in the Ranganātha temple Śrīrangam (64 and 65 of 1892) dated during the reign of the Cōḷa King Tribhuvana-Cakravarti Rājēndra Cōḷa-dēva. If this Cōḷa King was reigning during the time of Rājarāja III and independently of him, it may show that the decline of the Cōḷas about his time was due, partly at least, to internal dissensions.' (*ARE.* 1900, paragraph 30). He also said in another connection in the same report: 'As both Cōḷa-Tikka and Vīra-Sōmēśvara claim to have established the Cōḷa King on his throne, and as they were fighting with one another, it may be assumed that they took up the cause of two opposing claimants to the Cōḷa Kingdom,' (*Ibid.*, paragraph, 48). It does not need much reflection to see that either of these statements

constitutes only one of several possible explanations of the fact cited in each case. Yet, all subsequent writers have just accepted these suggestions of Venkayya as settled facts, and have been rather obsessed by them. For, otherwise, there would not have been the attempt, noticed above, to maintain, on such slender evidence, that Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III were brothers; and Krishna Sastri would have been less ready to give the start to the theory of Rājēndra killing Rājarāja after securing for him two crowns for three years, *ARE.* 1912 II 32. The word *dhūrta* in Rājēndra's *praśasti* on which Krishna Sastri relies for this theory, has a variant reading *dṛpta*, and the compound in which it occurs must be referred to the word Pāṇḍya that follows, as was correctly done by Gopinatha Rao in his Tamil history of the Cōḷas, p. 114. It is obviously a reference to the tradition of the Pāṇḍya's expedition against Indra. All the statements controverted here have been summarily accepted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 35—41.

67a. 64 of 1892. Let us note also the words: *manukulameḍuttu neri-muḍi śūḍiyaruliya* in 185 of 1908 (Yr. 4). In *SII.* vii. Appendix A, three records with a short *praśasti* beginning *pūmiyum tiruvum* are ascribed to Rājēndra III; they belong in fact to the early years of Kulōttunga I, and in two of them Parakēsari should be treated as a mistake for Rājakēsari.

68. *Cōḷa-kula-paribhava-nirākaraṇa vikrama-tri-varṣa-dhārita-makuṭadvaya--Rājarāja.*

69. *Pāṇḍya-maṇi-makuṭa-śiraḥ-khaṇḍana-paṇḍita*—420 of 1911; 515 of 1922.

70. 201 of 1905; for the meaning of *talai-koṇḍa* see above pp. 143-4. Cf. also *Pāṇḍya-maṇi-makuṭa-pīṭha-pratiṣṭhita-pādāravinda* of 93 of 1897 and 515 of 1922.

71. Krishna Sastri says: 'the two crowns—perhaps of the Pāṇḍya and the Kēraḷa', *ARE.* 1912, II, 32. There is no mention of the Kēraḷa except in the rhetorical claim that the Kēraḷa and the Pāṇḍya held his fly-whisks: *svar-vēśyā-sandhāna-dṛpta (dhūrta)-Pāṇḍya-Kēraḷa-vījyamānacāmara-yugaḷa.* Moreover, if both the Pāṇḍyan and Kēraḷa crowns were bestowed on Rājarāja, these with his own Cōḷa crown, would make three, not two as stated in the *praśasti.*

72. *PK.* p. 158.

73. *EC.* v, p. xxv.

74. *EC.* v. *AK.* 123.

75. A Śrīrangam inscription of the eighth year, A.D. 1254, begins with the expression: *Māma-Sōmēśvara-pratikūla-kāla-daṇḍa;* this may mean either 'the rod of death against uncle Sōmēśvara' or 'the rod of death to the enemies of uncle Sōmēśvara'. The same ambiguity attaches, though perhaps in a less measure, to the similar expression in the Sanskrit *praśasti: Karunāṭa-rāja-pratikūla-kāla-daṇḍa.* Fortunately for us, another phrase in the Sanskrit *praśasti* settles the meaning in the sense that Rājēndra was hostile to Sōmēśvara himself. That expression is: *'giridurga malla-Vīra-Sōmēśvara-kar-āmukta-pāda-vīrābharaṇa'*, meaning: 'on whose leg Vīra-Sōmēśvara, the (wrestler against) capturer of hill-forts, put on the anklet of heroes.' It should be noted that the

date of these transactions can only be roughly indicated to lie between A.D. 1238, the accession of Māṟavarman Sundara II and 1253, the earliest known date of the *praśasti* of Rājēndra. AK. 123 contains two dates in A.D. 1234 and 1236, but may have been engraved several years later; the dates refer to events narrated in the course of the record.

76. 501 of 1904 (Yr. 30).

77. Pd. 340, 341—same as 387 of 1906; *ARE*, 1907 II 26.

78. It may be noted that Kōpperuñjinga also calls himself *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra*, and it is possible that he helped the Pāṇḍyan rulers also.

79. 446 of 1919; *ARE*. 1920 II 55.

80. 357 of 1919; 446 of 1919 and others.

81. *EC*. vi, Kd. 100. *Vīra Sōmēśvara Dēvanu Gaṇḍa Gōpāḷana mēlē etti naḍedu*. 439 of 1937-8 of A.D. 1239 (Yr. 23, Rājārāja III) is said to indicate the stabbing of Narasimha II by Gaṇḍagopāla, (*ARE*. 1937-8, II 42). But as this contradicts Tikkana and as the inscription is not easy, it seems better to await clearer proof.

82. It may be doubted if the title *Cōḷa-sthāpanācārya* which is applied to Vīra Sōmēśvara has any real historical significance and if it is not simply a repetition of a title actually earned by his father. On the other hand, Tikkana's words are very clear about Tikkanṛpati and deserve to be cited:

> Śambu-rājādi-praśastāri- maṇḍalikamujerci-yēlaḍē kāñcipuramu |
> Cēdi-maṇḍalamu gāsigajēsi Kāḍavapati-nīyyakolupaḍē palacamunaku ||
>
> * * *
>
> Kamalāpta-pratimāna-mūrti-yagunā-Karṇāṭa Sōmēśu durdama-dōrgarvamu rūpu māpi nijadarpambum pratiṣṭhiñci Īlameyiñ-jōḷuni bhūmipai nilipi Cōḷasthāpanācārya-nāmamu dakkangoni Tikkabhūvibhuḍu sāmarthyambu cellimpaḍē ||

Kētana, in his *Daśakumāracaritra* adds that Tikka levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya (1:16). Can it be that his troops assisted Rājēndra in his Pāṇḍyan war?

83. 58 of 1908 (Kulo. III, Yr. 17). The Northern Lankā has no reference to the Lankās of the Gōdāvari delta (*ARE*. 1918 II 32; 1913 II 43), but to Māvilangai, *Pattuppāṭṭu*[3] p. 139, *Puṟanānūṟu*[2] Intr. p. 61.

83a. 352 and 566 of 1919.

83b. *IA*. xxi, .pp 197 ff. Another inscription, 2 of 1893, seems to be the Tamil version of the same transaction and bears a date exactly one week earlier, the astronomical details corresponding to Tuesday, June 1, A.D. 1249.

83c. 580 of 1907. yaḥ sāhāyyam vidhitsuḥ Gaṇapatinṛpates-svecchayā samgarāgre Godāvaryām sariti nṛpatiś-carmayaṣṭyā nivṛtya | Kālingam svān Kalingānabhimukham-akarodekavīras-tadānīm || *ARE*. 1908 II 75. I am unable to trace the authority for Krishna Sastri's statement: 'The Kākatīya king Ganapati of Warangal made a dash, just at this period, into the South; took Kāñcī and was encamped on the island of Śrīrangam.' *ASI*. 1909-10, p. 155.

83d. *Siddēśvaracaritra*, cited by Vīrēśalingam, *Lives of Telugu Poets* (rev. ed.) Pt. i, pp. 89-92.

83e. The order of expressions in his Sanskrit *praśasti* seems to be significant: Vīraganḍagōpāla-vipina-dāva-dahana, Kāñcīpuravarādhīśvara, Gaṇapati-hariṇaśārdūla, Nellūrapura-viracita-vīrābhiṣeka. *SII.* iv. 433. I am unable to share the doubts of Sewell about this expedition *HISI.* p. 155.

84. 49 of 1913, 387 of 1903, 498 of 1902, 349 of 1919. The suggestion has been made (*ARE.* 1913 II 43) that the part taken by the officers of Sōmēśvara in a local enquiry into temple affairs at Śivāyam (49 of 1913) constitutes proof that Sōmēśvara acknowledged the sovereign power of Rājēndra. But this is very doubtful, especially if we recall the number of inscriptions of Rājarāja III in which the Hoysala officials appear. It is reasonable to infer the existence of friendly relations between the two powers.

85. 207 and 208 of 1931.

86. *ARE.* 1931, II, 16.

87. *PK.* pp. 160 ff.

88. 515 of 1922.

89. *Contra. ARE.* 1923, II. 45. He may be the same as Aḷagiya Śēman of Pudukkottah inscrr. nos. 427-37, a Pāṇḍya feudatory from 1257-79 who built the Śembāṭṭūr and Tiruviḍaiyāpaṭṭi temples, (*Pudukottai Manual*, pp. 619-21).

90. 427 of 1921.

91. 194 of 1926; 202 of 1908; 339 of 1925.

91a. 93 of 1897.

92. *EC.* ix, Bn. 96.

93. 3 of 1890; *EI.* iii, pp. 70-2.

94. *JOR.* v. pp. 128 ff.

95. 30 of 1891; 56 of 1892.

96. *Bhārati*, Āngirasa, Śrāvaṇa.

97. 291 of 1927. Other references, rather vague, occur in Vijayanagar records—e.g. *MAR.* 1928, p. 51, ll. 7-8 of 44.

Chapter XVII

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CŌḶA EMPIRE

Introductory.

In this and the succeeding chapters, an attempt is made to describe the state of government and society in the Cōḷa country from the accession of Vijayālaya to the downfall of the Cōḷa empire. Such a description must necessarily be very imperfect, as it has to be pieced together from scanty material, scattered over a wide area and as yet not fully understood. Numerous as are the inscriptions, the task of interpreting them can hardly be said to have begun, and but for the access I had, by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India, to the unpublished inscriptions in the epigraphist's office at Madras, this survey must have remained even more meagre than it is. The deplorable lack of a settled chronology for the indigenous literature imposes a serious handicap on the student who seeks to use it in historical reconstruction. Welcome as it is, the light shed on South Indian affairs by foreign travellers and chroniclers of this age is faint and flickering. Numismatics again offers us more problems than solutions; and taking the area and duration of Cōḷa rule into account, we may well say that the number and variety of Cōḷa coins known to-day are almost inconsiderable. Fortunately, we seem to be in a better situation with regard to the monuments of the period, and there is no lack of authentic and valuable material for an appreciation of its architecture and sculpture. For the study of government and social life, however, as for that of political history, our primary source must remain epigraphy, aided by a cautious use of literary material.

The historian of India must perhaps remain a stranger to the bracing effects of a consciousness that his is a study of continuous and progressive tendencies steadily working for the amelioration of his fellow-men. He cannot claim that in any sphere of human activity, whether it be in the production and conservation of wealth, in the creation and development of political organisation, or in devotion to the fine

arts, or even in the pursuit of religious life and the practice of moral virtues, often held up as the differentia of Indian culture, there has been a steady advance through centuries towards a higher level of achievement. No country in the world, not even the most fortunate, has altogether escaped disorders and revolutions that have often rudely undone, for a time, the noble results of generations of civilised life and work. But the student of India's past finds it hard to resist the impression that at some stage in her history there set in a rot which, spreading soon over all spheres of life, sapped its vitality and made for the continuous loss of her efficiency. Foreign domination, the ascendency of caste, the pessimistic outlook on life started by Buddhism and perfected by the Vedānta, and other causes of an equally sweeping character have been brought forward as the possible source of decay. Even the earlier phase of the history of India, in which she was most herself, little dominated by the foreigner though by no means unwilling to absorb the good that he brought into her ken, and giving freely of the best in her to the rest of Asia without the least attempt at an enforced cultural, much less physical, domination of the lands enriched by her gifts,—even this phase has often been viewed in the shadow of ideas generated by the decadent phase of her subsequent history. Caste was there, and with it also Buddhism and the philosophy of the Vedānta; none of them, nor all of them taken together, did anything, at one time, to sap the foundations of national life and achievement; and much evidence lies to hand to show that, on the contrary, these and other features of Indian life were the results of earnest and, by all human standards, not unsuccessful efforts to solve pressing problems of social and intellectual life in a manner which, however inconsistent with our modern views on these subjects, appears then to have worked tolerably well towards the promotion of mutual understanding and good-will and contentment in a large section of the human race. The history of the Cōḷa empire belongs, on the whole, to this earlier and happier phase of India's history, and we shall see that, in spite of much that appears primitive and even offensive to us, much greater things were accomplished by corporate and voluntary effort, a greater sense of social harmony prevailed, and a consciousness of active citizenship was more widespread

when the Cōḷa kings held their sway in Southern India than in more recent times.

Scope of this study of social life.

The period covered by the following survey extends over more than four centuries, *circa* A.D. 850-1270. Though, strictly speaking, it should embrace the whole of Southern India including the Telugu country which was, for the bulk of the period, an appendage of the Cōḷa empire, still the paucity of Cōḷa records outside the Tamil country proper, and the existence of the records of many local dynasties in these areas which have not yet been as fully studied as they deserve, render it necessary to confine this survey primarily to the Tamil land. The history of the Eastern Cāḷukyas for instance is a great chapter in the annals of the Telugus and their literature; it is hardly possible to do justice to it in what is essentially a study in Tamil history. And what applies to the Telugu area applies also, though not perhaps in the same measure, to the Kēraḷa and Karnāṭa countries. Though these districts may find mention off and on, especially in the study of the administrative system of the Cōḷa empire which embraced them all alike, the following account of social life makes no claim to any approach to fullness with regard to these areas.

Government.

The form of government was now, as in the Śangam age, monarchy. But there was little in common between the primitive and somewhat tribal chieftaincy of the earlier time, and the almost Byzantine royalty of Rājarāja and his successors with its numerous palaces, officials and ceremonials and its majestic display of the concentrated resources of an extensive empire. It is inconceivable that little groups of roving bards with their tambourines and their danseuses could have strolled in a casual manner into the stately mansions of these mighty potentates and gaily accosted them to an hour or two of feast and song, as they did in an earlier age when the 'Crowned King' of the Cōḷa land shared with two other crowned heads some sort of primacy in a land studded with petty principalities held by a somewhat turbulent, but not uncultured, aristocracy. After its recovery from the effects of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inroad, the Cōḷa monarchy embraced the whole of Southern India

A Byzantine monarchy.

and extended east to west from sea to sea, while its sway was bounded on the north by an irregular line from somewhere near Mangalore along the Tungabhadrā and the Vēngī frontier; for Vēngī was so closely connected with the Cōḷa kingdom in the period 1000 to 1150 or so, that, though its separate political existence continued throughout in all its vigour, for all practical purposes of inter-state diplomacy, it counted more or less as part of the Cōḷa empire. The principal conquests of the Cōḷas took place in the interval between the accession of Sundara Cōḷa and that of Rājēndra I, and mainly in the reign of the great Rājarāja. And as in his reign the Cōḷa kingdom ceases to be a small state and grows to imperial dimensions, the monarchy undergoes a corresponding transformation, and the king may be said now to become 'Emperor', 'Chakravartigaḷ'[1] as he is occasionally called by his subjects, though in his official records he is still described only as 'Uḍaiyār', and not till much later is the title 'Emperor of the Three Worlds' adopted or the queen mentioned along with the king in public documents as possessing the whole world.[2] Under Rājarāja also begins the system of prefacing the stone records of the reign with an account in set form of the chief occurrences of the reign.[3] This innovation may be said to have marked the consciousness of the change in the position of the monarch. Another symbol of the same consciousness might be found in the magnificent lithic temple of Rājarājēśvara in Tañjāvūr which rose in the proportion and technique of its architecture as much above any other temple then known, as the Cōḷa empire itself did above the earlier kingdoms of the south.

The capitals.

Tañjāvūr, the Tanjore of the modern maps, was the Tañjāpurī chosen by Vijayālaya for the seat of his new power and the abode of the goddess, Niṣumbhasūdanī, that had vouchsafed him success in his enterprises. Though after the conquest of the Pallava country, Kāñcī became a sort of subsidiary capital in which the kings spent part of their time, Tañjāvūr maintained her position as the chief city of the kingdom till it was eclipsed by the new city of Gangāpurī, which with the vast tank in its neighbourhood, the Cōḷa-gangam, served for many centuries to commemorate the ambition and the vanity of Rājarāja's warlike son, Rājēndra. We have apparently no con-

temporary account of either of these cities. From the hymns of Karuvūrttēvar celebrating the Rājarājēśvara and the Gangaikoṇḍacōḷēśvara temples in the two places, we learn only that Tanjore had a fort-wall and a deep moat surrounding it, and nothing whatsoever concerning the other city. The big bazaar of Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, and the palace Śōḷakēraḷan in it are, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of the period,[4] besides the servants of the bathing establishment of the king (*tirumañjanattārvēḷam*) attached to the palace.[5] Paḷaiyāṟu, near Kumbakōṇam, which contained a temple called Arumoḷidēva-Īśvara after Rājarāja's name,[6] seems to have contained a palace which was the favourite residence of Rājarāja's sister Kundavai, and for some time of Rājarāja himself. A small hamlet near Paḷaiyāṟu even now preserves the name Śōḷa-māḷigai within about four miles of the Kumbakōṇam railway station, and a small ruined temple there is said still to mark the site of the ancient palace of which it served as the guardian angel.[7] It has been pointed out before that Rājēndra I built a palace of huge dimensions at Madura, and other places like Uttaramērūr also have traditions of Cōḷa palaces having existed in them.

Tañjāvūr.

About Tañjāvūr, the original capital of Vijayālaya and his successors, we learn more from the inscriptions of the period than about any other city. The Big Temple, the most remarkable monument of Rājarāja's reign, was nearing completion about A.D. 1010; it is not possible to decide how long before that date its construction was begun. Though the king's order for engraving on the walls of the temple his gifts to it and those from others was issued early in his twenty-sixth year, A.D. 1011, it seems hardly likely that the work of actual engraving started till nearly three years later.[8] Besides a number of royal palaces inside the city and in its vicinity, and the residence of palace-servants divided into a number of *vēḷams*,[9] we find the names of a large number of streets and quarters of the city mentioned in the records. The big street of Vīraśōḷa, the big bazaar of Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār, are mentioned in inscriptions of an earlier date than the reign of Rājarāja.[10] In that reign a distinction comes up between the inner (*uḷḷālai*) and the outer (*puṟambaḍi*) city, and it seems possible that the *Puṟambaḍi* was of the nature of an extension, a new city,

planned and for the most part built in the reign of Rājarāja himself, though the big bazaar named above had been in existence for some time already.[11] It is perhaps noteworthy that among the new streets constituted in Rājarāja's reign were two running east to west, perhaps in front of the big temple, and known as the Northern and Southern Taḷiccēris, both of them given over entirely to the occupation of four hundred hetaerae who were impressed into the service of the big temple from the various other temples of the kingdom, and whose names are preserved to us with the door numbers of the houses occupied by them.[12] We also learn incidentally of other temples in the city called the Jayabhīma temple and the temple of Tañjai-māmaṇi. And there was a hospital attached to a Viṣṇu temple called after Rājarāja's father Sundara-cōḷaviṇṇagarātula-śālai and endowed by his sister Kundavai.[13] Altogether the impression we get is that of a rich, well-provided and progressive city whose life was doubtless dominated by the temple and the court.

Royal Household.

The royal household comprised numerous servants of various descriptions including body-guards of sorts. Several groups of Parivāras are mentioned and distinguished from one another by their individual names formed from the surnames of the kings;[14] that these groups served also as body-guards is clear from their being described occasionally as *Tirumeykāppār*. The bath-room and kitchen establishments would seem to have been composed more or less exclusively of women. The palace servants were organised into *vēḷams* and settled in separate quarters in the cities of Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram;[15] these *vēḷams* were often recruited from the men and women captured in war. We have to look upon this crowd of personal servants as in the enjoyment of a fair competence in return for generally very light work; the status of the members of the *vēḷams* was perhaps that of a not unpleasant servitude to which the less sensitive among them might have reconciled themselves in a short time.

'At state banquets', we read in Chau Ju-kua on the Cōḷa Dominion,[16] 'both the Prince and four Court Ministers salaam at the foot of the throne, then the whole (company present) break into music, song and dancing. He

(the Prince) does not drink wine, but he eats meat, and, as is the native custom, dresses in cotton clothing, and eats flour-cakes. For his table and escort he employs "fully a myriad dancing-girls, three thousand of whom are in attendance daily in rotation."'

Apparently each important member of the royal family had his own *entourage* of such personal attendants; this is seen from such expressions in the inscriptions as: 'In the particular service (*tanic-cēvagam*) of Uḍaiyār Kōdaṇḍarāma,' 'the Śatrubhayankarat-terinda-vēḷam of Pañcavan Mahādēviyār'[17] and so on. The king, his queens and their numerous relatives set the example, so generally followed by the official nobility, the merchants and other well-to-do classes of society, of erecting temples and endowing them on a liberal scale, and spending considerable sums of money on the reclamation of land, promotion of irrigation works, maintenance of schools and hospitals and other useful works. In order to be able properly to comprehend the loving regard and affection which generally actuated the feelings of the people towards their rulers of various grades, we must take account, among other things, of the generous measure in which much that was collected from the people by way of numerous taxes, aids and dues was returned to them in the form of charitable endowments. Such endowments formed indeed an essential feature of national economy, and it is important to grasp the significance, political and social, of the lead given by the court in this respect.

Dāna preferred to yajña.

One circumstance worthy of some attention is the paucity of references to Vedic sacrifices performed by the monarchs of the period. The *aśvamēdha* occurs only once and that in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja. The poems of the Śangam age doubtless imply that such costly Vedic rituals were more common in that age. More emphasis seems to be laid in this period on *dāna*, gift, in preference to *yāga*, sacrifice. Occasions for such gifts are multiplied not only by the elaborate organisation of temples and worship in them, and the studied effort to group all social amenities round the temple as a nucleus, but by the newer means of obtaining religious merit enjoined on the rich in general, and on royalty in particular, such as the *tulā-*

bhāra, the *hiraṇyagarbha* and so forth. It is one of the most remarkable achievements of mediaeval Hinduism to have harnessed the religious emotions of man in the effective service of society. The temple and the *maṭha* flourishing on *dāna* (gifts) together with the *agrahāra*, the *caturvēdimangalam* of the Cōḷa inscriptions, are the most typical expressions of this phase of South Indian religion. The Jain *paḷḷis* and the Bauddha *vihāras* also derived benefit from this general movement.

Rāja-guru.

That the Cōḷa monarchs were staunch Śaivas in their religious persuasion is a well established fact. Śaivism, like many other sectarian manifestations of latter-day Hinduism, required its followers to obtain initiation from a *guru;* the Cōḷa kings no doubt followed this rule and there must have been in existence a succesion of *rāja-gurus* during the whole period of Cōḷa rule. The names of Īśāna Śiva and Śarva Śiva stand out from the inscriptions of the reigns of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra, and bear testimony to the North Indian connections of the Śaivism of the Cōḷa Court. A *guru-dēvar* revered by the king as his spiritual preceptor is mentioned in an inscription of Rājādhirāja I.[18] Another *rāja-guru* is mentioned by a Mysore inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga I which records that the king followed the advice of the *guru* in granting a Brahmadēya to 108 *caturvēdibhaṭṭas*.[19] And the position held by Uḍaiyār Svāmidēvar in the reign of Kulōttunga III shows that the *guru* generally acted as the king's adviser in the administration of religious institutions; Svāmidēvar, for instance, disapproved of certain dispositions made by the king regarding the conduct of worship in the temples at Tirukkaḍaiyūr on the death of one of the priests; when the king came to know of it, he revised his orders and appointed the men recommended by Svāmidēvar as having a just claim to the place.

Temples as sepulchral monuments.

Several temples, of the period, and often also the chief icons in them, were called after the ruling kings who established them. The worship accorded to idols called sometimes after living monarchs seems to have been connected with the apotheosis of royal personages after their demise. This practice in the form of the cult of Dēvarāja,

'God-king', was even more widespread in the Indian Archipelago and the contemporary kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese peninsula than in Southern India.[20] More closely allied to Śaivism than to any other form of Hinduism, the prevalence in the Cōḷa country of the notions that gave rise to the cult of Dēva-rāja is attested by inscriptions which mention the construction of sepulchral temples over the remains of kings and princes. The Ādityēśvara at Toṇḍamānāḍ erected as a *paḷḷipaḍai* to his father by Parāntaka I,[21] the Ariñjigai-Īśvara at Mēlpāḍi built by Rājarāja I likewsie to commemorate Ariñjaya who died at Āṟṟūr,[22] and the Pañcavanmādēviśvara in Rāmanāthan Kōyil apparently erected by Rājēndra I[23] are among the most conspicuous examples of this practice. The existence of human bones underneath the sanctum sanctorum in several temples has been revealed in recent times when their renovation was started;[24] and the growing disapproval of this practice in later times is shown by the attempt to erase the word '*paḷḷipaḍai*' in the inscription at Rāmanāthankōyil just referred to.[25]

Portrait images.

An image of Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II is said to have been set up in the temple at Tanjore and arrangements made for its worship by his daughter Kundavai who also endowed another image either of herself or her mother in the same place.[26] There were also images of Rājarāja and his queen Lōkamahādēvi.[27] The temple in the village of Śembiyanmahādēvi, so called after the pious queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, contained an image of the queen, likewise regularly worshipped.[28] Inscribed images of a more or less authentic character supposed to represent Rājēndra and Cōḷamahādēvi are found to-day in the temples of Tanjore and Kāḷahasti.[29] These examples are enough to establish the divine honours accorded to royal personages after death, and sometimes in their lifetime.

The Army.

The king was the head of the army and the navy. Numerous regiments of the army are mentioned by their specific names in the inscriptions. One remarkable feature of the army brought out by these records is that each of these regiments had a corporate life of its own and was free to endow benefactions or build temples in its own name.

Sometimes individuals still in service adopted the same course. And we come to know the names of these regiments and individuals from the records of such transactions. In fact we learn more of the part taken by the forces of the king in the civil life of the country than of the details of their military life and organisation. The names of over thirty regiments mentioned in Rājarāja's inscriptions have been collected by Venkayya and the list can easily be extended to about seventy by adding to it names that can be drawn from the records of other reigns before and after Rājarāja. Each of these names clearly commemorated the time when the regiment was constituted, and it possibly recalled, to the minds of contemporaries, the exact occasion for it; many surnames otherwise unknown of the kings of the period are preserved in this manner—Pārthivaśēkhara, Samarakēsari, Vikramaśinga, Tāyatonga, Dānatonga, Caṇḍaparākrama, Rājakuñjara and so on. These names of regiments constitute evidence of the gradual growth of the army in the early days of Cōḷa expansion and to some extent also of the nature of the different sections of it. We hear for instance of the elephant corps (*ānaiyāṭkaḷ, kuñjiramallar* etc.), the cavalry (*kudiraiccēvagar*), and several divisions among the infantry. The *Kaikkōḷapperumbaḍai*,[30] 'the great troops of kaikkōḷas', included all the regiments known as Kaikkōḷar. This name has sometimes been interpreted in its modern meaning of 'weavers';[31] but the term has a more literal meaning in the contexts in which it occurs in the Cōḷa inscriptions; it indicates '(a class of) men distinguished by the strength of their arms', or 'the strong men of the wings (of the army),' that is, soldiers of the infantry division in the army. Then there were regiments of bowmen (*villigaḷ*) and swordsmen (*vāḷperra kaikkōḷar*). The *vēḷaikkārar* of the *valangai* (Right-hand),—we hear of Iḍangai (Left-hand) also in the Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu,—were another large section comprising several regiments. The conjecture has been made that these were volunteers enlisted on particular occasions (*vēḷai*).[32] This seems to be, however, wide of the mark. In fact, the *vēlaikkārar* were the most permanent and dependable troops in the royal service, and their designation implies that they were ever ready to defend the king and his cause with their lives when occasion (*vēḷai*) arose. This view is supported by

some literary references of a somewhat later date.[33] Perhaps closely analogous to the *vēḷaikkārar* in organisation and purpose were the *tennavan-āpattudavigaḷ* found in the service of the later Pāṇḍya kings of whom Marco Polo says that they kept always near the king and had great authority in the kingdom.[34] The distinction between Śiṟudanam and Perundanam seems to have cut across the other divisions so far mentioned. Sometimes, regiments were distinguished by territorial names like Pāṇḍip-pāḍai.[35]

A unique inscription from Tiruvāliśvaram near Ambāsamudram in the Tinnevelly district furnishes the military history of a regiment which calls itself Mūṉṟukai-Mahāsēnai (the Great Army of the Three Arms or sections).[36] Undated though it is, there can be no doubt that the record belongs to the period of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I. In this inscription the Mahāsēnai is said to have constantly worshipped Viṣṇu and Śiva, to have defeated the Kannara and pursued him, to have killed the Gāngēya, to have captured Kalmāḍam and destroyed Viḷiñam on the sea, to have crossed the sea on the other (eastern) side and razed Mātōṭṭam to the ground, to have taken the Hill country (Malai-nāḍu) and routed the fleet (*kalamaṟuttu*) at Śālai, to have put to flight the Vallān (Cāḷukya) and captured Vanavāsi and to have been praised in song for these achievements by the Tamil poets of Kāḷahasti, to have also destroyed the fortress on the hill of Kucci and captured Uccandi (Uccangidroog), to have inflicted a defeat on the Vaḍugas (Northerners) who opposed them, and dismantled the fortifications of Vātāpi and done other things which, on account of a gap in the record, are not easy to follow. The army is also called—the residents of Pāṇḍi-nāḍu, the dauntless soldiers of the Great Army of the Three Arms. They took under their eternal protection the Temple of Tiruvāliśvaram and all its belongings, including its priests and servants. It is evident that the campaigns in which this regiment claims to have fought with such glory were those of the reigns of Rājarāja and his successor. The same regiment again proclaims its ideals of heroism in an inscription from Śērmādēvi in A.D. 1096[37] and solemnly takes under its protection another temple and its properties; here the regiment is called: 'the several armed thousands of the great army of the three divisions (*kai*).'

The army seems to have been spread over the country in the form of local garrisons and in cantonments called *kaḍagams*. Expressions like the *villigaḷ* (bowmen) of Enanallūr-kaḍagam,[38] the troops quartered in Tiruviḍaimarudil,[39] Ivvūrp-paḍait-talaivan (the Captain of the troops in this town)[40] are clear indications of the practice mentioned. After his southern campaigns, Kulōttunga I stationed an army in Kōṭṭāṟu, and established military colonies along the road from the Cōḷa country to that place.[41] A section of the army was posted in Maḍaviḷāgam in South Arcot in the forty-sixth year of the same king.[42]

We can form no idea of the methods of recruitment or of the numbers of the troops permanently employed in the army. It is remarkable that many of the leaders (*sēnāpatis*) in the army were of Brahmin extraction and when sufficiently distinguished bore the title Brahmādhirāja. The children born and bred in the *vēḷams*[43] seem to have formed a normal recruiting ground for the army, though they could not have furnished more than a small proportion in it. There is little evidence that the soldiers formed anything like a highly trained professional army having little or nothing in common with the civil population. On the other hand, the evidence is clear that they were not a mere rabble beaten up for particular occasions with no training in the military arts and no taste for the field. An army which included regiments like the Mūṉṟukai Mahāsēnai with cherished traditions of their own could hardly have been recruited or maintained in that manner. The mention of *kaḍagams* (cantonments) also goes to show that periodical training in military practice and the enforcement of discipline were not altogether unknown to the military department of the Cōḷa government. But there is much to show that the army was deeply interested in the civil transactions of life, and that its sections acted in many ways like the innumerable local corporations of a professional or territorial character of which we shall have to speak in detail later. The numerous charitable endowments made by them as groups and by their individual members, and the protection of the Tiruvāliśvaram temple undertaken by the Mūṉṟukai-Mahāsēnai have already been mentioned. We find three regiments of the Kaikkōḷappaḍai of Rājarāja I[44] co-operating with a revenue official (*nāḍu vagai*) at Sōmūr in imposing

and realising a fine levied on the authorities of the local temple for their default in not organising a procession of the image of the goddess on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Later Cōḷa inscriptions from Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukkottah state mention two divisions of the army interesting themselves in civic affairs. In the thirty-sixth year of Kulōttunga I (A.D. 1106) the *mūnṟu-paḍaip-poṟkōyil kaikkōḷar* and the *nāṭṭuppaḍai paḷiyili aiññūṟṟuvar* undertake to co-operate with the assembly of the *nāḍu* in maintaining a charitable endowment made in favour of the local temple.[45] Again, in the year 1213, the Kaikkōḷar mentioned above are described as stationed in Kōnāḍu and undertake to provide for the celebration of a number of festivals every year in the same temple.[46] It must be noted, incidentally, that the two divisions of the army here mentioned appear to have constituted two out of the four kinds of troops prescribed in the books on Indian polity—hereditary (*maula*), mercenary (*bhṛtaka*), militia (*śrēṇi*), and tribal (*aṭavi*). The *kaikkōḷar* were perhaps royal troops receiving regular pay from the treasury; the *nāṭṭuppaḍai* was the popular militia, called *śrēṇī* or *jānapada* by Kauṭilya, and employed perhaps only for local defence.[47] Who the faultless 500 (*paḷiyili aiññūṟṟuvar*) were and what relation they bore to the rest of the *nāṭṭuppaḍai*, it is not possible to say.

Almost to the end of the period of Cōḷa power the composition of the army and its role in the civil life of the community apparently continued to remain the same as at the beginning. In the reign of Rājarāja III, a member of the regiment called Naraśinga Vikkirama Vīrar built a temple at Pulivāy (Chingleput) and made some gifts to it.[48]

A Chinese author, writing in 1178, gives the following account of the Cōḷa country and its army:[49] 'This country is at war with the kingdoms of the West (of India ?). The government owns sixty thousand war-elephants, every one seven or eight feet (cubits ?) high. When fighting, these elephants carry on their backs houses, and these houses are full of soldiers who shoot arrows at long range, and fight with spears at close quarters. When victorious, the elephants are granted honorary names to signalize their merit, and there are some who bestow upon them embroidered housings and

golden mangers. Every day the elephants are taken into the presence of the king.'

Effects of Wars.

The idyllic view of war which makes it a joust among professionals interfering little with the normal life of the neighbourhood gains no support from our sources. From them war is seen to be a grim business of fire and sword; and, to judge from the inscriptions of the Cōḷas themselves, no less than of their enemies, the Cāḷukyas, life was made an intolerable burden for many generations to the people on either side of the Tungabhadrā by the bitterness of warfare. Even the common rules of fair fighting and chivalry seem often to have been ignored and much wanton injury inflicted on non-combatant populations, and women subjected to cruel disgrace and mutilation. The evidence from Ceylon and the Karnatak is too glaring to be set aside or glossed over. The destruction of temples of which Rājēndra I is accused in a Cāḷukya inscription was no doubt due in part to religious differences and in part to cupidity; Rājēndra was a Śaiva and the temples were richly endowed Jaina *bastis* in the enemy country and were fair game. The amount of booty that fell into the hands of the Cōḷas as a result of foreign war must have been enormous, and the Cōḷa inscriptions make no secret of the benefactions of the monarchs being often only the bestowal of plundered wealth on public institutions.[50] The booty captured in war belonged to the king who disposed of it at his will. In his sixth year, Rājarāja I ordered that nine hundred sheep captured from Śippuli and Pāki *nāḍus* were to be employed in endowing ten lamps in his own name in the temple of Durgā at Kāñcīpuram.[51] Again, we find an officer petitioning the king for the gift of one of the icons brought after the conquest of Malanāḍ, and obtaining, as a result, an image of Marakatadēvar which he installed at Tiruppalanam soon after.[52]

The Navy.

The 'numberless ships' which carried Rājēndra's troops across the 'rolling sea' to the conquest of Śrī-Vijaya and its dependencies could not have come up suddenly and must be accepted as proof of a steady naval policy pursued by the Cōḷa monarchs of the period. The early Cōḷas of the Śangam period had a good share in

the maritime trade and activity of the Indian seas. The history of the Hindu colonies in the Malay Archipelago and Indo-China gives clear evidence of a steady increase, under the Pallavas, in the trade and culture contacts between these lands and the countries of South India. The Tamil inscription[53] of Takuapa shows that an important mercantile corporation of South India, the *maṇigrāmam*, had established itself on the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal in the ninth century A.D.. The Cōḷas only continued an ancient tradition in the attention they gave to developing their power on the sea. The conquest of Ceylon and the Maldives, and the evidence of the Chinese annals on the embassies that reached China in this period from the Cōḷa country give us some measure of the success they attained in this direction. And the overthrow of the Cēra fleet at Kāndaḷūr Śālai may well be taken to mark the definite establishment of Cōḷa naval power in this period in the territorial waters of Southern India. We have little direct evidence on the build of the ships employed. Considering that the author of the *Periplus* distinguished three types of vessels several centuries earlier on the Coromandel coast and that the naval expedition of Rājēndra was a great achievement in itself, the existence of a well-ordered fleet comprising ships and boats of different grades must be admitted. The Arab merchant Sulaiman made several voyages between China and the Persian Gulf in the ninth century A.D., at a time when this long distance trade was being carried on very briskly. In his curious account of the Maldives, he says that the people of these islands 'built ships and houses and executed all other works with a consumate art.'[54] Sulaiman had no occasion to visit the Coromandel coast; and his voyages were made before the rise of the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line into prominence. Taking into account Sulaiman's testimony to the quality of the ships built in the Maldives, and the conquest of these islands effected by Rājarāja's fleet, we may form some idea of the efficiency of the Cōḷa navy in this period. Abu Zaid Hasan, in the notes which he added to Sulaiman's work about the beginning of the tenth century A.D., observes that the vessels of the Indian ocean, specially those made at Siraf, differed in construction from those of the Mediterranean. 'It is a fact that the type of ship built by pieces of wood sewn together

is a speciality of the builders of Siraf; the ship-builders of Syria and of Rum (Byzantium) nail, on the contrary, these pieces of wood and never sew them one to the other.'[55] To-day we can see boats on the Madras coast with planks 'sewn' together by threads of cocoanut fibre. But these are usually of a small size; and the observations of Abu Zaid based on what he saw and heard at Siraf about A.D. 916 on navigation in the Indian ocean[56] should be no obstacle to a just estimate of the size and importance of the navy of the Cōḷa empire more than a century later. If the Arab writers are too early, Marco Polo comes unfortunately too late, and we are without a good contemporary account of ship-building on the Coromandel coast under the Cōḷas. Ahmad-ibn Majid, an Arab writer of the fifteenth century and author of several nautical works, makes frequent allusion to the opinions of the Cōḷas which he approves or modifies. He must have had before him a specialised nautical literature of Tamil (Cōḷa) origin which he compared with Arab documents of a like nature. This literature must have included geographical tables with indications of the latitude of ports for the use of the mariners of the Coromandel coast.[57] Of this technical literature mentioned by this and other Arab writers, unfortunately no part seems to have survived.

The King.

The king's share in the public administration consisted in the issue of oral orders (*tiruvāyk-kēḷvi*) on representations made to him by responsible officials on particular matters requiring the personal attention of the sovereign; secretaries were always in attendance on such occasions and it was their duty to make a note of the terms of the petition made to the king and his orders thereon, and to transmit copies of such records to the authorities of the central or local administration concerned for necessary action. The time and place of the original petition, the name of the officer who presented it, and even the particular hall or throne where the monarch received the petition were often noted in reciting the order for being recorded in public places, usually the walls of temples. Rājarāja, for instance, is said in the larger Leyden grant to have ordered the gift of Ānaimangalam to the *paḷḷi* (temple) of the Śūḷāmaṇi-panma-vihāra while he was sitting in the hall to the south of his palace called Rājāśraya in the outer city

(*puṟambaḍi*) of Tañjāvūr; and the order was written out by a clerk,—*nām śolla nam ōlai eḻudum . . . . Amudan-tīrttakaran eḻuttināl.*[58] Other instances may be easily gathered and sometimes the same form is adopted in the records of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys, who were invariably members of the royal family.[59] Most of these examples relate, however, to gifts in one form or another; though it does not seem likely that the method of dealing with other matters differed very much, the very one-sided character of the inscriptions makes it difficult to prove this conclusively.

State and Society.

There is no definite evidence of the existence of a council of ministers or of other officers connected with the central government. A numerous and powerful bureaucracy assisted the king in the tasks of administration, which were those of controlling, supervising and regulating an existing order, changing it, if at all, only by imperceptible steps. No government of an Indian state ever enjoyed in those days legislative power in the modern sense of the term; there was no legislature proper, nor any attempt at legislative control of the executive. What legislation there was took the form of declarations (*vyavasthas*) by local associations of sorts, meant to meet the requirements of new situations as they arose. Such declarations in so far as they conformed to a general conception of what was fair and proper (Dharma), that is in so far as they commanded support from the public opinion of the class or group concerned, formed part of the social code, and were liable in the ultimate resort to be enforced by the king's government. Indian Society did not commit to the care of government anything more than the tasks of police and justice. Even the adjudication of disputes among individuals and groups often took place without reference to the officers of the crown, and went up to them only in the last resort, when other means had failed. The essentials of social regulation were undertaken by numberless local groups of a hereditary or voluntary character, and the duty of the central government was only to maintain the general conditions of peace and security needed for these numerous social organisations to thrive and fulfil their several purposes. The law-codes (*Smṛtis*) and the learned (*śiṣṭas*), as well as the elders in each group, commanded the allegiance of these social groups

more readily than royal mandates that contravened Law (Dharma) and custom (*ācāra*). The king was in no sense a law-maker; he was only the guardian of social life and laws.

The Cōḷa bureaucracy.

In this respect the Cōḷa government did not differ perceptibly from its contemporaries. What distinguished it from them was the superior executive strength it was able to develop by bringing into existence a highly organised and thoroughly efficient bureaucracy. It saw to it, moreover, that the growing host of officials by no means interfered with the free life and the initiative of local authorities and associations, while at the same time they controlled them efficiently and kept them on the straight path by a periodical scrutiny of their affairs. The more one reads the contemporary records, the more one begins to admire the nice balance struck between centralised control and local initiative, the clear distinction, ever present, between the functions of the state and those of the social group. The individual, as such, did not count. The problem of 'the man versus the state' never arose in a society that is best described as a federation of groups.

The hierarchy of officials in the service of the king were in the enjoyment of titles and distinctions which marked them off from one another and from the rest of society. Some of these were titles of ancient renown like *ēnādi*, and *mārāyan*, found mentioned as early as the age of the Śangam. From the context in which the author of the *Tolkāppiyam*[60] mentions *mārāyam*, it would seem originally to have been a military title indicating distinction won on the field of battle. In the inscriptions of this period, however, we find the title in more common use for designating persons in civil occupations like Kaḍigai-mārāyan, Vācciya-mārāyan and so on. We have also the title *mārāśi*, the feminine of *mārāyan*, applied to the wives of the *mārāyans*.[61] *Araiyan* and *pēraraiyan* are other titles also of quite common occurrence and conferred on persons distinguished in civil occupations like—*nittappēraraiyan* (grand master of the dance). We have also the general title *adigāriga*ḷ used to describe the higher officers in the army and in general administration which were not differentiated from each other in those days as they are now. These *adigāriga*ḷ often described themselves by the name of the ruling sovereign followed by

Official nobility.

the phrase *mūvēndavēḷār* and it is often impossible, as a result, to detect their personal names, and unless particular care is taken, one is apt easily to mistake one officer for another with similar or even identical titles. The annotator of the *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, writing no doubt some centuries after our period, gives a quaint account of the class of *adigārigaḷ*, which may be rendered thus: 'The *adigārigaḷ* are said to have come of the families descended from Bhōjarāja. Members of these families only accepted appointments as *mantris*, and did no other work. It is an improper thing that they are found holding the position of accountants in these days; except that they could not wear a crown, they are entitled to all the other insignia of royalty, and it is improper for them to accept any positions other than those of *mantris*.'[62] This curious legend shows how quickly the new class of official nobility that was coming up as a result of the elaboration of the Cōḷa administrative system developed group-traditions of its own and how readily such inventions gained currency. The wives of the *adigāris* may have been called *adigāriccis;* but we have obvious instances of the women in the female establishments of the queens bearing the title in their own right.[63] A more general distinction often found in the records of the period is that between the higher grade and lower grade of official nobility, so to say. The terms '*perundaram*' and '*siṟutaram*' (often with '*tanam*' written for '*taram*') seem to imply this distinction more than anything else;[64] the officers and servants, *karumigaḷ* and *paṇimakkaḷ*, even, at times, divisions of the army, are mentioned as belonging to the *perundanam* or the *śiṟudanam*.[65] Sometimes an intermediate status is also implied by the term *śiṟudanattup-perundaram* to which even commanders of troops, *sēnāpatis*, are assigned.[66] It is also to be noted that not only the king, but some of his more important feudatories like Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍanmaṟavan,[67] and perhaps also other members of the royal family, employed officials and servants grouped in such higher and lower grades. The earliest mention of the *perundaram* in a datable record is in the fifth year of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari,[68] c. A.D. 961. Eight officers of Rājarāja, of the *perundaram* rank, along with some others, were caught by the king in some act of cowardice or misdemeanour, and endowed lamps in the Tanjore temple apparently in fulfilment of vows they had

taken to secure divine intercession against their being disgraced by the king.[69] *Nyāyattār* (judges) of both *perundanam* and *śiṟudanam* are mentioned in the reign of Rājādhirāja II.[70]

Recruitment; tenure.

Little is known of the manner in which the officials of different grades were chosen for appointment in the first instance and for promotion to higher ranks thereafter. Birth and high connection must have conferred some advantage at the start, though the subsequent career might have depended largely upon the individual ability of a person, and the occasions for distinguished service which he got and utilised successfully. As even the succession to the throne appears to have been determined by a proper regard for the individual merits of those who might be deemed eligible for it, and as successive kings are seen to have used their discretion freely and fearlessly, not hesitating to keep out the unfit and always seeking to instal as heir-apparent the ablest person of their own generation or the next, it is not a violent assumption to make that the same stress on ability marked the choice and encouragement of public servants in the king's service. The most common method of remunerating officials was that of assigning to each according to his status a certain extent of land[71] which he held as his *jīvita*, and regular cash payments from the public treasury were practically unknown. But the income from such assignments usually consisted of two parts, one realised in kind and the other in cash payments. What was assigned in all these cases was by no means the absolute proprietorship of the soil which always belonged to the individual occupier or the village community, unless indeed their rights were bought out, but the rights of the central government to certain dues from the area so assigned.[72] Such assignments often included a whole village, or even district,[73] and this is the reason why many officials are found described as possessors or leaders (*uḍaiyān, kiḻān*)[74] of particular villages or even *nāḍus*. It was open to the assignees to sell or otherwise alienate or give away in part or as a whole the rights assigned to them. The system was open to uncertainties and abuses, though perhaps effectively checked by the accurate record of landrights maintained by the government and by the public opinion of the villages themselves, ready to assert itself in various ways in those times.

Administrative divisions.

The self-governing village was the unit of government. A number of them constituted a *kūṟṟam* or *nāḍu* or *kōṭṭam* as it was called in different parts of the country. What is often described as a *taniyūr* (a town apart) seems to have been a big sized village large enough to form a *kūṟṟam* by itself, as is implied by the phrase occasionally employed in connection with such places—viz. *tan-kūṟu*.[75] Several examples of such *taniyūrs*, in some ways analogous to the boroughs of mediaeval England, can be gathered from the inscriptions.[76] A number of *kūṟṟams* made up a *vaḷanāḍu*, often also called *nāḍu* in the region where the smaller division was called *kōṭṭam* viz. Toṇḍai-nāḍu *alias* Jayangōṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. Above the *vaḷanāḍu*[77] was the *maṇḍalam* or province proper, the largest division of administration. There were about eight or nine of these provinces including Ceylon, at the end of Rājarāja's reign, and it does not seem likely that this number was ever exceeded.[78] The subordinate divisions evidently underwent numerous reshufflings, and their names were changed so often as to justify the complaint that 'Cōla geography came to suffer as much from the plague of homonyms as the kings themselves.'[79]

Offices: Administration.

The designations and functions of some of the officers of government as they are found in the more important inscriptions of the period give us a very good idea of the numbers and organisation of the executive government of the day. The general terms by which such officers of all ranks are described are *Karumigaḷ* and *Paṇi-makkaḷ*, more or less corresponding to 'officials' and 'servants.' The Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa mention a Brahmin *Saciva* by name Aniruddha whose father was a teacher who gloried in a life of learning and instruction, and whose grandfather was an *Āhitāgni* and a devotee of Rangēśa. Aniruddha's was a celebrated family of Vaiṣṇavas from the village of Anbil. What the exact position of this 'noble minister' (*mānya saciva*) of the Jaimini sūtra and the Āvēṇika gōtra was in the administration, we are not told. But he got from the king the title of Brahmādhirāja and a perpetual grant of 10 *vēlis* of land in token of his regard and affection. The machinery employed for the execution of this order of the king is comparatively simple.

The order is communicated in the form of a *śrī-mukham* by the *Āṇatti*, the executive officer nominated by the king for the purpose, and the rest is done by the local corporations to whom the letter is addressed; and when the transaction is complete and a record of it is drawn up, it is attested by a number of persons who appear to be local magnates and describe themselves in various ways as Nāṭṭukkōn, Nāḍū-kiḻavan, Ūruḍaiyān and so on. It is difficult to decide if these witnesses were only prominent men of the neighbourhood or held definite posts under government. However that may be, the procedure followed some years later under similar circumstances is far more elaborate and furnishes a measure of the complexity of the administrative organisation that had grown in the interval. The larger Leyden grant and the Tiruvālangāḍu, Karandai, and Chārāla plates exhibit a close resemblance with regard to their official forms. The grant of Ānaimangalam to the Bauddha shrine in the Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra was ordered by the king on the 92nd day of the twenty-first year of his reign, recorded on the ninety-sixth day of the same year, and the execution was completed on the 113th day of the twenty-third year.[80] The corresponding dates for the grant of Paḻaiyanūr as a *dēvadāna* recorded in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates of Rājēndra I are: the 88th and 90th days in the sixth regnal year, and 155th in the seventh of that monarch.[81]

We have an instance reported in an inscription[82] of Uttama Cōḻa which furnishes an early example of remissness and neglect with regard to details, partly due to the fact that the system of audit and control elaborated in later times had not yet arrived. The village Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr was granted as a *dēvadāna and brahmadēya* in the twenty-first year of Āditya I, apparently soon after his overthrow of Aparājita and the annexation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Although a *śāsana* was drawn up in the very next year, the grant was not entered in the account books till the fourth year of Parāntaka I or more than twelve years later. Again, in the 36th year of Parāntaka I a fresh allocation was made of the dues from the lands (granted to the temple) for which the assembly of Puduppākkam was responsible; the assembly apparently managed to evade the enhanced assessment due from it in

consequence; towards the close of Uttama Cōḷa's reign the whole subject was brought up for enquiry before the king at Kāñcīpuram, the defaulters punished, and the rights of the temple restored. The confusion in this instance may have also been partly due to the disturbed state of the times following the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion.[83] In this instance, the complaint against the *sabhā* of Puduppākkam, is laid before a high official at the Court, having the title Śōḷamūvēnda-Vēḷān, by the authorities of the temple; that official takes it to the king;[84] the king himself summons to his presence the parties concerned and delivers judgement after enquiry, confirming the old grants to the temple and the responsibility of Puduppākkam for the supply of a certain quantity of paddy and a fixed amount of gold, and orders the necessary entries to be made in the rolls. The officers present on the occasion were one *karumi*, two *naḍuvirukkai*, who acted as *āṇatti* and *vāykkēḷvi;* the order was written out by an *uttaramantri* on duty (*ōlai-eḻudum*), and compared and attested by the *ōlai-nāyagam;* then a *karumi*[85] ordered the entry to be made in the registers (*variyiliṭṭuk-koḻga*) in accordance with this document (*tīṭṭu*); and then, four officers of the *puravu-vari* one of whom was an *uttaramantri*, one of the *varippottagam*, four *mukaveṭṭi* officers, three officers of the *puravu-vari* of Toṇḍai-nāḍu, two of the *varippottagak-kaṇakku*, and two of the *variyilīḍu* were present together and made the entries in the official records and attested them. In the Leyden grant are enumerated all these stages in almost identical form,[86] and there is one more step at the end; an officer called *mandira-ōlai* sends a *tirumugam* to the *nāṭṭār* of the *Paṭṭinak-kūṟṟam* requesting them to make an *aṟavōlai* (charity-deed) after marking off in a solemn manner the boundaries of the village granted, which they do in the presence of a *puravu-vari* officer. It may be observed, in passing, that this particular grant seems to be signed by the representative officers of all the villages of the Paṭṭinakkūṟṟam. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates mention also these later stages culminating in the drawing up of an *aṟavōlai*, and further introduce the names of some new officers like *puravuvari-tiṇaik-kaḷam*,[87] *paṭṭōlai, kīḻ-mugaveṭṭi, puravuvaritiṇaik-kaḷattuk-kaṇkāṇi* in addition to those already named.

The same officers are mentioned in similar connections in many other records. The Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Vīrarājēndra,[88] for instance, records the following stages: the monarch's oral order is written out (*eḻuttu*) by a *tirumandira-ōlai*, and compared (*oppu*) by the three officers called *tirumandira-ōlaināyagam*, before it is entered (*pugunda*); three other officers, one of them a *viḍaiyil adigāri*, order the entry of this in the *vari*, and then, six officers of the *uḍankūṭṭam*, twenty-eight of the *viḍaiyil*, and four of the *naḍuvirukkam* cause this to be done; nine superintendents (*kaṇ-kāṇi*) of the *puravu-vari tiṇaik-kaḷam*, one *varippottagam*, eleven *mugaveṭṭis*, three *variyilīḍus*, two *varippottagak-kaṇakkus*, and one *paṭṭōlai* attest the entry in the *vari* in token of their presence when the order was read out and entered in the proper register. We are not, of course, to imagine that every order required the presence of such a host of officials to be put through; the occasion recorded in this inscription was no doubt an exceptional one and there were a very large number of details to be settled and properly recorded. In fact this inscription is among the longest stone inscriptions in the world. But most of these offices, under the same or similar names, survived to the end of the reigns of Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III.

With little assistance from contemporary literature in the elucidation of the public administration of the period, we are thrown almost entirely on the inscriptions themselves and the contexts in which the various terms cited above occur, in our attempt to interpret them. The term *naḍuvirukkai* literally means 'being in the middle' and as it is applied to the *vijñapti* (*vāykkēḷvi*) the petitioner, and the *āṇatti* the executive officer, it seems to carry with it the notion of liaison between the monarch and the persons who desired to lay matters before him for his consideration. There is no evidence to show that particular officers were told off wholly for this purpose; on the other hand, it seems more likely that highly placed officials, for one reason or another, espoused the cause of particular persons or groups that came seeking royal intercession, and consented to act as *naḍuvirukkai* in those specific cases. Likewise the execution of particular orders of the king was entrusted specially to particular officers selected for the purpose. The officers of the *ōlai*[89] seem to have been of a

specialised character, and the organisation was carefully designed to minimise the possibilities of error in recording the orders. Thus the first draft of the order written by the *ōlai* officer[90] in immediate attendance on the king is scrutinised and approved by those of the *ōlai-nāyagam*,[91] that is by senior officers conversant with the proper official form and practice, the custodians of official tradition, corresponding to the permanent officials of a modern secretariat, who scrutinise each new proposal in the light of existing codes, rules and practice; then the *ōlai* becomes a *tīṭṭu* and affords the basis for further action, such as an entry in the permanent record books, or a communication to the local authorities concerned, or both. Such communications to local bodies were called *tirumugam* or *śrīmukham*,[92] and received by the addressees often with great ceremony; at any rate the official formula recording their receipt is highly formal and deferential. The Anbil plates for instance contain these picturesque phrases describing the occasion:[93] 'Seeing the *śrīmukham*, we rose to welcome it, saluted it and placed it on our heads before taking and reading it.' Among the permanent records, the *varippottagam* and the *varip-pottagak-kaṇakku* are to be carefully distinguished, and they formed the most important registers of the Revenue administration as their names indicate. This is, however, not to endorse what has so often been asserted of all oriental governments, that they are primarily tax collecting agencies. All governments worth the name have to collect taxes in order to maintain themselves and the public activities in their charge; and there is much evidence that the Cōḷa government was very mindful of its revenue. But the *varip-pottagam* was not a manual of extortion, but a carefully maintained record of land-rights, based on complete enquiries and accurate surveys, and kept up-to-date by fresh entries made from time to time by a set of well trained officials who were no strangers to the feelings of service tradition and loyalty to the king and state that actuate modern administrators. The *varippottagak-kaṇakku* was apparently a register corresponding to what we now call Demand-Collection-Balance statements, showing clearly the position relating to current receipts at any time.

The exact functions of the different grades of the officials named are not easy to define. The term *'puravu-vari-tiṇaik-*

kaḷam' occurs in so many combinations that it is very essential to get as clear a notion of its content as possible. The term *'puravu'* has the meaning of 'cultivated land.'[94] *'Puravu-vari,'* therefore, may be equated with 'land-tax'. The term *'puravu'* by itself is found used in the same sense in several inscriptions and includes obviously all payments due from lands in kind and in money.[95] In fact in these contexts the term closely resembles the modern revenue term 'assessment' as employed by the Indian land revenue officers. It may be suggested that in the expression *varippottagam* we must recognise a contraction of *puravu-varippottagam,* the second member of the compound word for land-revenue, *puravu-vari,* doing duty for the whole. If these interpretations are sound, the expression *'puravu-vari-tiṇaik-kaḷam'* would necessarily mean the Department of land-revenue, and all the combinations in which this phrase is introduced must be interpreted accordingly.[96] We see clearly that a distinction was maintained between the officers concerned with the maintenance of the records and those engaged in the local areas in the actual task of collecting revenue and carrying on the administration. The central office of control over the whole kingdom was also carefully distinguished from the local offices which were accountable to it, as for instance the officers in the Jayangoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam mentioned in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates.[97] There are also mentioned in different connections a fair number of *kaṇkāṇis* or supervisors who were the agents of the central department of control and audit, maintained as a check on the officers of the various departments in each locality. An entry in the *varip-pottagam* was known as a *variyilīḍu,* and it is possible that only officers bearing the designation *varippottagam* and *variyilīḍu* could make fresh entries in the books; and to judge from the instances furnished by the copper-plate grants, this was a most elaborate process requiring a considerable measure of publicity at almost every stage of it. The *mugaveṭṭi* of apparently two ranks,[98] and the *paṭṭōlai* were also minor officers of the land-revenue department,[99] of whose duties we have no precise knowledge. The suggestion that *mugaveṭṭi* is a contraction of *śrī-muga-veṭṭi,* and that it connotes the duty of writing or engraving, as the case may be, of royal letters, may well be true.[100]

The duties of Revenue officers included, then as now, many other spheres besides that indicated by their designations. They are often found regulating the receipts and expenditure of temples, or helping local authorities to do so.[101] They audit the accounts of temples and take steps for the prevention of embezzlement.[102] In one instance they are seen, as a department of the government, purchasing land after paying cash to a village assembly; the purpose of the purchase is not clear as the inscription is incomplete.[103] They attest public documents of importance drawn up by local authorities like village *sabhās*, embodying their resolutions such as exempting lands from payments of taxes and dues,[104] determining the status and obligations of particular groups of people[105] and so on. They seem to have been in the enjoyment of magisterial powers. In one instance they bound over to good behaviour the villagers of Kallūr who renounced some temple lands they had originally undertaken to cultivate, and were thereafter required not only to give up the lands but to undertake, on pain of being held guilty of treason, not to obstruct the cultivation of the lands renounced by them, nor to seek to re-establish their claim to them.[106] The inscriptions abound in extravagant oaths and asseverations; yet, it seems proper to infer, in this particular instance, the existence of a somewhat acrimonious dispute between the authorities of the temple of a neighbouring village and the residents of Kallūr. The temple owned some lands in Kallūr of which the cultivation was in the first instance entrusted to the people of that village; the Kallūr villagers suddenly threw up the land and pleaded inability to continue the cultivation and the periodical payment to the temple of the dues thereon. The bond entered into by them with the revenue officers closed the dispute, so far as we know. A *nāṭṭarasa* in the Mysore country conducts a trial for manslaughter.[107] It may be observed in passing that a revenue official, an accountant, is stated[108] to have received a deposit of money that belonged to a charitable endowment in the charge of the assembly of Maṇali and agreed to pay the annual interest on it at a prescribed rate. This he must have done in his private capacity; but, if that be so, the example is interesting in relation to the personal conduct of public servants.

In the inscriptions we come across the names of several other offices representing the central government in the districts. Of their functions we can as yet form no accurate idea. We can only note their names such as: *śandu-vigraham*,[109] *mahāmātra*—ancient name,[110] *nāḍu* (*kōṭṭam*) *vagai*[111] and *nāṭṭuk-kaṇḍu kāṭci* (*śungamum karaiyum śeygiṟa*). The creation of a *caturvēdimangalam*, a tax-free *brahmadēya* granted by the king to 108 Brahmins, in the twelfth year of Kulōttunga I, was first entered in the tax-register (*vari*) and then communicated to the *maṇḍalamudaliyār* of Muḍigonda-śōḷa-maṇḍalam where the land so given away was situated.[112] A *nāḍu-kūṟu*, Ādittaśūḷāmaṇi Brahma-mārāyar, is mentioned in an inscription of about A.D. 1114 from Eṉṉāyiram;[113] possibly, his duties were connected with the revenue survey and settlement of the *nāḍu*.

Uḍan-kūṭṭam.

We have stated above that no clear evidence is forthcoming of the existence of a council of ministers or other officials regularly associated with the king in the central government of the realm. But the value of consultation and deliberation was emphasised in all ancient treatises on polity, and not even the most autocratic of monarchs felt himself free to throw away the wise counsels of able ministers. Some high officials of the state are described as of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam*, an expression meaning 'the group or assemblage (ever) at hand'; the term '*kūṭṭam*' is often applied to the executive bodies of rural assemblies in the phrase *kūṭṭapperumakkaḷ*. The idea of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* then seems to be that of a body of executive officers in immediate and constant attendance on the king. Some officers of this rank are named in a record,[114] (from Tiruppāccūr) of the third year of Adhirājēndra; a few years earlier, six officers of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* are mentioned in the Tirumukkūḍāl inscription of the fifth year of Vīrarājēndradēva[115] (A.D. 1067). An inscription[116] of the thirtieth regnal year of Kulōttunga I mentions the land revenue department of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* and thus raises the presumption that each department of the bureaucracy was represented in this group of officers in immediate attendance on the king. If this presumption is correct, the role of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* must be held to be not so much that of a council, as of a staff of personal assistants who served as liaison officers between the monarch and the regular

bureaucracy, explained the policy laid down by the king to the members of the departments carrying on their work in the mofussil, and conveyed to the king, as occasion required, the actual results, in the provinces, of the policies and measures of government. At the same time, it would have been open to the king to consult any official or group of officials on matters on which he felt the need of their advice. The important part played in the administration of the realm by this group, the nearest approach to a council of ministers that we are able to trace, was well recognised by Pallavarāyar, the trusted minister, who armed himself with the consent of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* before he proceeded to instal Rājādhirāja II on the Cōḷa throne.[117]

As the head of the civil administration, the king himself occasionally toured the country and wherever necessary carried on inquests into the local administration. The royal camp was usually fixed in temples and *maṇḍapas* in places where there were no palaces. The king is also found attending the periodical festivals in some of the bigger shrines such as Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Cidambaram, Tiruvārūr and Kāñcipuram. We shall see that besides the taxes collected by the central government, several local bodies and corporations enjoyed the privilege of raising tolls and octroi duties and other miscellaneous dues. It would seem that the exercise of these privileges was subject to general supervision and control from the centre. There is an example of such regulation in a royal order of the time of Rājēndra II by which the right to raise such dues in the village of Vākkūr (Bāhūr) is made the monopoly of the Veḷḷāḷas who are said to have had the *kāṇi* of the place.[118]

Justice.

Justice, like legislation, was very largely a matter of local concern, and minor disputes were settled by one or other of the corporations to which the disputants belonged. The village assemblies exercised large powers in such matters and settled, sometimes by means of small committees of *nyāyattār*, affairs that did not fall within the jurisdiction of the occupational or voluntary groups in the locality. The *dharmāsana* is mentioned in several inscriptions[119] as the place to which persons in charge of charitable endowments undertake to remit the fines due from them in cases of default. Though this is not

quite certain, it seems most likely that the *dharmāsana* was the king's court of justice and that in deciding matters brought before it, the court was assisted by the presence of learned Brahmins versed in the law, the *dharmāsana-bhaṭṭas* as they are called in the inscriptions. On the nature of judicial records, if any, or the details of judicial procedure, we learn nothing from the inscriptions; and in our extremity, we have to turn to the story of a mythical trial preserved in a literary work, written most probably in the reign of Kulōttunga II.

Śēkkiḻār narrates at length how the Lord Śiva, out of his grace, saved Sundaramūrtti from falling into the miseries of family life by appearing before him as a Brahmin on the eve of his marriage and claiming him as his bondslave. In his ignorance, Sundaramūrtti at first contests the claim; but the intrepid old Brahmin insists on his claim being settled before Sundaramūrtti marries, and the dispute is taken before the law-court of Tiruveṇṇai-nallūr.[120] In the *sabhā* of learned Brahmans, the plaintiff's case (*muṟaippāḍu*) is first stated; an objection is raised by the judges that the plaint is in violation of usage which forbids a Brahmin being enslaved under any conditions; the plaintiff answers that a deed of perpetual bondage on behalf of himself and his descendants had been executed by the grandfather of the defendant, and asks indignantly whether it is a proper method of winning a case to tear up the evidence produced by the opposite side which Sundaramūrtti had done earlier in the proceedings before the parties reached the court-house; at this stage the judges express their approval of the old Brahmin's arguments and require the defendant to state his plea; deeply agitated, Sundaramūrtti confesses to a feeling of utter amazement, appeals to the personal knowledge of the judges that he was an *ādiśaiva* of the village, and states that he feels too bewildered to find an answer to the preposterous claim of the plaintiff; the judges then turn to the plaintiff and require him to prove the unusual claim put forward by him by one of the three methods, usage (*āṭci*), documents (*āvaṇam*), or the testimony of eyewitnesses (*ayalār-tangaḷ-kāṭci*); the plaintiff now avers that the document destroyed by the defendant was only a copy, and that the original deed

was still with him and that he would produce it, if its safety was guaranteed by the court; the original deed is then produced, the *karaṇattān* takes charge of the document which is in the form of a roll, unrolls it and reads it out; the apparent age of the document, its contents, the signatures of witnesses which are scrutinised and found to be regular, and a comparison with another document from the record office[121] known to have been written in the hand of Sundaramūrtti's grandfather establish the genuineness of the deed by which he is seen to have pledged himself and his descendants to eternal slavery to the Pittan (Śiva) of Tiruveṇṇainallūr, and this concludes the investigation. The judges at once pronounce judgment that Nambi Ārūran had lost his case to the Brahmin sage, and that he was in fact the slave of the plaintiff. What followed need not be pursued here.

Judicial procedure could not have changed very much between the time say of Rājarāja I and that of Kulōttunga II when Śēkkiḷār composed his great Purāṇa. In this *purāṇa* indeed Śēkkiḷār aimed at producing literature which should please and entertain the contemporary Cōḷa monarch better than the vulgar works of heretical Jains. Though he was handling ancient themes, therefore, it is proper to assume that in enlarging upon the holy lives of the Śaiva saints, from the meagre outlines preserved by his predecessors, Śēkkiḷār drew upon his intimate knowledge of contemporary life to lend colour and verisimilitude to his narration. The trial scene summarised above may, therefore, be treated as a fair specimen of the daily occurrences in the numberless villages of the Cōḷa kingdom. It is remarkable how little the presence of the supernatural is allowed to intrude into the account of the trial, and how much of the trial is borne out by inscriptions known to us. The village assembly acting as a judicial body, the dominance of senior and learned Brahmins in the proceedings on such occasions, and the role of the *karaṇattān* are quite in keeping with what we learn on these subjects from other sources. The procedure adopted is on the whole simple and apparently not governed by any fixed rules. The disputants state their own cases,—there is no trace of any employment of advocates,—and the emotion or certitude with which they present their pleas has its effect on the mind of the judges. There is no hard and fast rule that every statement

of a relevant fact in the case must be established in the course of the proceedings, and the judges are expected to use their personal knowledge of facts relevant to the case before them. The three lines of evidence by which facts which are challenged may be established, the tests employed to ascertain the trustworthiness of a document, the only evidence produced in this trial, clearly represent contemporary practice. The hint that we get, incidentally, that the village had access to a well-guarded record-room where documents ranging over a period of several years were carefully preserved may appear incredible but for the emphasis laid on records of another type in the inscriptions to which attention has been drawn before. The result of the trial seems to be that an express document can override custom however well established, and no reasons of public policy could stop the enforcement of a specific agreement however opposed to public opinion and accepted morality. But we must not press this inference as, in the story, the conclusion of the trial is just rendered tolerable by the immediate revelation of the Divine element in it; for the judges, strangely as it seems to us, after delivering judgment, want the plaintiff who has won the suit as a resident of the village,—he is described as Pittan (Śiva) of Tiruvennainallūr,—to show them his house and estate, and then the God leads them towards the temple, suddenly disappears, and soon after informs Sundaramūrtti of the reason for his miraculous intervention to stop his marriage. We may assume that in a real trial this question of the residence of the plaintiff would, if necessary, have been raised much earlier, and that an agreement in such flagrant violation of prevalent morality would not have been so readily enforced.

The distinction between civil and criminal offences was unknown; there are few instances where we can trace the conception of crime as a public wrong; one of them[122] is the case of two persons who stole the images, ornaments, etc. belonging to a temple and were punished by the confiscation of all their properties, which were sold publicly, the proceeds being remitted to the king's treasury. This was about A.D. 1222. Speaking generally all offences including those committed by village officials, were tried in the first instance in

village courts; in cases of dissatisfaction the matter was taken up to the officer of the king's government in charge of the administration of the *nāḍu*. Seldom, if at all, did an appeal go further than that. There was a great deal of rough natural justice dispensed through extra-judicial channels. The sharp definiteness and uniformity that characterise modern methods of justice were unknown, and in every case, whatever the authority enquiring into a dispute, an effort was made to convince both parties that the standard of ideal justice which would satisfy reasonable men had been attained in the award. The prevalent notions about this standard were no doubt largely influenced by the *Smṛtis*, and by local practice.

Sometimes disputes especially over civil rights were allowed to drag on without a settlement until time offered a solution. The *sabhā* of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdīmangalam and the *ūr* of Tiruverumbiyūr had a boundary dispute of rather long standing; and the solution was found ultimately by a local chieftain buying up the rights of both the parties in the disputed area paying prices that satisfied them both, and then handing over the land to the local temple as an endowment for the maintenance of persons singing sacred hymns to the accompaniment of specified musical instruments.[123]

That theft, adultery and forgery were considered serious offences is seen from the list of persons declared unfit for service on the village committees of Uttaramērūr.[124] In this list of exclusions are mentioned also persons who had ridden upon donkeys, and possibly this was the form of punishment for some offences. Considering that most offences appear to have been punished only by fines, and that even man-slaughter and murder[125] were often punished only by the offender being required to maintain a perpetual lamp burning in the nearest temple, the code must be held to have erred on the side of leniency. In one instance, when a *nāḍāḷvān* stabbed to death a commander of a regiment of bowmen, the king, Rājēndra II, sent an order to the local village assembly that the culprit was to be required to endow 96 sheep for a lamp in the neighbouring temple.[126] In another, a woman committed suicide, being unable to stand the pain or the shame of an ordeal to which she was subjected by a village official for the recovery of dues which she said she was not liable

for; the man is let off with a fine of 32 kāśus imposed by a meeting of the people from 'the four quarters, eighteen districts and various countries.'[127] In yet another, when one soldier killed another, he came to an agreement with the relatives of the deceased and endowed a lamp in the temple at Karutttaṭṭāṅguḍi, near Tanjore,[128]—an instance of private commutation for murder. Even deliberate civil war started under cover of night and ending in the death of a general and the *satī* of his wife in the sixth year of the reign of Kulōttunga was only punished by the culprit being required to endow a lamp; this course had the approval of Ediriliśōḷa Śambuvarāya, the overlord of the dead general, and of the elders of the *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭu puruṣar*).[128a] In a solitary example from the Mysore country, assault and murder lead to the award of capital punishment by the *nāṭṭarāja* of Hulimadda.[129] In a case of homicide due to an accident in the reign of Kulōttunga II, the judge expressly stated that the guilty man need not die for his offence[130]—a recognition of the fact that homicide may be punished with death. In another similar instance, some years later in the same reign, a *veḷḷāḷa* was the offender; the case came up before an officer of the king's government, he consulted the *bhaṭṭas*, and they advised him that death sentence should not be meted out to a *veḷḷāḷa*.[131] There is recorded an interesting case of vicarious punishment, about 1091[132] in the reign of Kulōttunga I. A boy of six, while cutting wood with the sickle (*arivāḷ*), hurt another lad of seven, who died in consequence of the injury; the father was required to endow half-a-lamp in expiation of the boy's offence. Another case of what appears like a penance, rather than punishment following an enquiry, comes from the reign of Kulōttunga III; two men found a buffalo grazing amidst their crops in the fields; they belaboured the animal so severely that it died in consequence; they consulted the *bhaṭṭas* and were advised to endow a half-lamp in the neighbouring temple, and did so.[133] Another record of the same reign, from Kīḻaiyūr (Tanjore), gives an instance of two persons who were a public nuisance and a source of trouble to Brahmins, *veḷḷāḷas* and the temple; they were tried for rioting (*kalaham*) and incendiarism and together fined 1000 *kāśus;* no one helped them to pay the fine, and their lands were sold to the temple for 1060 *kāśus*, the extra amount of 60 *kāśus* being

treated as penalty for default in the payment of the fine. The inscription mentions incidentally a royal order of a general nature that in similar cases of rioting, incendiarism and so on, the amount of the fine may go up to 20,000 *kāśus*.[133] In the sixteenth year of Kulōttunga III, A.D. 1194, a case of misappropriation of temple property, *śivadrōha*, is punished by the confiscation of the estate of the offender, the proceeds being handed over to the temple that had suffered by the offence.[134]

In the sixth year of Rājarāja II the authorities of the temple of Paśupatīśvara in Pandanallūr (Tanjore Dt.)—the officiating priests called here *pati pāda mūla paṭṭuḍaiya pañcācāryas*, the *dēvakanmis*, *māheśvaras* and *śrīkaraṇam śeyvār*—were authorised by a separate royal order to punish thieving *Śivabrāhmaṇas*, defaulting tenants and others.[134a] This was perhaps a delegation of authority by government to meet a special exigency. In 1225 in the reign of Rājarāja III two inscriptions from Tirunāgeśvaram (Tanjore Dt.) record the case of two brothers and another who held the accountancy right in several temples and embezzled much temple property, took gods' clothes for their own use, and misappropriated for their own constructions bricks belonging to the temple; the temple authorities lodged a complaint to a high royal official, Piḷḷai Yādavarāya, and the king was himself camping in Jayangoṇḍaśōḷa-caturvēdimangalam at the time; on enquiry the accountants were convicted, and all their lands confiscated and the sale proceeds, 40,000 *kāśus*, credited to the temple treasury and the accountancy-right sold to another for 3,000 *kāśus*.[134b]

Offences against the person of the king or his close relations were a class apart, and dealt with by the king himself. Attention has been drawn to the order of Rājarāja I requiring the confiscation of the properties of persons involved in the murder of his elder brother Āditya II.[135] A similar procedure is adopted against another person for default in payment of fines imposed on him,—the original offence is not recorded,—and his properties were sold in *āj̃ñākrayam*, 'Sale by (royal) order.'[136] Another example of unspecified offences against the king being severely dealt with by heavy fines collected by harsh processes is the case of the Kōliyak-kuḍai-

yār (?) of Kuhūr.[137] These three instances are all from the reign of Rājarāja I. Instances of *rājadrōham* became rather numerous towards the end, in the reign of Rājarāja III.[138]

Cattle-lifting was a common offence in several parts of the kingdom and was not easy to control. The gift of Mangalam (Salem Dt.) as a *dēvadāna* was accompanied by a proclamation that the property of those who stole the cattle from the *dēvadāna* or otherwise caused any injury to the village would be forfeited to the temple,—a somewhat drastic declaration equalled only by the wide terms of some clauses in the emergency laws of modern states. Acts of mischief against cattle, one of the chief forms of wealth in those days, from robbers and by means of regular cattle-raids in the open are recorded in numerous inscriptions from the Pudukkottah, North Arcot and Mysore areas.[139] Another source of danger to cattle was from wild animals, and a vigorous relief sculpture on a rock at Kīḻ-muttugūr (N. Arcot) commemorates the heroism of a man who felled a tiger on the spot.[140] Such stray instances are bound always to occur; and their fewness on the whole strengthens the impression that during this period internal peace was very successfully maintained. But the times were rough, and people had none of the sentimental squeamishness about physical pain and suffering that marks our outlook on life to-day.

Chau Ju-kua, the Chinese writer of the early thirteenth century, who has so often been cited above, has this to say on the Cōḷa system of justice:[141] 'When any one among the people is guilty of an offence, one of the Court Ministers punishes him; if the offence is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy, or up to an hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or by being trampled to death by an elephant.'

1. This expression occurs even in some records of Parāntaka I (e.g. 1 and 2 of 1898).

2. 241 of 1927; 446 of 1918. The title Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān (unequalled king) is applied to Rājarāja himself in l. 112 of the larger Leyden grant. See Anbil plates l. 124 for Kōnōyinmai (King in good health).

3. 261 of 1923 and 225 of 1929 raise some doubt on this point. They both contain a *praśasti* beginning *puvi-mangai vaḷara* which is pure

rhetoric and gives no incident which might furnish a clue to the identity of the king concerned. The first describes the monarch as Parakēsari Tribhuvanacakravartin Parāntakadēva; and the other calls him Rājakēsari Cakravartin Parāntakadēva, and both records bear the regnal year 9. They come respectively from Koyil-Tēvarāyan-pēṭṭai (Tj.) and Tiruvaḍatturai (SA). It does not seem likely that they belong either to Parāntaka I or Parāntaka II. Palaeographically, 261 of 1923 is earlier and may be assigned to the time of Rājarāja I, while the other record is much later, say 12th or even early 13th century. *Ante* p. 140 and *n.* 1. No. 135 of 1941-2 of Kannaradeva (Yr. 25) also gives him a *praśasti*, *ARE.* 1939|40—43|3, II, 23.

4. *SII.* ii 20. 102 of 1926; 182 of 1915.
5. 510 of 1926; 121 of 1914.
6. 157 of 1908.
7. *ARA.* 1909-10, p. 16.
8. *SII.* ii, Introd., pp. 14-5.

9. Kōyil, *SII.* ii, 1; Citrakūṭa palace—73 of 1923; Puṟambaḍimāligai—Leyden grant l. 116. For the Vēḷams of Tanjore, see 241 of 1926; 226 of 1911; 225 of 1911; *SII.* ii, 94 and 95; 401 of 1921; 142 of 1919 and other references.

10. 49 of 1897; 241 of 1923.
11. For names see *SII.* ii, 94.
12. *SII.* ii, 66.
13. 248 and 249 of 1923.
14. *SII.* ii, 11.

15. We gather about twenty names of *vēḷams* from the inscriptions of the period from Parāntaka I to Rājēndra II. See, e.g., 241 of 1926; 225 and 226 of 1911; 240 of 1894; 627 of 1909; 340 of 1927; *SII.* ii, 94 and 95; 212 of 1911; 401 of 1921; 323 of 1927; 142 of 1919; 121 of 1914; 63 and 64 of 1928. We have mention also of *taḍimārum kudiraiccēvagar* in 459 of 1918.

16. Chau Ju-kua, p. 95.
17. 342 of 1907, 62 of 1928.
18. 413 of 1902.
19. *MAR.* 1917, pp. 42-4.
20. Maspero—*L'Indochine* I, p. 260.
21. 230 of 1903.
22. *SII.* iii, 16.
23. 271 of 1927.
24. *ARA.* 1915-16, p. 34.
25. *ARE.* 1927, II, 13.

26. *SII.* ii, 6, paragraphs 14 and 19. The latter has *Tammai āga eḷundaruḷuvitta tirumēni.*

27. *SII.* ii, 38—paras 14, 17.
28. 481 of 1925.

29. *ARE.* 1925 II, 12; and 168b of 1922. Cf. Bhāsa's *Pratimā-nāṭaka* and *EI.* xxi, pp. 4-5.

30. 253 of 1907.

31. *SII.* ii, p. 390, n. 6; *ARE.* 1919, II, 10.

32. *SII.* ii, Introd. p. 10.

33. *EI.* xviii, p. 334. Cf. also the *tiruccūla-vēḷaikkārar* of Puñjai who sacrificed their lives by entering fire to attest the ownership of the temple in some *dēvadāna* lands. (188 of 1925). See also *Ibn Battuta* Tr. by H. A. R. Gibb, (Broadway Travellers), pp. 287-8. Cf. also Manemagattin of the Kannaḍa inscrr. *EC.* iii, My. 41, 43, 44 and Nj. 158; viii, Sb. 91; xi, Hk. 87; etc., and Fleet at *EI.* vi, p. 44, *n.* 4.

34. *PK.* pp. 196-7. See also Abu Zaid's curious account in Ferrand-*Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulayman,* p. 114.

35. 255 of 1911.

36. 120 of 1905. See *EI.* xviii, pp. 334-5 for the record from Ceylon mentioned above.

37. 189 of 1895.

38. 394 of 1921.

39. 242 of 1907.

40. *TAS.* iv, pp. 134-5.

41. *TAS.* i. p. 246, *SII.* iii. 69, ll. 27-29.

42. 389 of 1925.

43. 627 of 1909, *ARE.* 1910, II 19.

44. 67 of 1890.

45. 353 of 1904.

46. 364 of 1906.

47. *Kuṟaḷ* 762 and Parimēl-aḻagar thereon; Kauṭilya, Adhi. ix, ch. 2.

48. 159 of 1923.

49. Cited by Chau Ju-kua, p. 96; also p. 100, *n.* 8.

50. See e.g. *SII.* ii, 91 and 93.

51. 79 of 1921.

52. 135 of 1928.

53. *JOR.* vi, pp. 299 ff.

54. Ferrand, *Voyage,* p. 32. Wilson, *Persian Gulf,* pp. 57-8 and *n.* Pelliot casts a doubt on Sulaiman's authorship of the work attributed to him, *T'oung Pao,* xxi, pp. 401-2.

55. Ferrand, *op. cit.,* p. 93. See also Renadout—*Ancient Accounts*—Remark 'E', and Marco Polo.

56. Ferrand-*Voyage,* 14.

57. 'Dans tous ses ouvrages nautiques, Ibn Mājid fait fréquemment allusion à l' opinion des Colas qu'il approuve ou rectifie. Ce'st qu'il devait avoir en main les *Instructions nautiques* et les tables géographiques avec indication de la latitude des ports, utilisées par les marins du Coromandel et qu'il les comparait avec les documents arabes de même nature.' Ferrand, *JA.* 11: 14, (1919) pp. 171-2.

58. *ASSI.* iv, pp. 208-9. ll. 116 and 128.

59. 113 of 1896; 420 of 1925; 327 of 1916; *TAS.* i, pp. 164-8, etc.

60. *Poruḷ, Puṟattiṇai* sūtra 8 and Iḷampūraṇar thereon who seems to interpret the text better than Naccinārkkiniyar.

61. 78A of 1895. *Mārāyan* and *pēraraiyan* mean the same thing as *mahārāja*. *Kaḍigai* is a division of time, and *Kaḍigai-m.* time-keeper, while *vācciya* is a derivative of *vādya*, musical instrument.

62. Gloss on v. 179. The title 'Perunambi' is also explained here, and connected with the 'Adigāri' title.

63. 463 of 1918; 213 of 1894; 95 of 1928.

64. *ARE.* 1913, II, 22. *EI.* xviii, p. 336.

65. 29 of 1897; *SII.* ii, 82-83.

66. *SII.* ii, 56; 84 of 1895.

67. 106 of 1895.

68. 246 of 1912.

69. *SII.* ii, p. 477 *n.*

70. 224 of 1923.

71. e.g. 419 of 1923.

72. cf. Anbil plates ll. 173-4: *Kōttoṭṭuṇṇaṟpāladu eppēṟppaṭṭadum ivanukkēy urittāvadāgavum;* cf. Leyden ll. 286-8; Tiruvālangāḍu ll. 442-3.

73. e.g. 68 of 1923; 177 of 1911. In the reign of Kulōttunga III, a certain Vaḍugan Dēvan gave away a 2/3 share of his rights so assigned to him as *strīdhana* (dowry) to his two daughters, (313 of 1929).

74. In one instance a woman figures as an *ūr-kiḻatti* (297 of 1901).

75. *SII.* iii, p. 3, *n.* 7.

76. e.g. 129 of 1919; 259 of 1921; 167 of 1915; 90 of 1892 etc.

77. The Leyden grant (l. 77) equates *Janapada* with *kūṟṟam* and *Janapada-nivaha* with *vaḻanāḍu.*

78. *SII.* ii, Introdn. pp. 21-9. Gangapāḍi came to be called Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḻamaṇḍalam (490 of 1911).

79. *IA.* xxvi (1897), p. 144.

80. ll. 115, 148-9, and 434.

81. ll. 6, 62, and 517, Tamil Text.

82. 286 of 1906 (*SII.* iii, 142).

83. 330 of 1917 (Rājādhirāja 30) is an example of unusual delay in the execution of an order. 332 of 1916 is evidence of the same procedure being followed by the Viceroys of the Pāṇḍya country.

84. ll. 34-6.

85. At this stage the Tiruvālangāḍu plates have five *adigārigaḷ* (ll. 485-94) and the Leyden grant apparently nine officers. (ll. 138-43).

86. ll. 129-150.

87. ll. 49-52; 57-61; and 494.

88. 182 of 1915.

89. Literally 'palm-leaf' on which records were written.

90. Often called *tiru-mandira-ōlai,* clerk of the holy word.

91. Also called *tiru-mandira-ōlai-nāyagam;* nāyagam means chief or superintendent.

92. Also at times called *niyōgam* (83 of 1897).

93. 132-3. cf. Leyden—ll. 174-5. Tiruvālangāḍu ll. 143-4, etc.

94. *Puṟam* 260, l. 9 and Index, s. v. Puravu.

95. *SII.* iii, 142, ll. 29, 50, 57 and *EI.* xvii, pp. 5-6. Also *SII.* ii, p. 386, text l. 99; *EI.* iv, p. 224, text l. 19; *ARE.* 1920, II 4.

96. The learned editors of the *SII.* have been very cautious in dealing with the numerous and obscure terms they have had to elucidate. The expression '*Puravu-vari-tiṇik-kaḷattu varippottaga-nāyagam*' occurs in *SII.* ii, 88 and is rendered by Venkayya into: 'the master of the rent-roll in the department (*tiṇaikkaḷam*) of taxes (levied from) endowments.' He explains himself in a note by referring us to an inscription of Adhirājēndra (*SII.* iii, p. 116), in which the proceeds of *dēvadāna* villages made over to a temple are appropriated for the expenses of the temple by the officers of the *puravu-vari-tiṇaikkaḷam*. It seems to me, however, that like their modern counterparts, the officers of the land-revenue department were entrusted with many functions which, though not connected directly with the collection of revenue, they were in a position to discharge in the best manner and with the greatest economy of effort. I would translate the phrase in *SII.* ii, 88 into: 'the master of the rent-roll in the department of land-revenue.'

97. ll. 120 ff.

98. cf. *Kīḻmugavetti* in Tiruvālangāḍu plates, l. 60.

99. *SII.* iii, p. 139.

100. *SII.* iii, p. 301, *n.* 1.

101. *SII.* iii, 57.

102. 183 of 1915.

103. 135 of 1926.

104. 2 of 1927.

105. 274 of 1910.

106. 630 of 1916.

107. 497 of 1911.

108. 142 of 1912.

109. 2 of 1927.

110. 539 of 1920; and 502 of 1911. cf. Woolner, *Asoka Text and Glossary*, p. 122, *Divākaram* II. 34; *Periya Purāṇam* Śiṟuttoṇḍa, vv. 2 and 3.

111. 274 of 1910.

112. *MAR.* 1917, pp. 42-4.

113. 351 of 1917.

114. 113 of 1930.

115. 182 of 1915. This list is followed by the names of twenty-eight *viḍaiyil-adigārigaḷ*.

116. 429 of 1916.

117. 433 of 1924, cf. *ante*, p. 357.

118. 180 of 1919. The expression used is '*Vākūr-pāṭṭam*'.

119. *SII.* iii, index, s. v. *Dharmāsana.*

120. *Taḍuttāṭkoṇḍa-purāṇam*—vv. 51-63. See also *JOR.* vi, pp. 83 ff.

121. The text is very explicit about the record room: Maruṇḍaduteḷiya marṟa maṟaiyavaneḻuttāl *ōlai-yaraṇ-daru-kāppil* vēṟoṉṟaḻaittuḍan-oppu nōkki.

122. 308 of 1927.

123. 129 of 1914.

124. 1 of 1898.

125. Accidents in hunting parties are too numerous to mention. Hunting on horse-back is mentioned in 273 of 1919, (Kulöttunga I, 43rd yr.). Death caused in a duel, and as the result of an attempt to outrage a concubine, is similarly punished—109 of 1895; 77 of 1906.

126. 227 of 1904.

127. 80 of 1906.

128. 48 of 1897.

128a. 162 of 1932-3, *ARE.* p. 66. II, 25 where the text of the inscription is given.

129. 497 of 1911.

130. 64 of 1900. Also 146 of 1922-23.

131. 200 of 1929.

132. 223 of 1902.

133. 110 of 1919. 80 of 1925.

134. 189 of 1929; *ARE.* 1929, II, 37.

134a. 115 of 1931-2; *ARE.* 1931-2, II. 16.

134b. 70 and 71 of 1931-2; *ARE.* 1931-2, II, 20.

135. 577 of 1920, *ante* ch. viii.

136. 379 of 1922.

137. 277 of 1917.

138. *Ante* p. 426.

139. 315 of 1904; 104 of 1900; 168, 169, 186 of 1921 and others.

140. 2 of 1896; *EI.* iv, p. 179.

141. p. 95.

Chapter XVIII

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The rôle of the village.

In the life of our day, the town has begun to replace the village as the characteristic unit. In a physical sense Indian life is still largely led in the villages; but ideas generated in the town, and propagated through the town-made newspaper and an urban system of education, are rapidly changing the rural outlook, and few who have come into contact with these new forces are able to fit themselves into village life as it is or to resist the temptation to migrate to the nearest town.

Until very recently, however, village life engrossed the attention of the richest as well as the most cultured Indians in their daily concerns. The bulk of such persons had their residence in the villages, and exercised a dominant influence in the conduct of their affairs. The encomiums bestowed on the ancient village-republics of India by the observant British Indian administrators of the early nineteenth century, though we may not accept them as literally true, are clear proof that, until then, the village continued to be the real centre of social life and the principal nursery of social virtues. And from the hundreds of Cōḷa inscriptions that have come down to us, we see that under the Cōḷas the villages of Southern India were full of vigour and strength.

The beginnings of the system of village government that we see in full swing under the Cōḷas must be sought in an earlier age. The Pāṇḍya and Pallava inscriptions of the eighth and early ninth centuries show a system, very similar, but not quite so developed, in operation throughout the Tamil country. For our purposes, it is enough to observe that an important inscription from Mānūr[1] in the Tinnevelly district of about A.D. 800 anticipates in several respects the better known inscriptions of the time of Parāntaka I from Uttaramērūr in the Chingleput district. The life and functioning of rural institutions, the ultimate cells that sustained national

existence, were clearly little affected by dynastic wars and the shiftings of political power at the top.

Village Assemblies.

Government by means of primary assemblies comprising the adult males of each village was the central feature of rural organisation. Besides these assemblies, there were in existence many other groups and corporations of a social, religious or economic character, each interested in looking after some definite local institution or function. The relation between these groups which are found in almost every village and the village assembly itself is not easily expressed in terms of modern political thought. The village assemblies and the groups alike derived their authority from ancient custom and ideal right (Dharma); the moral support of public approval of their conduct in particular instances was in either case the primary sanction underlying their daily activity; in the last resort they could both appeal to the king's government for support in so far as their behaviour conformed to the accepted code of moral conduct. What was right in each case depended on the circumstances, and on the application to them of enlightened reason informed by the principles of the law-codes (Smṛti) and precedents, if any. Precisely in the determination of such casuistical points did the learned Bhaṭṭas of the time render the highest service to society. For to the extent to which their findings were impartial and convincing, and not warped by prejudice or corruption, to that extent was social harmony promoted and the foundations of orderly and peaceful development strengthened. That the system survived intact till the beginning of the last century must lead us to infer that this delicate and onerous work was on the whole well done by those to whom it was entrusted. The village assemblies and the groups were then more or less legally on the same footing in their relations to government and society. But they, in fact or even in theory, were not of equal importance to the life of the nation. The village assembly had the widest range of functions in relation to its locality, whereas the groups were each limited in the range of their operation to some specific purpose or other, such as the maintenance of a single temple, or the regulation of a single craft or trade. The village assembly had a general interest in everything that these groups did, and in many things besides

that none of them attempted. Even in matters that fell specifically within the competence of a particular group, the assembly had a concurrent jurisdiction to which any one could appeal, if the group concerned was in default. The groups, as long as they did their work well, relieved the assembly of that work; the ultimate responsibility for local welfare, however, lay on the assembly. The members of the groups were also members of the assembly, and this fact must have considerably influenced their relations *inter se*. While the groups represented particular interests that might occasionally clash, the assembly looked after the general interest and, as a dispenser of justice, helped in adjusting rival claims to the satisfaction of all parties. Perhaps the nearest analogy to this complex of relations may be found in the pluralist view of the relation between the State and the groups, with this difference, that the relation here was among local bodies and groups functioning in limited areas and not over the entire national field. The national state, represented by the King's government, enveloped and sustained the villages and the groups together.

Groups.

Before discussing the types of village assemblies and their working, the leading examples of the more limited groups may be briefly noticed. In speaking of these groups and of the village assemblies themselves as corporations, we are to understand, not that there was in existence any formal system of incorporation by which groups attained a particular legal status, but simply that they, in fact, acted like individuals, buying and selling, suing and being sued in their group capacity. They recognised also that the continuity of their life as corporations was independent of their changing personnel.[2] He who runs may read from the inscriptions that this was the universal rule. It was simply assumed that there was no difference in these respects between an individual and a group of persons banded together for a common purpose and well known as such in the neighbourhood. Such groups were organised for all sorts of purposes. Some were economic like the mercantile groups of Vaḷañjīyar, and the Maṇigrāmam, often named after the locality of their domicile;—Vaḷañjīyar of Tiruppurambiyam,[3] Maṇigrāmam of Ādittāpura[4] are examples. These mercantile

groups will come up for more detailed consideration in another connection. There were other groups, more numerous, organised on the basis of religion. The *mūlaparuḍaiyār* of different localities were clearly in direct charge of temples. In Śucīndram, this body was functioning under the control of the local Mahāsabhā (assembly) from the time of Parāntaka I to that of Rājarāja I; subsequently they threw up the management of the temple and restored it to the Mahāsabhā; and having done this, they dissolved themselves.[5] We see here a body, constituted for a specific purpose, going out of existence when it is no longer able to function properly; and its duties thenceforth devolve on the Mahāsabhā. The Mūlaparuḍaiyār of Tiruk-kuḍa-mūkkil are stated to be in charge of the affairs of the temple of Tirunāgēśvaram.[6] The priests attached to temples organised themselves into groups with many picturesque names. The generic name for these priestly groups of Śaivas was Śivabrāhmaṇas; those of Vaiṣṇavas were called Vaikhānasas. Among the specific names of particular groups, the following may be given as examples: Aga-nāḷigai-Śiva-brāhmaṇar;[7] pati-pāda-mūlattar,[8] tiruvuṇṇāḷigaik-kaṇapperumakkaḷ,[9] tiru-vuṇṇāḷigai-sabhai.[10] The Pan-māhēśvarar and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas whose protection is invoked at the end of almost every inscription recording a gift to the temples were the congregations of these sects, sometimes said to be spread over eighteen districts (*viṣayam* or *nāḍu*) which are nowhere named.[11] Śātta-gaṇam, Kumāra-gaṇam, Kṛṣṇa-gaṇam, Kāḷi-gaṇam and other such groups were in the position of managers and trustees of single shrines from which they took their names. The *pēriḷamaiyār*, and the *śankarappāḍiyār*[12] were other bodies connected with temples though their duties are obscure. There are other names of groups related to temples, but they need not be reproduced. There are also instances of local groups within a village, and professional groups. The villages were often divided into *śēris*, streets or quarters, and the people of each *śēri* formed a group for certain purposes. Uttama Cōḷa appointed the people of two *śēris* of Kāñcīpuram to take charge of the Ūragam temple and manage its affairs.[13] The *śēris* of Uttaramērūr formed the basis of representation on the executive committees of the village assembly in the constitution agreed to in the twelfth year of Parāntaka I.[14] An inscription of A.D. 1103[15] from

Peṇṇāḍam mentions the *sabhās* of the *śēris* of Muḍigoṇḍa-śōḷa-caturvēdi-mangalam, and in another instance the *śēris* appear to have been represented on the panel of members for drafting resolutions of the assembly.[16] Examples of professional groups are the *kalanais* of Iḷas, carpenters, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, and washermen in Talaiccangāḍu (Tanjore),[17] and the *Manṟāḍik-kalanai* (shepherds?) in other places.[18] Some of these groups apparently ranked below others and were designated, accordingly, *kīḻk-kalanaigaḷ*.[19]

In 1077, at Cēbrōlu,[20] an endowment of some lamps in the local temple was placed under the permanent protection of the Sthānapati, and the three hundred *ayyalu* and the three hundred *sānulu* of the place. At Kāmarasavalli, a body called the Seven-hundred-and-fifty took charge in 1096[21] of an endowment which involved the periodical collection of specified contributions and the maintenance, with the proceeds, of the worship and specified festivals in the temple. The 'cittiramēḻipperiya-nāḍu of the seventy-nine nāḍus' act as judges in a case of accidental homicide during a hunting party at Jambai in the third year of Kulōttunga II.[22] The Araiyar of the locality undertake the protection of a charitable endowment in Kunnāṇḍārkōyil (Pudukottah) in the second year of Rājarāja II.[23] The *bhaṭṭar, periyanāṭṭār* and *pannāṭṭār* prescribe the *prāyaścitta*, penance or expiation, for an accidental homicide at Olakkūr (South Arcot) in the fourth regnal year of Rājādhirāja II,[24]—a function which was performed some years later by the *pannāṭṭār* alone at Vēlūr in the same region.[25] In the nineteenth year of Kulōttunga III, the *periya-nāṭṭu-viṣayattar* of twelve *nāḍus* gave some land as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* to a temple in Nellore.[26] In the same year a body called *dēvadāna-nāṭṭavar* present a petition to Kulōttunga III at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr regarding the condition of a *dēvadāna* village.[27] In the twentieth year of Kulōttunga III, the *sthānattār* of the temple, the Rudra-māhēśvaras, and the four families who acted as guardians of the temple (*innāyanār kāppārāna nālu kuḍiyilōm*) accepted an endowment from a *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* of the temple of Tirumaṇañjēri-uḍaiya-nāyanār.[28] Twelve years later, the authorities of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkōyilūr recovered from a certain Araṭṭamukkidāsan ten cows entrusted to his grandfather many years before; evi-

dently the terms of the original endowment had suffered neglect.[29] The *māhēśvaras* were present with the *sabhā* of Tirunāraiyūr and the *nāḍu* of Kulōttungaśōḷa-pēriḷamaināḍu, when they enquired into and adjudged a case of longstanding misappropriation of the livestock belonging to a temple.[30] This was in 1218. At Muniyūr in the Tanjore district, a high official of the central government, the *niyāyattār* of the town, the executive committee (of the *ūr*) comprising nine persons and the trustees of the temple (*tānattār*) co-operated in engraving on the temple walls the title deeds of the temple relating to its *iraiyili* lands, as the deeds were in danger of being lost by decay.[31] The *māhēśvaras* of Tirukkaḷar, Tanjore district, decided in 1234 that descendants in the female line could be held responsible for the performance of duties undertaken by their ancestors in accordance with the terms of a charitable endowment, and that they should continue to pay interest on money invested with the family.[32] These instances illustrate the variety of local corporations and the wide range of their interests and activities. We are not yet in a position, however, to determine the composition and mutual relations of these bodies as closely as may be desired.

Group relations.

Social life was dominated by these innumerable groups, and the individual did not lack opportunities for self-expression. By birth, residence and occupation, and sometimes by choice, he was a member of one or more of these corporate bodies, each devoted to a specific local purpose. Mutual adjustment among these groups was largely a matter of good-will. We do not come across many instances of intercession by government or by private parties for the regulation of group-relations. And there is no evidence in the works of the jurists that speculation on this fascinating aspect of jurisprudence ever advanced far in India. If these groups had acted in the spirit of enforcing their rights strictly and straining them to their utmost limits, the relations among them would easily have become too complicated to be settled without the aid of an intricate and nicely thought out system of positive law. The groups were there all over the land for several generations; but they did not give rise to any attempt at a precise definition of their rights and relations. Much must have been left to the play of good-will on all sides.

Types of Assemblies.

Of the village assemblies proper, we notice two types distinguished by the names *Ūr* and *Sabhā*. A third kind of local assembly was the *Nagaram* confined to mercantile towns. All of them were primary assemblies of the residents of the localities concerned, and, generally speaking, regulated all their common concerns. They were subject to general supervision, in particular a periodical audit of their financial transactions, by the officials of the king's government. Otherwise, they were left to themselves. When important business was transacted by these assemblies, such as a change in their constitutional procedure or an alteration of land-rights affecting the revenues of government, their meetings were attended by the officers of the central government.[33] How much their presence influenced the proceedings it is not easy to determine. In some places, large temples were regularly managed by officials who also attended the meetings of the assembly, where the affairs of the temple came up for consideration.[34] Important matters were sometimes taken up to the king for his decision; two inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttunga I from Tribhuvani show him regulating the enjoyment of a *Kāṇi* and laying down a scheme for the promotion of areca plantations at Tribhuvani.[35]

Ūr.

The *Ūr* was the simplest type of these assemblies. This word means 'village' or 'town'; it is employed also in the sense of the assembly of the *Ūr;* this becomes clear from the phrase *'ūrāy-iśainda-ūrōm'*, meaning 'residents of the village met as *ūr,*' which occurs in some records; and from the *Ūr* ordering, like the *sabhā*, the drafting and engraving of records by its agents.[36] The *Ūr* functioned in several places alongside of the *sabhā,*[37] acting by itself or jointly with the *sabhā* according as the business on hand required. On the other hand, the *Ūr* was the only assembly in other places.

Sabhā.

The *Sabhā* constitutes the type of which we get the most detailed accounts in the inscriptions. It is invariably an assembly associated with the Brahmin village,—the Caturvēdi-mangalam. Many of these *agrahāras* or *mangalams* were created by royal grants. Faith in the unique merit of the gift of land (*bhū-dāna*) was

very common and frequently acted on by those who could afford it. Thus it came about that new colonies of pious and learned Brahmins were settled in the different parts of the country and gained control of local affairs through the *Sabhā* and its executive.

Their relation.

The *Sabhā* and the *Ūr* co-existed in places where a new settlement of Brahmins was super-imposed on a more ancient community by the constitution of a *mangalam*. In almost every place, the advent of the new class of settlers must have been welcomed for many reasons. Often the land had to be purchased from its previous owners, individuals or communities, before being made over by the king or the noble to the donees who were to form the new *mangalam*, and this resulted in a rise in land-values; at any rate, it put the members of the *ūr* in possession of much cash that they could put to good use. If the land sold had been common property, as it sometimes was, the proceeds were used in financing projects of public utility. Then the coming in of a group of persons, conspicuous for their learning and character, benefited the people by bringing them into touch with the best and highest culture available at the time, and giving them a class of natural leaders to whom they could turn for advice and guidance in their difficulties. The common people continued to meet as the *ūr* and carry on their affairs as before; the newcomers formed themselves into a *sabhā* of the usual type. Such, in outline, is the course of affairs one is led to postulate from the inscriptions of the period.

Sometimes one village was organised as two *ūr*-assemblies for similar reasons. About A.D. 1227, the village of Śāttamangalam had two assemblies, one of them made up of the residents of the Hindu *dēvadāna* part of the village, and the other of persons in the Jaina *paḷḷiccandam;* both assemblies were called *ūr* and they co-operated in setting apart some of the village land for a tank and flower-garden, and making the land tax-free, by themselves undertaking to pay the taxes and dues thereon.[38] Similarly we find the constitution of a double-*ūr* in two other villages, Kumara-mangalam and Amaṇkuḍi in Urattūr-kūṟṟam in the modern 'Pudukkottah State', about A.D. 1245.[39]

Constitution and working of Ūr.

Of the exact composition of the *ūr* we have no direct knowledge. From the general expression employed *ūrōm*, we must infer that the meeting was attended by all the residents of the *ūr*, though the leading part in the deliberations would have been taken by the elders. The *ūr* had an executive body called *'āḷungaṇam'* 'the ruling group', a term which is sometimes shortened into *'gaṇam'*, or expanded into *'mā-yāḷungaṇam'*.[40] The numerical strength of this executive and the manner of its appointment are not known. We also find the term *'ūr-āḷvārgaḷ'* which is doubtless another way of describing the *'āḷungaṇam'*.[41] Some of the *sabhās* also appear to have had this form of a simple executive which was responsible to them for all matters;[42] for we find the names of Bhaṭṭas (learned Brahmins) among the members of some of the *gaṇams*. Another explanation may, however, be offered for this feature; the *bhaṭṭas* who were members of the *āḷungaṇam* might have, in fact, been the executive members of the *ūr*. In other words, they might have formed part of the original village and continued to do so, even after the constitution of a *mangalam* with its *sabhā* in the same place.

An inscription of A.D. 1220 from Muniyūr[43] mentions the *taṇḍal* and *niyāyattār* of the *ūr* besides nine persons whose names are preceded by the phrase: *ūrkkuc-camaindapaḍi*, which may signify either that they represented the general assembly of the *ūr* on the particular occasion or that they formed the executive of the *ūr*-assembly for the time being.

and of Sabhā.

As a rule the *Sabhā* had a more complex machinery of local administration and functioned very largely through its committees called the *'Vāriyams'*. The exact meaning of 'Vāriyam', perhaps a Tamil word, is somewhat obscure; a connection with 'Vāri', 'income' in Tamil, 'rigorous demand' in Kannaḍa,[44] may be suggested. It is equally possible that *vāriyam* is a Tamilised Sanskrit word, *vārya*, meaning 'selected' or 'chosen'; in fact one inscription employs the expressions *'varaṇam śeydaḷ'* for the act of choosing, and *'varaṇam'* for the executive body of the *sabhā*.[45] And the term *'vāriyar'* denotes persons employed by the *Sabhā* in specified duties. When the *Mūlaparuḍai* or Śucīndrum ceased to manage the local temple, the *sabhā* appointed two *vāriyar* to do this work

The Vāriyam.

on their behalf. And the Pāṇḍya inscription at Mānūr, to which reference has already been made, lays down that no kind of *'vāriyam'* was to be entrusted to persons who did not possess certain qualifications. The early history of the *vāriyam* is very obscure. But enough evidence remains to show that the systematic employment of committees for executive work in rural administration was the result of a fairly long period of experiment, trial and error. In the earlier stages such work may have been done by individuals or very small groups. What looks very much like an *ad hoc vāriyam* for a specified temporary purpose is mentioned in an inscription from Śrīnivāsanallūr;[46] its precise date cannot be determined as the ruling king is described in it only by the title Rājakēsari, but there is little doubt that it is an early Cōḷa inscription. This *vāriyam* is appointed, not by the territorial *sabhā*, but by the *mūlaparuḍai* of Mahēndramangalam in charge of the local temple; and the duty entrusted to the *vāriyam* was to describe authoritatively and record the extent of the *iṟaiyili dēvadāna* lands of the temple. There must have been several other instances of similar special *vāriyams* appointed for specific purposes. Whether the experience gathered from such experiments led to the growth and spread of the system of *vāriyams* in local administration, or whether the machinery of committees evolved by the *sabhā* in its active working was adapted by the other corporations, cannot now be decided. A *nila-vāriyan* of Tirukkaḍaiyūr is mentioned as late as 1194, and he was doubtless an official under the *sabhā*.[47] The members of the executive committees of the *sabhās* were generally called *'vāriyapperumakkaḷ'*.[48]

The number and descriptions of the *vāriyams* differed in different *sabhās*, as also the method of their appointment. The best known example of the constitution of such *vāriyams* is that of the *sabhā* of Uttaramērūr, a village still flourishing under that very name in the Chingleput district and preserving many interesting vestiges of its past glory. The large irrigation tank within a couple of miles to the west of the neatly planned village is doubtless the celebrated Vairamēgha-taṭāka of the Pallava and Cōḷa inscriptions in Uttaramērūr, a tank which occupied much of the attention of the *sabhā* in those days and was placed under the management of a special Tank com-

Uttaramērūr.

mittee (the *ēri-vāriyam*). In the twelfth year of Parāntaka I,[49] A.D. 919, the *sabhā* adopted a resolution fixing the method of appointment to its executive committees, of which five were named. This resolution (*vyavasthā*) was taken in the presence of the official of the king's government specially deputed for the purpose by a royal order (*śrī-mukham*). The central object of the arrangement adopted was to secure on the committees a fair representation not only for the thirty *kuḍumbus* (wards) into which the whole village was divided, but for the twelve *sēris* (streets) into which the wards were grouped. The actual method of selection was by lot (*kuḍa-vōlai*);[50] but selection was confined to those who were duly nominated by the *kuḍumbus* according to rules which laid down certain conditions which had to be satisfied by every person before he became eligible for such nomination. The attempt to combine the representation on the committees of the *kuḍumbu* and of the *śēri* did not work, and as the result of the breakdown that followed, another effort was made, two years later, to reform the method of election to the committees. The *śēri* was allowed to fall into the background, and the direct representation of the *kuḍumbus* on the committees became the only aim. But the occasion of the revision was used to clarify other doubtful questions that had cropped up in the interval, and to make more detailed and specific regulations for the nominations by the *kuḍumbus*. This revision of the constitution was also carried out in the presence of a king's official and recorded in the form of a *vyavasthā* of the *sabhā*. The very next year, the fifteenth of Parāntaka I (A.D. 922), the *sabhā* appointed another[51] committee for assaying gold for all people in the village; this was not a new *vāriyam;* it was a committee of eight persons chosen by lot from among citizens who paid taxes, were resident in particular quarters of the village, and had made a name for assaying gold. This committee was perhaps intended to assist the *pon-vāriyam* (gold-committee) of the *sabhā* in the performance of their work.

Other Sabhās.

Of the constitution and working of no other *sabhā* do we have such detailed knowledge as of that of Uttaramērūr. By their references to the *vāriyams* in other places, however, the inscriptions lead us to suppose that the method of entrusting details of executive

work to committees was generally followed by the other *sabhās*, when they found such details too much for a single executive committee. The work was honorary, no payment for it being suggested in any of the records, and no one could be expected to give more than a part of his time and energy for such work; the division of labour among a number of committees, the number being varied from time to time, was the most natural device to adopt, and so it was adopted.[52] Two inscriptions from Tennēri of the eleventh year of Rājarāja I, A.D. 996, show the gradual spread from one place to another of these expedients of rural administration. One of these inscriptions records a resolution of the *sabhā* of Uttamaśōḻa-Caturvēdi-mangalam that only members learned in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa were eligible for service on the *vāriyam* and for drafting the resolutions of the assembly,[53] and that any one who contravened their resolution should be liable to the same punishment as those who disobeyed the king's orders (*tiruvāṇai-maṟuttār-paḍum daṇḍam*). Less than two months after the date of this resolution, the same *sabhā* took another resolution calculated to exclude from the privileges of serving on the *vāriyam* and drafting the resolutions of the assembly, persons who had been found guilty of theft of a Brahmin's property and other offences of a more serious nature (*mēl-paḍu-kuṟṟam*). The simple and piecemeal nature of these resolutions, and their dates, are proof, if proof were required, of the uneven pace kept by the numerous *sabhās* in the development of their constitution and administrative practice. And no official of the king's government attended the sessions of the *sabhā* of Uttama-śōḻa Caturvēdi-mangalam when these resolutions were taken. In fact the *sabhās* were left largely to themselves, and each *sabhā* was free to make the arrangements that best suited its own peculiar conditions. No fewer than nine *vāriyams* are enumerated, for instance, as having been set up by the *sabhā* of Amani-nārāyaṇa Caturvēdi-mangalam in the third year of Pārthivēndravarman;[54] while only four *vāriyams* are mentioned in a record of A.D. 919 from Tiruppārkaḍal.[55]

An inscription from Siddhamalli (Mannargudi tq. Tanjore) dated in the third year of Adhirājendra[55a] records a very interesting *grāma-vyavasthā* (a constitutional resolution for the village) arrived at by the *sabhā* at a full meeting sum-

moned after due notice and held in the presence of a royal officer. It says that the executive committee (*ūr-kūṭṭam*) and the *vāriyams* (*ūr-vāriyam*) as also the *vāriyam* for the *nāḍu* (Purangarambai) were to be manned only by the *Śāsanabaddhar* and the *Śāsanabaddha-makkaḷ*. If others are to do such work, they must be elected at a full meeting of the *sabhā* held after due notice in accordance with a royal order (*tiruvāṇai*); if, however, they are directly appointed by the government—*ippaḍi anṛikke rājakulattāl varaṇanjeyvār*—they should be ten per *śēri* for *kūṭṭam*, one per *śēri* for *vāriyam*, and three per *śēri* for *nāṭṭuvāriyam*. And in any case only persons who had not served for five years including the year concerned should be chosen. The inscription breaks off here and is perhaps not complete. But the part that has survived is remarkable for two reasons; it contemplates three alternative methods of appointment to the executives of the village and the *nāḍu*—hereditary right guaranteed by *śāsana*, election by *sabhā*, and appointment by government. Then, it shows that one class of persons were deemed qualified in their own right for all the executive posts; they are described as *Śāsanabaddha* and *Śāsanabaddha-makkaḷ*. These terms are not easy and can be elucidated only tentatively at present. An inscription of Uttama Cōḷa's reign from Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tanjore dt.)[55b] states that the *Śāsanabaddha-caturvēdibhaṭṭattānap-perumakkaḷ* of that village were brought into existence as a body by the queen whose name the *brahmadēya* village bears; this shows that the term refers to men included by name in the original *śāsana* deed creating the *brahmadēya*, who were chosen naturally for their learning and character; and the *makkaḷ* of our inscriptions may then be taken to apply to their descendants. This view, if correct, leads to the further inference that the hereditary owners of *brahmadēya* lands were quite ready to admit others into partnership in the management of local affairs, and content, if necessary, to limit the sphere of their own political ambition to give scope to their fellows,—or possibly found themselves compelled to do so by the force of changing conditions.

There are not wanting, on the other hand, instances in which the king's government interferred to regulate the constitutional arrangements prevailing in the *sabhās*. They be-

long generally to the late Cōḷa period. Even in these instances, it is possible, though by no means clear, that the initiative was taken by the *sabhās* themselves, and that the terms of the constitutional settlement reported to the king by his officials and sanctioned by him were based on resolutions taken by the assemblies concerned. The inscriptions, however, contain only the record of the sanction accorded by the monarch to proposals placed before him by his own officials. An inscription from Talaināyar (Tanjore district), dated the 73rd day of the seventh regnal year of Kulōttunga III,[56] takes the form of a letter addressed to the *sabhā* of Kulōttunga-śōḷan-tanināyaka-caturvēdi-mangalam and the *taṇḍuvān* (collector) of the village. The letter contains rules for the election of the executive body (*kūṭṭam*) of the assembly[57] sanctioned by the king at the instance of two officials, Brahmēndra and Vāṇādhirāja, written out by the *tirumandira-ōlai* and attested by nine others with titles ending in *rāya* or *rāja*, also no doubt officials of the central government. The rules laid down were the following: from the seventh regnal year, only those were to be elected to the *kūṭṭam* who had not been in the *kūṭṭam* for ten years preceding the year in which the election took place; the candidates must also be Brahmins above forty years of age, learned (*vidvān*) and impartial (*samar*); the relatives of those who had served on the *kūṭṭam* during the five years before and the five years after the seventh regnal year were also to be held ineligible for the *kūṭṭam*. The king also ordered that all Brahmins who were guilty of wicked deeds (*vinaikkēḍu*) by defaulting the land revenue (*kaḍamai*) and oppressing docile Brahmins and respectable tenants, accepting bribes (*kaikkūli*) and so on, were to be fined in proportion to their offences, irrespective of whether they had served on the *kūṭṭam* or not. This last clause, together with the requirement of impartiality in the candidates for election under the new rules, warrants the supposition that local administration in Talaināyar had suffered by the growth of faction and violence for some time before the reform recorded in this inscription. Another instance of the royal sanction of a local constitution is dated five years later, A.D. 1190, and comes from Ayyampēṭṭai.[58] At the instance of Nuḷambāḍarāya, the king ordered that the executive (*varaṇam*) of the *sabhā* of Rājēndra-śōḷa-caturvēdimangalam were to be chosen

from among those who had not served on it before and were not less than forty years of age.

Lest it should be thought that village assemblies as a rule lost their initiative and passed under the control of the central government in the late Cōḷa period, it may be noted that the *mahāsabhā* of Kāmadavalli-caturvēdimangalam resolved in A.D. 1232 to adhere to an earlier decision of theirs to constitute their executive (*grāmakāryam*) from among those who agreed to serve on the basis of a yearly tenure;[59] and there is no evidence of any reference to the central government on either occasion. Likewise, the *mahāsabhā* of Śembiyanmahādēvi resolved of their own accord not to hold meetings of the executive at night for purposes of local administration (*grāma-kāryam*) and for considering revenue affairs (*kaḍamaikkāriyam*), as nocturnal meetings resulted in inefficient work (*upahati*) and extra expenditure of oil for lamps. They fixed the day from which the new arrangement came into force. They also resolved not to reappoint any person to the executive (*kūṭṭam*) within five years after one term of office.[60] The inscription is dated in the seventeenth year of Rājarāja III. The distinction made here between *grāma-kāryam*, local affairs, and *kaḍamaik-kāriyam*, revenue business, deserves to be particularly noted. Though this distinction is not expressly found in other records, we are justified in assuming that it was observed universally by all the village assemblies which had definite responsibilities both towards the locality concerned and towards the central government.

There is lastly an inscription[60a] of the thirtieth year of the reign of Rājarāja III from Śēnganūr (Tanjore district) which is of unusual importance to the study of local institutions in the late Cōḷa period. It is a record of constitutional and other arrangements relating to the assembly of the village (the *Mahāsabhā*). The interesting point here is that these arrangements are decreed by the *mūlaparuṣai* of the temple of Viśvēśvaradēva: *Viśvēśvaradēvar kōyil mūlaparuṣaiyār kūṭṭanguṟaivaṟak-kūḍi irundu grāmakāriyam vyavasthai paṇṇina paḍi*, a clear statement that the *mūlaparuṣai* (*mūlapariṣat*) of the temple framed the regulations that follow in the inscription for the conduct of the affairs of the village. It is not clear why the *Mahāsabhā* (mentioned further on in

the record), instead of following the usual rule of itself regulating its own affairs, left the decision of important issues to the *mūlaparuṣai*; we may surmise, however, from the trend of the record as a whole that the *Mahāsabhā* was unable to reach satisfactory decisions on account of sharp differences, and felt the need for laying the whole matter before some external authority for arbitration. If this view is correct, it is not without significance that the *Mahāsabhā* sought the assistance of another local authority, rather than of the king's government; it may be that by the end of the reign of Rājarāja III, the central government, having lost its efficiency, failed to command the confidence of the people. In fact, one of the rules made on this occasion shows that in this period the officials of the king's government (*mudaligaḷ*) even disturbed the smooth working of local institutions by their intrigues with particular factions.

The rules that follow are reasoned statements of the decisions reached, and we see that the *mūlaparuṣai* were fully alive to the extraordinary and difficult nature of their task on this occasion. The first resolution relates to the constitution of the executive administration (*kūṭṭam*) of the village: there was an immemorial practice (*anādiyāga vyavasthai*) that, when the executive of the village was chosen (*nammūrkkūṭṭam idum iḍattu*), those who had once served could serve again only in the fifth year thereafter, their sons only in the fourth year and their brothers in the third, and this ancient practice was to be maintained; only those who were not less than forty years of age were to be chosen; the *kūṭṭam* should be chosen after obtaining the consent, 'as our ancestors did' (*pūrvapuruṣāgaḷ śeydapaḍik-kīḍāga*), of the villagers assembled as the *ūr*; any persons who got in by fraud (*uḷvari*, lit. disguise) with the support of the officials (*mudaligaḷ*) of government or in violation of these rules, would be deemed to be traitors to the village, all their properties being confiscated; the *kūṭṭam* was to be chosen every time for one year (*samvatsara-varaṇam*); any persons that stayed on longer (*merpaḍi ninṟār*) would also be considered *grāmadrōhis* and punished as above. The appeal to the *mos majorum*, the stress laid on the consent of the *ūr*, the protest against undue influence by the *mudaligaḷ* and the deterrant punishment laid down against attempts to capture the executive by improper

methods or to prolong the period of office beyond the proper term, are all features of the resolution that deserve to be noted. Let us observe this also: how the choice of the executive was actually made, we are not told; nor do we hear of how the consent of the *ūr* was expressed; obviously our record does not tell the whole story, but sets down only the decisions on a few points that had come under discussion, the rest being a matter of common knowledge at the time.

The rest of the *vyavasthā* relates to matters of revenue and financial administration. When collecting the *kaḍamai* and *kuḍimai* (general revenue) dues of the village and the *sabhāviniyōgam* (local cesses), the members of the *kūṭṭam* should collect only the legitimate dues (*prāptam*) and not anything in excess thereof; the *sabhāviniyōgam* was not to be mixed up with the *kuḍimai*, but collected separately, and expended in accordance with written orders separately communicated to the accountant (*kaṇakkanukku-nyōgam eḻudikkoḍuttu*); if the expenditure on any single item (*oru poruḷukku*) exceeded 2000 *kāśus*, the written sanction of the *Mahāsabhā* had to be obtained before the expenditure was incurred; if any expenditure was incurred otherwise than in accordance with these rules or any excess collection (of taxes and dues) was made, a fine of five times the amount involved was to be collected, which together with the proceeds of penal assessment on persons who had arrears of revenue (they had to pay double the original assessment) went into the coffers of the *sabhā* (*sabhāviniyōgam*). Lastly, the accountant of the village and the officers of the *vāriyam* and the *kuḍumbu* were to change annually and carry out the orders lawfully issued to them—*āṇḍu māṛi niyōgappaḍi niṛkak-kaḍavadāgavum*. We have no means of ascertaining the exact rôle of the *vāriyam* and the *kuḍumbu* in this village and our knowledge of the actual working of these institutions here, as elsewhere, must remain imperfect.

The *sabhā*, *mahāsabhā*, and the corresponding Tamil words, *kuṛi* and *perun-guṛi*, refer to the same institution, which is sometimes even called *perunguṛi-mahāsabhai*. Its members are collectively referred to as *perumakkaḷ*, and the honorific term '*tiruvaḍiyār*' is also employed in some inscriptions. The *sabhā* usually held its meetings in the temples and

maṇḍapas of the village, and the term Brahma-sthāna[61] appears to indicate the fixed meeting place of the *sabhā* wherever there was one. Sometimes it met outside the village on the banks of a tank or under a tree; this was certainly not due to the lack of a more sheltered place for the meeting. Some examples of such meetings are best accounted for by assuming that the inauspicious nature of the business transacted required that it should be done beyond the living quarters of the village.[62] The *sabhā* was usually summoned by the beating of a drum (*śārṟi*); the meeting was also proclaimed by sound of bugle (*kāḷam*) or a double bugle (*iraṭṭaikkāḷam*).[63] Meetings were also held at nights when required.

Nagaram.

The *Nagaram* was another type of local assembly, not so much in evidence, however, as the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā*. The same term is sometimes employed to designate occupational groups like Śāliyanagarattōm.[64] But when the *Nagaram* of places like Śivapuri,[65] Tiruppalanam,[66] Parakēsaripuram,[67] and Takkōlam,[68] and the Mānagaram of Kāñci[69] are in question, we are clearly dealing with territorial assemblies which, by their status and functions, had much in common with the *Sabhā* and the *Ūr*. In some places like Tillaisthānam,[70] the *Nagaram* and the *Ūr* seem to have carried on their duties side by side.

The *Nagaram* was in all probability a primary assembly of merchants, which was organised as one of the local assemblies in important trade centres and was the only assembly in places where the mercantile interests overshadowed all the rest.

Nāḍu.

Territorial assemblies representing the *nāḍu* were also in existence and discharged important duties, particularly in regard to land revenue administration. '*Nāḍu*' like *ūr* generally means a territorial division, and the corporate character of '*nāḍu*' in some of the contexts in the epigraphs is brought home to us by expressions like '*nāḍāyiśainda nāṭṭōm*', 'residents of the *nāḍu* met (formed) as *nāḍu*'.[71] These corporations endow charities in their own names,[72] and take charge of charitable endowments.[73] In the fifteenth year of a Parakēsari, a certain Kaṇḍan Maṟavan, the feudatory of the Cōḷa monarch, issued an order to the *nāṭṭār* of Kuṉṟakkūṟṟam.[74] This order stated

that the chief had decided to make a gift of some land as *kāṇi* to a certain person subject to a fixed annual payment of 25 *pon* for all time as the land tax on it; on no future occasion, when general revision of assessment was made, was this land to be put in a class which would raise the dues from it to more than the sum of 25 *pon* then fixed; the *nāṭṭār* were requested by the chieftain to give effect to these conditions, and they accordingly handed over the land to the person named and undertook not to enhance the tax due from the land in any future assessment. The part assigned by this inscription to the *nāṭṭār* in the classification of the lands and the periodical assessment of land revenue, and the permanent settlement of the assessment on some land are all noteworthy features of the land-revenue administration of the time. The order of Rājarāja on the gift of the village Ānaimangalam to the Buddhist shrine in Negapatam was addressed among others to the *nāṭṭār* of the Paṭṭinakkūṟṟam. No direct evidence on the constitution of these assemblies of the *nāḍu* is forthcoming; an analysis of the signatures affixed to the Leyden grant (of Ānaimangalam) is, however, very instructive in this connection. The grant is signed first by the officer of the *puravu-vari* who was present with the *nāṭṭār* when they marked the boundary of the village by getting an elephant to beat the bounds, then by the man who rode the elephant on the occasion, then by the accountants of twenty-seven villages, including Ānaimangalam, in the Paṭṭinakkūṟṟam, and lastly by the *bhaṭṭas* who guided the whole transaction. The accountants sign on behalf of the *sabhā* or the *ūr* of their villages and in accordance with their instructions. One wonders if the assembly of the *nāḍu* was constituted by the representatives of each of the villages in it coming together, the accountants being present among them.

In the tenth year of Kulōttunga I,[75] the *nāṭṭār* of Puṟamalai-nāḍu are seen appointing a *pūjāri* (priest to conduct the worship) in the temple at Tīrthamalai in the Salem district. The *nāḍu* of Vaḍa-panangāḍu in Pudukkōṭṭah resolved in A.D. 1149 to levy a fine of one *mā* of arable land to be assigned to the temple for any injury caused by *ambanavar* (?) to arable land or on the highways in and near Nal-vayalūr.[76] An inscription from Jambai dated in the reign of a Karikāla-Cōḷadēva[77] assigns an important part to the *nāḍu* of Vāṇagap-

pāḍi in the conduct of the affairs of the temple of Vāḷaiyūr-nakkar-yōgavāṇar; the donor, a chieftain of Bāṇa extraction, states that his ancestors had assigned to the temple the village of Raṇabhīmamangalam; he then increases the endowment and the scale of expenses, and entrusts the proper observance of the new scale to the *nāḍu*. It is also of interest to note that under the general supervision of the *nāḍu*, the details of the management were carried on by one single village chosen by lot (*kuḍavōlai*) for each year—a provision which emphasises the relation between the assembly of the *nāḍu* and the village-assemblies suggested by the Leyden grant of a much earlier time. An undertaking given by the shepherds of a village to make certain annual payments to a temple is attested by 98 persons from 67 villages who describe themselves as *ūrkkuccamainda*, i.e., representing their respective villages, evidently on the assembly of Vaḷḷuvappāḍi-nāḍu, the region in which the villages were included;[77a] the inscription comes from Śrīrangam and is dated 1184, the sixth year of Kulōttunga III. Another inscription of the late Cōḷa period from Kāñcīpuram,[78] records what is apparently an approval by Madhurāntaka Pottappiccōḷa, the Telugu-Cōḍa king of the time, of a resolution of the *nāḍavar* of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷamaṇḍalam remitting six *kalams* of paddy from the *kaḍamai* due on each *vēli* of land that was *tirappu*, or *dēvadāna, tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam, paḷḷiccandam, agarapparṟu, maḍappuṟam, jīvitapparṟu, paḍaipparṟu* and *vanniyapparṟu*. This enumeration of the types of holdings is apparently meant to be exhaustive and to include all the productive lands in the *nāḍu;* the instance before us is therefore one of a general revenue-remission initiated by the *nāḍu* and approved by the ruler of the locality, clear proof of the vitality of the assembly of the *nāḍu* even so late as the thirteenth century. The *nāṭṭavar* are also found often co-operating with other corporations and with individual officials in the administration of justice and in other matters.[79]

The *nagaram* and *nāḍu* of the Tamil inscriptions are, in their names, if nothing else, the exact counter-parts of the *paura* and *jānapada* respectively of Sanskrit literature. Whether the village assemblies called *Ūr* and *Sabhā* in Southern India were known to the Sanskritic writers on Indian polity, and whether the assemblies must be taken to have

been included under the generic term *jānapada*, are questions not easily decided at present.

Procedure.

The procedure that was followed in the conduct of business at the meetings of the various bodies so far mentioned is not described in any of the inscriptions. Even the method employed in the choice of the executive of the assemblies remains obscure except in the case of Uttaramērūr. Regarding the executive bodies of other villages, we learn something of their qualifications and tenure of office, but nothing of the actual mode of their appointment. We must assume that membership in the general assembly was unrestricted and open to all the residents of the village; the inscriptions sometimes state expressly that the meeting was fully attended, everybody young and old being present.[79a] There is no evidence that the idea of a quorum was known; but definite methods of summoning meetings and giving notice of them were prescribed, and the expression often employed, *kūṭṭakkuṟaivaṟa-kūḍi irundu*,[79b] indicates that importance was attached to the presence of all the members of the executive for the time being. There is also no evidence that votes were taken; as each question came up, there must have been a general discussion in which the leading men took part in accordance with their social status, and if the matter was one affecting any class in particular, the representatives of that class had every chance of explaining their point of view; the final decision was reached by common agreement. Rules were sometimes made, as in the Mānūr assembly, against factious opposition and attempts to hold up business by obstructionism; obviously the enforcement of such rules depended on the support of public opinion. The procedure at meetings seems on the whole to have been rudimentary, and the assemblies had, but for their executives, hardly outgrown the stage of folk-gatherings.

Co-operation among assemblies.

The local assemblies often co-operated with one another and with other corporations in pursuance of common objects. The *sabhā* of Tiraimūr, the *nagaram* and the *dēvakanmis* of a temple in Tiruviḍaimarudūr were together responsible for the proper management of the temple and when they transacted its business, they met in the theatre (*nāṭakaśālā*) of the temple.[80] The emoluments of the servants of another

temple at Tiruvāmāttūr were fixed at a common meeting of the *sabhā* of the place, the *ūr*, the Śivabrāhmaṇas, the Rudragaṇa who sang sacred hymns before god, and the servants of the temple including the *uvaccar*.[81] The presence at the meeting of the servants whose emoluments were being fixed implies that this was not done without some regard for their wishes in the matter, a typical instance of the elastic and humane character of the economic arrangements of the time. Again the priests of a temple at Polonnaruva and other servants on its establishment are, together with the *nāṭṭavar* of the division,[82] placed in charge of a cash endowment for a lamp. There is one instance on record of the *sabhās* of two neighbouring villages coalescing and agreeing that the two villages should thenceforth count as one.[83] This happened in the reign of Parāntaka I, A.D. 933, and constitutes a measure of the freedom enjoyed by these local bodies. The union of villages was the result of their voluntary choice and was effected without any direct reference to the central government. The grant of *brahmadēya* or *dēvadāna* in its execution involved the co-operation of many organised groups. A typical instance is the grant of Palaiyanūr, which is put through by the *nāṭṭār* of Paḷaiyanūr-nāḍu with the assistance of the elders[84] of *brahmadēya* villages, the *ūrgaḷilār* of all *ūrs* including *dēvadāna, paḷḷiccandam, kaṇimurrūṭṭu, veṭṭippēru* and old *aṟaccālābhōga* and the *nagarams*.[85] This enumeration of co-operating local authorities is of interest in two ways: it mentions some special tenures by which land was held; these will be discussed elsewhere. And it shows clearly that the assembly of the *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭār*) was a body distinct from the assemblies of the villages (*ūrgaḷ*) and towns (*nagarangaḷ*). Unlike the Leyden grant which is addressed to local groups in more or less the same terms and is signed by the representatives of all villages and towns in the *nāḍu*, this grant, from Tiruvālangāḍu, is attested only by the villages whose land rights were affected by the gift, besides the officials of the revenue department. Except for this difference in detail the two grants remarkably confirm each other, and imply that the assembly of the *nāḍu* was made up of representatives from the assemblies of all the villages and towns in the division.[86] Instances are not wanting of a number of such assemblies of the *nāḍu* co-operating for some common purpose.[87]

Local Government.

Local administration was thus carried on by means of primary assemblies in the villages and towns, and representative assemblies in the larger divisions. The *sabhā*, the *ūr* and the *nagaram* were of the nature of folk meetings in which every one who had a stake in the locality was entitled to be present. This becomes evident from the manner of summoning these meetings, which was by a general proclamation, by beat of drum or other suitable means, of the time and place of the meeting. The formula is often employed in describing these meetings that they were quite fully attended; the young and the old having assembled together after due notice of the meeting had been given. There is not a single instance on record of a decision having been reached by the method of voting; and it does not seem likely. The political spirit of the time, such as it was, aimed at securing the harmony of classes, rather than their equality. A healthy society based on a general distribution of small properties, which was free from the glaring economic oppression of one class by another, had no particular use for the ideals of modern democracy. Social life was dominated by groups rooted in ancient custom and ideal right, and was subtly suffused with emotions of a quasi-religious nature. All that was demanded in such an atmosphere was an opportunity to watch the course of affairs, and to raise a protest if anything went wrong, or to press a point of view that was being overlooked. This was furnished by the periodical meetings of the assemblies and the groups; but the leadership in such gatherings remained with those naturally fit for it. Age, learning, and wealth, in addition to birth, furnished the most obvious qualifications for such leadership; official standing and public benefactions were other claims to the consideration and homage of the average man.

Local taxation.

That the villages were little 'republics' which had a large measure of autonomy in the management of their own affairs is seen from the powers of taxation for local purposes, and of granting exemptions from such taxes and dues, enjoyed by their assemblies, and from the separate administrative staff, comprising doubtless only a few officials, employed and controlled by them. Of their power of taxation for local purposes, an idea may be

formed from the instances in which the assemblies grant remissions and assignments of dues without any reference to the king's government and in the exercise of their own powers. In the second year of a Rājakēsari, the *sabhā* of Nālūr[88] assigned, in perpetuity, to the local temple to which they owed some money, the proceeds of a local cess on shops (*angāḍikkūli*) in lieu of the interest on the loan. The *nagarattār* of Kumara-māttāṇḍapuram[89] made over their annual income from *vārā-vaigal*,—a cess of which the nature is not clear,—towards a fund for maintaining a Jaina shrine in good repair. At Tiruveṟumbūr, the *sabhā* of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdimangalam resolved that no dues of any kind should be levied on the properties of the temple on their account from the date of resolution;[90] they got on another occasion a lump sum payment from a person as they wanted cash for digging a tank, and in consideration thereof assigned to him the right exercised till then by the assembly of collecting paddy at a certain rate from the cultivators of the village. The *ūr* of Uḷḷiyūr obtained a number of exemptions in perpetuity on behalf of a temple in their hamlet, and these were pronounced by the *sabhā* of Uttaramērūr who granted them to be free from the interference of all extraneous powers.[91] In these and many other instances of a similar nature, the village assemblies were clearly disposing of rights that were exclusively vested in them and that they were free to utilise in any manner calculated to advance the social good of the little community whose affairs they managed. These assignments and remissions of the taxes and dues collected by themselves should not be confused with another class of tax remissions for which the village assemblies became responsible. In the latter class of cases, in lieu of a lump sum payment made in advance to it, the assembly undertakes to pay all dues to the local and central governments on particular plots of land for all time. The lump sum in these instances was the capitalised value of the annual dues chargeable to the land, and was generally called *iṟai-dravyam* or *iṟai-kāval*.[92] Possibly the term *pūrvācāram*[93] which occurs in some inscriptions in a similar context has the same meaning. Such advance payment in a lump sum of future taxes was due to two general causes. First, persons who endowed charities by setting apart land, often desired to secure for such land freedom from all dues and

imposts, and the common way of doing this was to pay their capitalised value to the assembly of the village where the land was located, making them responsible for all future payments. Secondly, the assemblies, on their own initiative, often raised money in this manner for immediate capital expenditure for public purposes, which could not be financed otherwise. The *sabhā* of Śiṟṟānaiccūr, a *brahmadēya*, for instance, owed a considerable sum of money to a person whose properties became forfeited to the king for reasons not stated; when the *sabhā* was called upon to remit the amount to the king's treasury, they had to borrow the sum from the local temple and undertake to pay the taxes on some temple lands.[94]

Local Executive.

The responsibility for the details of local administration was, as pointed out before, vested in small executive committees appointed by the general assembly, and service on such committees was honorary. There was a small staff of paid servants in each village to assist these executive committees and maintain the records of the village. These village officials were called *madhyasthas*, a term often rendered into 'arbitrators';[95] the word does indeed mean 'arbitrators', but it is difficult to admit that this is its meaning in the Cōḷa inscriptions, or that the duties of the *madhyasthas* employed by the assemblies included the task of arbitrating among disputants. Perhaps the term was applied to village officers in order to emphasise their neutral position in all matters of rural politics. They attended the meetings of the assembly and assisted in the conduct of the proceedings, but took no part in the deliberations. Their duties and remuneration were fixed by the assembly at its discretion. In A.D. 923, for instance, the *sabhā* of Aiñjaṣṭasam resolved that their *madhyasthas* employed in writing up the accounts connected with the tank (*ēri*) were to be remunerated at the rate of four measures (*nāḻis*) of paddy per diem, and were to receive in addition seven *kaḻañju* of 'red gold' per annum with a pair of cloths each; that each of them had at the end of his year of office, to produce accounts and pass through the ordeal of red-hot iron (*maḻu*); that those who were declared pure after the ordeal should receive a bonus of a small amount of gold, and that those that failed in the ordeal should pay a fine of ten *kaḻañjus* of gold, the reason for

the heavy fine being that the corpus of the tank-fund (*ēri-mudal*) was not of sufficient size; and that no corporal punishment (*śarīradaṇḍam*) was to be resorted to by the *sabhā* in such cases.[96] Generally it was a *madhyastha* that recorded the resolutions of the assemblies to the dictation of one or more of the prominent members present and taking part in the preceding discussions. Another class of officers was called '*karaṇattār*', the exact duties in which each was engaged being indicated by the phrases like *Karai-kaḷukkuk-kaṉ-kāṇikkaṇakku*,[97] the accountant who was supervising the boundaries (of lands?). In A.D. 1235, an accountant was dismissed by a *sabhā*, and his descendants and relatives declared unfit to hold the office again.[98] An inscription of uncertain date from Mannārkōyil in the Tinnevelly district mentions the *madhyastha*, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the goldsmith and the village-pariah as the persons on whom the representatives of the central government depended for demarcating the boundaries of a village Vindanūr, given away as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*.[99] A curious inscription[100] from Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) dated in the forty-third regnal year of Kulōttunga I, A.D. 1113, contains a provision that the artisans and professional men should pursue their crafts and professions within the precincts of the village, and that such of them as served the residents of other villages would be deemed to have been guilty of a grave offence against the law. This is an interesting example of rural protectionism; but we have no reason to believe that it was universal, or even common. On the other hand, the occasions for service outside one's own village or town could not have been very frequent. An inscription from Tirumāṇikuḻi (S.A.) records the endowment of a *śandiviḷakku* by an *ūrp-paṟaiyan* in A.D. 1221.[101]

Functions of assemblies.

The functions of the assemblies had a wide range. They were as a rule entrusted with the direct charge or, at least, the supervision of all charitable endowments in the village. To judge from the number and provenance of the inscriptions recording such gifts, in no place was this source of public benefaction a negligible item, and in several villages it was in itself sufficiently important to warrant the creation of a separate committee (*dharma-vāriyam*) for its administration.[102] Statistics are of modern origin, and it is no easy thing

to venture on quantitative statements relating to a distant past; but the student of Cōḷa institutions often wonders whether for local well-being, the gifts of the rich did not mean more in that period than the taxes levied and collected from the residents of a locality by its assembly. However that may be, the assemblies were not slow to address themselves to the task of enriching local life by additions to its amenities, social and cultural. For one thing, they took good care to preserve the records of older charities and to see that their terms were carried out by the parties concerned.[103] Altered economic conditions sometimes led to a revision of the original terms, but a genuine effort was made not to allow any of the numerous perpetual endowments to fall into desuetude. Most of these centred round the village temple which, from somewhat obscure religious origins, had grown by the time of the Cōḷas to dominate every aspect of social life all over the country. The role of the temple in the secular life of its neighbourhood can hardly be exaggerated, and the temple and its affairs were among the chief preoccupations of the local assemblies; and the temples, and sometimes individual shrines in them, had separate groups who were in charge of their management; but these authorities were subject to the double control of the local assemblies who exercised a general supervision and of the officer of the king who audited the accounts. The temple was the centre of all the institutions of popular culture and amusement. A detailed account of these institutions is given elsewhere. Here the part of the village assemblies in their upkeep may be briefly noticed. The assemblies often set apart land for the maintenance of persons who expounded, in the halls of the temples, the national epics of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and and the *purāṇas;* such land was called *Bhāratap-pangu* (share for Bhārata),[104] and was usually made tax-free. Music and dancing, and theatrical presentations of popular tales and legends, formed part of the ordinary routine of the temple, and received special attention on festive occasions; and *Nāṭaka-śālās* were specially constructed for these purposes.[105] There were recitations of sacred hymns in Tamil and in Sanskrit in the course of the daily worship in the temples, and the assemblies sometimes gave shares from the common lands of the village for the maintenance of these services. Schools of

higher learning were attached to temples and so were hospitals. The assemblies were found endowing or assisting in the endowment of particular subjects like Mīmāmsā of the Prābhākara school,[106] Vēdānta,[107] Vyākaraṇa,[108] Bhaviṣya,[109] Taittirīya,[110] Vājasanēya,[111] and so on. In the foundation of hospitals and the maintenance of physicians attached to them the assemblies actively assisted and co-operated with the donor.[112] They also aided persons who desired to put up rest-houses (*ambalam*) and provide for the supply of drinking water in them.[113] Agrarian rights and tenures, and irrigation of land, of which an account is given elsewhere, were among the most important concerns of the assemblies. In addition to the records relating to such matters maintained by the central government, the villages seem to have kept their own record books including a land-register (*nila-mudal*) and a tax-register (*pottagam*).[114] The consent of the *sabhā* was essential to any alteration in the classification of the lands in the village; the king simultaneously addressed the local *adhikāri* (official of the government) and the *sabhā* concerned,[115] and then they met together and put the business through. The part of the assemblies in the administration of justice has been noticed before. The judicial officers of the village (*niyāyattār*) evidently used the proceeds of the fines levied by them for some common good. In one instance, they presented a golden diadem to the god of a local temple.[116]

In 1236 the *mūla pariṣat* of Tiruveḷḷaṛai (Trichinopoly dt.) met in the local temple to consider the lease of some villages that were the personal property of the king, Rājarāja III; this was obviously an assembly which had the management of the temple and its affairs. They resolved to replace the existing Executive Committee of probably four members by another consisting of eight, who should settle the *kaḍamai* and *kuḍimai* dues to be collected from the tenants in occupation of the leased lands. The members of this Committee were remunerated for their service and were to be changed annually; and a person who once served on this Committee could not serve again for the next four years.[116a]

An inscription from Tirukoḷḷikkāḍu, undated but clearly of the early Cōḷa period, reveals an instance of unauthorised occupation of some temple lands by the *Sabhā* of Mārāya-

mangalam for a period of 35 years between the third year of Uttama Cōḷa and the twenty-ninth of Rājēndra I. A petition to the king led to an enquiry by a royal officer, and then the *Sabhā* was required as penalty to pay 400 *kāśus* instead of 200 received by them previously; the *Sabhā* returned the land as the equivalent of 100 *kāśus* (*vilai-dravyam*), and for the balance they agreed to pay all the dues on the land to the state for all time, thus treating 300 *kāśus* as *iṟaikāval*.[116b]

The village assemblies sometimes stimulated the flow of private charity for the general benefit of the community by giving suitable public recognition to their benefactors. The *sabhā* of Tiruppēr recorded in an inscription, A.D. 1129, their gratitude to a certain Bhaṭṭa whose prayers and benefactions were believed to have been of great use to the village in a troublesome period when its fortunes had sunk low and the people were deserting it.[117] The *sabhā* of Uttaramērūr conferred some hereditary privileges on a courtesan who carried out extensive repairs and additions to the Viṣṇu temple in the locality.[118] The *sthānattār* of the temple and the residents of Tirumalavādi adopted an interesting method to express their gratitude to a benefactor; he had greatly improved the temple and by slightly diverting the course of the Coleroon, averted the danger of inundation which threatened the village; in appreciation of these and other services, the *sthānattār* petitioned the deity on the occasion of a festival that a free house might be granted in perpetuity for the residence in the village itself of this great benefactor, and then, ostensibly with the sanction of the deity, a house was set apart for the purpose from the properties of the temple.[119] This was in 1223. Other examples can be easily gathered from the inscriptions.

Such in outline were the nature, organisation and functions of local assemblies and groups in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In a general account, many characteristic details which might add vividness to the picture are necessarily left out. No room can be found for them except in detailed histories of particular assemblies which cannot be attempted here.[120] But what has been said is enough to show that between an able bureaucracy and the active local assemblies which in various ways fostered a live sense of citizenship, there was attained a high standard of administrative efficiency and purity, perhaps the highest ever attained by the Hindu State.

A remarkable parallel to the position of the townships in the Cōḷa empire is furnished by that of the cities of Gaul in the Roman empire as can be seen from the description of the latter by Fustel de Coulanges.[121] 'Each city possessed its public property comprising buildings, land, capital fund, contributions. It could receive donations and bequests. It directly administered all this property. It regulated land rights and lent out its money on interest. It got contributions for itself such as octrois, market dues, tolls on bridges and roads.

'It had its own expenses on its buildings (fortifications), streets, its forum, its basilicas, its temples, its public baths and its theatre, its roads and its bridges. It established schools and appointed teachers, as it appointed its doctors...In short, the city and its....territory was constituted like a veritable state. We do not mean to say by this that it was independent. To think of it as a free community under the simple suzerainty of the empire would be exaggerated and inexact. It had to obey all the orders of the imperial government. It opened its portals to a pro-consul every time he wished to visit it, and we may go further and say that nearly all its acts were submitted to the governor of the province for his approbation. But what we should note here is first that the imperial government had no agent always present in the city, and secondly that the city had a complete organism and a life of its own. It possessed its directing senate, its corps of magistrates, its jurisdiction, its police, its treasury, its goods movable and immovable, its public fund, its schools, its clergy and its high priests. None of all these came to it from outside: magistrates, professors, priests, every one was found within. Doubtless it was not a free state; it was at any rate a state'.

1. *EI.* xxii, p. 5-11.
2. *Studies*, pp. 101, 129; 67 of 1898.
3. 71 of 1897.
4. 33 of 1895.
5. 82 of 1896. 85 of 1896. *TAS.* ii, p. 7. The dissolution of the body is a legitimate inference from l. 14, which lays down punishment only for the members of the *Parudai* going back on their agreement individually and not in their collective capacity.
6. 214 of 1911.

7. 629 of 1916.
8. 39 of 1895; 117 of 1910.
9. 120 of 1902.
10. 145 of 1900; 239 of 1902.
11. 640 of 1905; 519 of 1922.

12. Krishna Sastri suggests that Śankarappāḍi was a general name applied to the quarters in which the Śaivas of a town lived. (*SII.* iii, p. 275, n. 1). It should be noted, however, that in almost all known instances, the Śankarappāḍiyār have duties connected with the maintenance of lamps and in particular the supply of oil—547 of 1920, 80 of 1897, 78 of 1898, etc. Two records imply moreover that they were a corporation of oil-mongers; in his second year, Kulōttunga I ordered that 25 familes of Śankarappāḍi should be settled in Tiruvālangāḍu (N.A.), in a new settlement called Rājēndra-Śōḻappāḍi and made responsible for the supply of oil for 15 lamps (*SII.* iii, 65); an inscription from Achyutamangalam (Tj.) contains the expression: *śekku onṟukku Śankarappāḍiyār pēr panniraṇḍu āga.* (395 of 1925).

13. Madras Museum plates. *SII.* iii, p. 269, ll. 3-6, and 112-3.
14. 2 of 1898.
15. 238 of 1929.
16. *SII.* iii, p. 177, contra Hultzsch.
17. 196 of 1925.
18. 597 and 620 of 1920.
19. 118 of 1888.
20. 151 of 1897.
21. 73 of 1914.
22. 67 of 1906. The 'eḻubattonbadu nāṭṭōm' supervise the engraving on stone of a decision of the *nāḍu* and *nagara* of Uṭṭattūr-nāḍu in 1199. (521 of 1912).
23. 372 of 1914.
24. 352 of 1909.
25. 106 of 1919. Also 77 of 1900.
26. 197 of 1894.
27. 368 of 1911.
28. Pd. 152.
29. 327 of 1921, which may be of the reign of Kulōttunga I.
30. 543 of 1921.
31. 610 of 1902.
32. *SII.* iii, 210.
33. 1 and 2 of 1898; 692 of 1904; 335 of 1917; 178 of 1919, 348 of 1917.
34. 152 and 154 of 1895.
35. 206, 201 of 1919.
36. Pd. 20, 59; 279 of 1903, and 285 of 1906.
37. e.g. Tiruveṟumbūr, (112 and 123 of 1914); Tiraimūr (201 and 216 of 1907); Śevalai (362 of 1902); Uttaramērūr (89 of 1898) and so on. The assumption has been made that in the ūr and *nagaram* 'all the conditions pertaining to membership in the Brahmanical *sabhās* prevailed, except perhaps the knowledge of the Vedas'. *ARE.* 1913, II, 23. There is no evidence to support this.

38. 466 of 1912.

39. Pd. 198.

40. 3 and 58 of 1898.

41. 40 of 1895.

42. *SII.* iii, 1; 237 of 1915; 234 of 1929.

43. 610 of 1902. Nos. 66, 67, 72 and 73-5 of 1947-8 (Chingleput Dt.) mention *nyāyattār* and *nyāya-mudalis*.

44. Kittel, s. v. vāri; 133 of 1914 (Rājak, 5) has the expression: *ivvāṇḍu śrī-kōyil vāri sēyginṟa sabhai-vāryar*.

45. 113 of 1928.

46. 596 of 1904: *vārigam vaittu vaikkappaṭṭa vārigarum kaṇakkum irundu*.

47. 43 of 1906.

48. '*Perumakkaḷ*' literally means 'Great men'.

49. *ASI.* 1905; *Studies*—ch. vi. 176 of 1930 furnishes another example from the reign of Parāntaka I of *sabhā* of Niṉṟavūr emphasising the importance of the *kuḍumbu* (ward) in the conduct of the affairs of the *sabhā*. It lays down that each *kuḍumbu* was to be represented in all discussions by two persons who had not taken such part in discussions before (*paṇḍu maṉṟāḍi aṟiyādār*). For other provisions of the record relating to revenue affairs, salary of *madhyastha* and so on, see *ARE.* 1930, II, 16.

50. Bits of palm-leaf on which were written the names of eligible persons were thrown into a narrow-mouthed pot and well shaken in the presence of the whole assembly; and a child was asked to take out one after another as many of the bits as were required for the purpose of the constitution of the committees.

51. 12 of 1898.

52. *ARE.* 1905, II, 7.

53. 240 and 241 of 1922. The phrase '*Sabhā-māṟṟañ-jollavum*' cannot simply mean 'speak in the *sabhā*'. The inscriptions often say that they are recorded to the dictation (*śolla*) of some person who is generally a Bhaṭṭa; and I think 'Sabhā-māṟṟañ-jollu' has reference to this process of dictating for record the conclusions reached by the sabhā. The simple form '*māṟṟam*' occurs in 60 of 1926.

54. *SII.* iii, 156, ll. 1-3.

55. *SII.* iii, 99.

55a. No. 5 of 1945-6.

55b. 496 of 1925; also 480.

56. 148 of 1927. *ARE.* 1927, II, 28.

57. For *kūṭṭam* (executive) of other assemblies see: 581 of 1907, 527 of 1918, 231 of 1925.

58. 113, 120 of 1928—the two numbers being apparently duplicates of the same record.

59. 92 of 1914—*Munbu paṇṇina vyavasthaip-paḍiyē-samvatsara-varaṇamāga āmenṟāraik-koṇḍu grāma-kāryañ-jeyyak-kaḍavōm-āga*.

60. 500 of 1925.

60a. 89 of 1932; *ARE.* 1932.

61. 30 of 1894; 241 of 1922.

62. 260 of 1915, also 332 of 1910. *ARE.* 1910, II. 21; 640 of 1919. *Studies,* p. 94.

63. 553 of 1921; 85 of 1896; 72 of 1914; 103 of 1897.

64. 268 of 1921, also mentions *Viyāpāri-nagarattōm.*

65. 243 of 1894.

66. 165 of 1928.

67. 66 of 1895.

68. 6 of 1897.

69. 76 of 1921.

70. 40 of 1895.

71. Pd. 38.

72. 217 of 1926; 411 of 1912; Pd. 85.

73. Pd. 36.

74. 356 of 1924.

75. 676 of 1905.

76. 373 of 1914 (Pd. 186).

77. 109 of 1906.

77a. 61 of 1936-7, *ARE.* II. 32.

78. 556 of 1919.

79. Co-operation with Śambuvarāyar in the reign of Kulōttunga II —64 of 1900.

79a. 62 of 1898; *Studies,* p. 121.

79b. *SII.* iii, 77.

80. 199 of 1907; 154 of 1895.

81. 18 of 1922. The *uvaccar* are pipers and drummers who play on their musical instruments during the services in temple.

82. 594 of 1912. See also 28 of 1919 for another such instance from Markāṇam.

83. *EI.* iii, pp. 145, 147; (*SII.* ii, p. 370).

84. The text is *'Kiḻavar'*, rendered into 'headman' by Krishna Sastri. See also 39 of 1895 for *brahmadēyak-kiḻavar.*

85. *SII.* iii, p. 402, ll. 2-5; see also *EI.* xv. Anbil plates, l. 124; *SII.* iii, 142, ll. 4-8; Leyden grant, l. 113.

86. See p. 296 *ante.*

87. 103 of 1921.

88. 321 of 1910.

89. 222 of 1911.

90. 133 of 1914; 105 of 1914.

91. 41 of 1898.

92. 100 of 1892.

93. 14 of 1898.

94. 105 of 1925.

95. *SII.* iii, index s.v. *Madhyasthar.*

96. 226 of 1915.
97. 30 of 1919.
98. 583 of 1904.
99. 400 of 1916.
100. 205 of 1919.
101. 167 of 1902.
102. *SII.* iii, 6.
103. 199 of 1907; 92 of 1895.
104. 63 of 1897; 48 and 50 of 1923. *Pangu* often gives place to *puṟam* or *vṛtti*.
105. 199 of 1907; 157 of 1905; 398 of 1921. 152 of 1925; 253, 254 of 1914.
106. 233 of 1911; 333 of 1923.
107. 276 of 1925.
108. 18 of 1898; 202 of 1912.
109. 29 of 1898. The name not of the purāṇa but of a sûtra. *SII.* ii, p. 524, l. 118).
110. 33 of 1898.
111. 194 of 1923.
112. 36 of 1898; 112 and 113 of 1925; 182 of 1915; 97 of 1928.
113. *TAS.* i. pp. 168-9; 260 of 1915; 569 of 1908.
114. *SII.* iii, 150.
115. 188 of 1919.
116. 221 of 1921.
116a. 204 of 1938-9; *ARE.* II. 24.
116b. 139 of 1935-6, *ARE.* II. 37.
117. 276 of 1901. See also 211 and 205 of 1928.
118. 172 of 1923.
119. 91 of 1920.
120. See *Studies*, iv, v.
121. *Histoire des Institutions Politiques, Quatriéme* Edition, Paris 1914, pp. 244-6 (translated from the French original).

Chapter XIX

TAXATION: FINANCE

Subjects of Taxation.

The economy of the mediaeval state had little in common with that of modern governments, and the Indian State was no exception. Taxation was based partly on custom, and partly, especially in the case of new levies, on the consent, tacit or express, of the groups affected. Land was the mainstay of national economy and the land-tax, collected in cash or kind, or as often happened in the Cōḷa State by a judicious mixture of both methods, was the chief source of revenue. Customs and octroi, profession taxes assessed in various ways, and the taxation of gifts of nature worked up by man, such as the produce of mines, forests and salt-pans, were also resorted to. And the *corvèe* (*veṭṭi, viṣṭi*) was exacted with more or less regularity. When the cumulative effects of these burdens became too oppressive, the people abandoned their homesteads and betook themselves elsewhere; the fear of local depopulation was an ever-present check on the rapacity of the tax-collector.

Public expenditure.

The nature of the charges on the public revenues depended upon the agency that gathered the tax or the due; for it was not merely the king's government that collected revenue in the form of taxes; local bodies and other agencies of a communal or professional character also raised levies for various purposes. The main charge on the revenues of the king was the salaries of officials, including the maintenance of the army and the navy; in the higher rungs of public service these salaries took the form of assignments of particular revenue items in particular areas so that what was paid into the king's treasury (*tālam*) was a net income that remained after deductions on account of such assignments. What remained after paying the charges of administration was the property of the king and entirely at his disposal. A good part of it no doubt went to the maintenance of the king's personal establishment

including the numerous queens and their retinues. Members of the royal family who commanded the special affection of the ruling monarch, like Śembiyanmahādēvi in Uttama Cōḷa's reign, Kundavai in Rājarāja's, must have received very sumptuous allowances from the king's treasury. A great amount of treasure was kept in the form of jewels and precious stones which served the double purpose of personal distinction for the king and a financial reserve for the state. What Abu Zayd notes generally of Indian kings in the beginning of the tenth century no doubt applied to conditions in the Cōḷa court as well.[1] 'The Kings of India wear ear-rings of precious-stones mounted on gold. They wear round the neck collars of great value made of precious stones, red (rubies) and green (emeralds), but pearls have the greatest value and in most cases they are used. In fact, pearls constitute the treasure of the kings and their financial reserve.[2] The generals and the high functionaries wear equally collars of pearls.' On a smaller scale the assignees who were in the enjoyment of incomes of varying sizes from the areas assigned to them imitated the model set by the king. All of them distributed their resources among hoarding, personal expenditure, and 'charity', which went to meet much of what we should now call social expenditure.

Revenue terms.

The language of the inscriptions describing the taxes and dues is seldom susceptible of complete or satisfactory interpretation at present, and nothing more can be done than to offer some tentative inferences from the records which will require confirmation or modification in the light of further study. The most general term for taxes and dues employed in the epigraphy of the period is *iṟai* or *vari*. Two other general terms are *manṟupāḍu* and *daṇḍam*. The former was of the nature of judicial fine incurred for specific offences.[3] *Daṇḍam* is a closely related term and often goes with *manṟupāḍu;* in one instance the former is said to be an instance of the latter.[4] But *daṇḍam* is a term also employed in another sense at least in one instance. A *daṇḍam* of 3,000 *kalañju* of gold was levied[5] by Parāntaka I in his 38 year, A.D. 945, on the assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkkil, and the amount was to be paid by them to the Pāṇḍip-paḍai, perhaps the troops (engaged in the) Pāṇḍyan (war). Here the *daṇḍam* has the appearance of a special war-

levy, though this is not quite clear. The inscription does not give the reason for the levy. The amount was very huge in this case, and the assembly was still arranging for its payment in the third year of Gaṇḍarāditya, by selling some lands to the local temple. It is also possible that this was a heavy punishment brought down on themselves by the *sabhā* in some manner. A record from Ālanguḍi states that Vīrarājēndra levied a special tax of one *kaḷañju* of gold per *vēli* of land to finance his war against Vēngī.[6]

Another general term of somewhat uncertain import is '*iravu*', which, in one of the few instances[7] so far known of it, figures as some sort of a cess paid in kind and amounting to a little over 20 per cent of the *puravu*, the land-tax. The word '*iravu*' (begging) reminds one of a famous saying in the *Kuṛaḷ* which compares to a highwayman the king addressing a request to his subjects (for financial assistance); this saying in turn recalls Kauṭilya's dicta on *praṇaya* (benevolence).

Classes of taxes.

Other general terms in common use were *Āyam* (revenue), *Kaḍamai* and *Kuḍimai* meaning literally 'duty' and 'tenancy-dues'. '*Āyam*' had apparently the same wide application as '*iṛai*' and a number of minor dues were grouped together under the general description of '*śittāyam*' or '*śilliṛai*' both sometimes found together in the same inscription.[8] But the most significant grouping of the taxes and dues, that which provides a key to the whole tax-system, is that contained in a phrase like the following from an inscription of the twentieth year of Rājarāja I:[9] 'Any kind of *Kuḍimai* due at the Sacred Victorious Gate, the taxation (*varippāḍu*) levied by the *ūr* (town or village), and any other type of *Kuḍimai*.' The same inscription expands the last of the three items named into: '*iṛai* on those on which *iṛai* was due, and *eccoṛu*.'[10] The 'Sacred Victorious Gate' (*tiru-kkoṛṛa-vāśal*) means no doubt the gate of the king's palace, and the first division of the taxes mentioned in this list comprised those levied by the king's government.[11] Then came the dues levied by the local assembly, *ūr*, *sabhā* or *nagaram*, and these were grouped under the name '*ūriḍu-varippāḍu*', 'taxes levied by the town (or village).' Lastly, it is to be noticed that the term *Kuḍimai* was applied

to all the groups without distinction; thus understood, *Kuḍimai* stands for the 'duties of the *kuḍis*' or 'burdens of citizenship' and is quite close in meaning also to *'kaḍamai.'* After recording the gift of some fields as *ēri-paṭṭi* (tank-land), the assembly (*ūr*) of Neṟkuṇam undertook never to exercise their rights of taxation in a manner calculated to abrogate the gift.[12] The expression *Ūr-kīl-Iṟaiyili*, tax-free under the *ūr*, employed of some lands also implies that such lands were exempted from all dues because the residents of the village had undertaken to pay these dues in the ratio of their holdings in the village.[13]

Central control.

A general order of Rājarāja I issued by him at his capital, Tañjāvūr, and applicable to the Cōḷa, Toṇḍai and Pāṇḍya countries shows the extent to which the local authorities could rely on themselves for the collection of local cesses, and the readiness of the central government to come to their aid, when necessary, in enforcing their demands. In certain classes of villages, those of the Brahmins, Vaikhānasas and Śramaṇas, persons who held land under the service-tenure (*kāṇi-uḍaiya*) were slack in the payment of dues assessed upon them by the village authorities (*ūriḍuvarippāḍu*). The grounds for the attitude of these tenants are not stated; apparently, they held that they were not liable to these minor cesses; and there was an attempt at concerted action on their part. The dispute became a long-drawn affair, and the whole subject went up to the king for his decision. The inscription[14] records the royal award which went against the tenants and authorised the villages to realise the taxes from them as from other villagers (*ūrgaḷilār.*) Those tenants who, from the sixteenth to the twenty-third year of the king's reign, were found to be in arrears for a period of two complete years and a third, were declared liable to have their lands distrained and sold by the village concerned, and the defaulting tenants were forbidden to take any part in such proceedings. This award was made by the king on the 124th day of the 24th year of his reign.

Remissions.

The names of the taxes and their nature, so far as known, are generally learnt from the numerous records of exemptions granted to various institutions from the payment of these dues. Although the local assemblies are seen to have been responsible for the bulk

of such exemptions, examples are not wanting of the king granting similar exemptions in particular cases.[15] In either case, each authority must be understood to have remitted the particular dues which it would have been entitled to levy in the absence of the remission. This is expressly stated in some instances as when the *sabhā-viniyōgam* is said to be remitted on some temple lands which were already *ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili*.[16] Cases of remission must be carefully distinguished from those of commutation in which, as has been shown elsewhere, all future dues were provided for by the payment of a lump sum roughly equal to their value capitalised at current rates of interest. Though the formula of exemption was similar in either case, there was an important difference. When taxes were remitted no payment was due from anybody; when they were only commuted, the usual rule was for the assembly of the village, in which the property or the institution concerned was situated, to receive the lump payment made, to hold itself responsible to the authorities concerned, including itself, for the payment of future dues, and to issue a document to that effect to the parties concerned.[17] Such a deed and the lump sum paid were alike known as *Iṟai-kāval* (lit. tax-guard).

Commutation.

The village assemblies were held responsible for the land revenue due to the central government from the lands in the village. This arrangement was enforced right to the end of our period. A record from Kaḷappāḷ[18] (Tanjore dt.) dated A.D. 1274 describes the sale, by the executive body of the village assembly, of land belonging to a certain person who had emigrated to the Pāṇḍya country and died there without having paid the dues on his lands for about ten years. That arrears of revenue were allowed to accumulate for so many years gives us incidentally a measure of the difference in the method of collection between now and then.

Responsibility of assemblies.

The rôle of custom in governing assessments becomes clear from the references to ancient time-honoured standards in particular matters. In an age of active municipal life conscious imitation is necessarily one of the methods by which the practice of different towns tends to become uniform. One of the most conspicuous examples of this process in the Cōḷa period

Custom and precedent.

is furnished by the adoption of the 'ancient standard of Nandipuram,' in the levy of *manṟu-pāḍu* in the towns of Mēlappaḻuvūr and Tiruccengōḍu in the reigns of Sundara Cōḷa and Rājarāja I.[19] Nandipuram, also known as Āyirattaḷi,[20] was a flourishing town in the Tanjore district often mentioned in the inscriptions. A verse preserved in the commentary on the *Vīra-śōḷiyam* calls Sundara Cōḷa the king of Nandipuram.

Special contributions.

Besides the regular taxes and dues, occasional contributions were also levied for particular purposes by local authorities. An inscription at Erode, of the year A.D. 922, records that the people of a whole *nāḍu* undertook to pay some new cesses for providing for the worship of Kṛṣṇa in a Viṣṇu temple at Erode. These new cesses were: half-*paṇam* on each household (*kuḍi*); an eighth (of a *paṇam*) each from either party to a marriage; and one *mañjāḍi* and one *kunṟi* of gold as due (*pāṭṭam*) from each crematorium,—indeed a strange assortment.[21] In the 22nd year of Kannaradeva (*c.* 962) the *manṟāḍis* (shepherds) of Bāhūr-nāḍu undertook to give one sheep to the Perumāḷ (Viṣṇu) of Śrī Mūlaṭṭānam of Bāhūr (town) whenever any one among them consummated a marriage—*kāṭṭilērappōmpōdu*. This rule applied also to those who came and settled in Bāhūr from outside. If any one failed to give the sheep, the *gaṇapperumakkaḷ* (executive committee) and the *dēvaraḍiyār* (lit. servants of gods—either temple officials or dancing girls or both) were authorised to take two sheep by force.[21a] Again, at Talaiccangāḍu in Tanjore a sum of 100 *kāśus* was raised from the professional and religious groups of the locality for making certain necessary endowments in the local temple in the reign of Rājarāja I.[22] In 1096, the people of Kāmarasavalli (Trichinopoly district) provided for a festival and for certain offerings in the temple by requiring the following collections to be made and remitted to the temple: one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per *mā* of all the *fields* growing paddy, millet (*varagu*) or gingelly (*eḷ*); one nut from each areca tree and one *uḻakku* of oil from the house of every cultivator (*veḷḷān*).[23] In the 43rd year of Kulōttunga I (A.D. 1113) the shepherds of Tiruvāyppāḍi-nāḍu undertook to present each a sheep to a Viṣṇu temple, Jalaśayanam in Karur, on the occasions of nuptials (*kaṭṭil-ēṟudal*) of their sons, of their daughters setting up separate families, and *talaimani* (?)

of their children.[23a] At Tiṭṭaguḍi (South Arcot), an image of the goddess Bhūmidēvi was set up about A.D. 1170, and the joint assembly of the Cittiramēḷi-periya-nāḍu and the Tiśai-āyirattu-āiññūṟṟuvar resolved to levy the following contributions for the requirements of services and offerings to the new deity: one *padakku* of paddy per annum on each plough (*ēr*), one *kuruṇi* on each labourer (*āḷ*), five *kāśus* to be paid by each florist (*mālai kaṭṭi parimāruvār*), two *kāśus* by each of the servants (*paṇi-makkaḷ*) employed under the two corporate bodies assessing the levy, four measures of *ghī* from each family of cowherds in the village. Those who went to the villages to collect these dues were to be given by each village: half *kalam* of white rice (*veḷḷai ariśi*), one *kalam* of *puri* rice, fifty areca-nuts, two *paṟṟu* of betel leaves, one *nāli* of salt, one *uri* of pepper, and one measure of gingelly oil; the collectors were also authorised to enter into dwellings, distrain metal vessels and break mud vessels in the process of collection.[24] One may doubt if these sanctions are to be understood literally; they might have been no more than an attempt to impress on the people the high importance and the urgency of the contributions thus levied. Four years later, in 1174, the guild of the oil-mongers subject to the Great Guild (*Mānagaram*) of Kāñcīpuram resolved that each oil-mill in the premises of a temple should provide for the specified number of lamps and offerings in the temple by contribution of the necessary *kaḍamai* and one old *kāśu* per annum, and should observe this rule as a caste-ordinance (*jāti-dharma*).[25] In 1232, the *māhēśvaras* attached to the temple and *maṭhas* at Tirukkaṇṇapuram (Tanjore district) resolved to supplement the dwindling resources of the temple by levying contributions, in cash and kind from the servants of the temples in specified areas and from those who wore the sacred cord (*pūṇūlē kuṟiyāga*); elaborate arrangements were also sanctioned for the collection of the dues and for the remuneration of the collectors.[26] The *pēriḷamaiyār* of Śangēndi (Trichinopoly district) order the collection of paddy from cultivators for meeting the requirements of the local temple.[27] In the eleventh year of Rājēndra III, A.D. 1257, the *nagarattār* of Kōvilūr (Tanjore district) made over to the temple of Uśāttānam-uḍaiyār some of the tolls and other dues, usually levied by them viz. the rice they got as *nilakkūli* on their

lands, and the *pāḍi-kāval, kai-vāśi* and cash dues (*kāśu-vargam*) on each *podi* (bag) of rice brought into the township.[28] In 1264, an inscription from Ālanguḍi records the levy of a voluntary impost by the *rathakāras* on themselves for some purpose that is not clear owing to the damaged condition of the record.[29] Lastly an undated record from Tiruppaḷanam contains a resolution of the *nāḍu, nagaram* and *padineṇviṣaiyam* transferring to the temple certain dues usually collected by them from the farmers and the octroi duties on pepper, areca-nut, bales of cloth, bags of rice and so on.[30]

Incidence.

Such instances of local imposts, together with the express statement sometimes made that borrowing was resorted to because the people were not in a position to bear any additional taxation, raise the impression that on the one hand taxation in one form and another pressed the people rather hard, and that on the other hand, for most of the extra or *ad hoc* taxation resorted to, the active consent of the tax-payer was sought beforehand.

Sometimes particular dues were ear-marked for a certain specified purpose such as the payment of interest on a perpetual loan given to a *sabhā* by the local temple.[31] The villages situated on the banks of the Kāvēri and its branches had sometimes to take special measures for keeping the river bund in good repair to avert inundation during the floods; such villages had to levy a special cess towards this purpose. An inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga III from Tiruppāmburam mentions the *Kāvērik-karaiviniyōgam.*[32]

Surveying of lands.

Land and houses provided the primary subjects of taxation. An accurate survey of land leading to a careful recording of land rights in government books appears to have been undertaken sometime about the middle of Rājarāja I's reign, and from that time, the references to land surveys and measurements as recorded in them become more noticeable.[33] An inscription dated 1184 from Tirumangalam,[34] Tanjore district, is of peculiar interest. It records that discrepancies had arisen in course of time between the record of land rights in the village and their actual distribution. The reasons were: first, the natural tendency to be remiss in maintaining the re-

cords fully up to date; second, the encroachments on pathways, canal bunds and so on by greedy ryots who had surreptitiously extended their holdings; lastly, the Vikrama-Cōḷappērāṟu had altered its course causing damage to some fields, and the taxes were still being assessed at the old rates without any allowance being made for this damage. A new survey was undertaken and the results recorded in detail in the inscription under reference. The records include the names and boundaries of all the shrines in the villages together with the lands they held. Among the entries made in the register, the following are noteworthy: land set apart for the sacrifice of goats (*kiḍā*) to the *piḍāri; kāṇis* for houses for *ambaṭṭar* and *nāvidar*;[35] the potter, carpenter, black-smith, goldsmith, washerman, and *paḷḷis* come in for free shares. The site whence earth was dug out for the river bank, and the burning ground are declared *nīngal* (excepted). But for the numerous gaps in this long inscription, it would be a most satisfactory and complete account of the distribution of land in the village at the time of the record. Not one of the inscriptions, however, contains a definite statement of the proportion of the produce that formed the normal share of the state. Frequently enough the absolute quantity of paddy or other produce collected in the form of particular taxes from given units of measure is stated; one inscription[36] of the time of Rājādhirāja I, for instance, records that the *iṟai* paid to a temple on some lands was 28 *kalams* of paddy per *vēli* while on others it was only 19; it is clear that the rate of assessment differed with the fertility of the soil. The classification of land into different grades, as many as twelve or more grades (*taram*),[37] and unclassed lands (*taramili*) being alluded to, also points to the same conclusion. But in no single instance do we seem to have the data for calculating the precise ratio between the tax and the yield. In the circumstances, any effort to compare the incidence of the land-tax under the Cōḷas with that in modern times is bound to be unsuccessful.[38] Vague statements to the effect that the king followed the laws of Manu or that he collected one-sixth of the produce of the earth as the tax due to him[39] can hardly be accepted at their face value. The standard rate of 100 *kalams* per *vēli*, which figures in the Tanjore inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I as the

Classification and assessment.

share of the temple on *dēvadāna* lands[40] may, on the assumption that the fertility of land was then very much what it is now, be found to work out at something like a third of the gross produce. It is possible that this represents the state's share on these lands made over to the temple; if this conclusion is correct the land tax under the Cōḷas would compare not unfavourably with what it was at other times and in other parts of India. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Munro calculated that in Anantapur the *sarkar* share was no less than 45¾% of the gross produce from land.[41]

That the revenue from agricultural lands was periodically reassessed, and the classification of the land revised from time to time in accordance with changes in cropping, fertility and so on, is amply borne out by the inscriptions.[42] Once more, the regular practice in these matters has to be inferred from the exceptions which are specially recorded. In some instances the *nāṭṭār* or the *sabhā* undertake never to raise the land set apart for a charity from a lower grade to a higher one in any reclassification in future years. In others the tax due from specified areas of land is fixed in perpetuity as a *nilai-iṟai*, a permanent settlement.

Permanent assessment.

In the fifteenth year of a Parakēsari, at the instance of Kaṇḍan-Maṟavan, a Cōḷa feudatory, the *nāṭṭār* of Kuṉṟak-kūṟṟam assigned some land to a public servant as his *janma-bhūmi* (same as *jīvita?*), and ordered that he was to pay on the land a fixed tax (*nilai-iṟai*) of 25 *kaḷañjus* of gold of the treasury standard of fineness (*tāla-ccemmai*).[43] From the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, it is seen that Rājēndra I fixed in perpetuity[44] the dues to be paid to the temple of Mahādēva every year by the *dēvadāna* village of Paḷaiyanūr.

Names of taxes.

A brief review of some typical inscriptions will convey a general idea of the nature and number of taxes, cesses and other dues. Though their name is legion, most of them were not general, but occasional and restricted in their incidence. In A.D. 944 the *sabhā* of Ukkal resolved that their executive committees[45] were to abstain from exacting *Veṭṭi* (forced labour), *Vedilai* and *Vālakkāṇam* from the tenants settled in Śōdiyambākkam, a a hamlet assigned to a Viṣṇu temple in the locality; the temple was moreover granted the right to levy and exact fines

(*manṟu-pāḍu*) from the peasants of the village for their faults and sins (*kuṟṟan-dōṣam*).[46] The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Cōḷa record that the older inhabitants of Śōḷāniyamam in Kāñcīpuram, an area belonging to the temple, were excused the payment of all ancient dues;[47] those residents, however, who had come from other towns and villages and had settled in it, were required to contribute as *iṟai* to the god of Ūragam a quarter measure of oil and two *nāḻis* of rice per household per month; even they were exempt from any other dues levied by the *nagaram*. The *kōl-nirai-kūli* and *kāl-aḷavukūli* of Kāñcīpuram which were assigned as income to the temple of Ūragam are explained in the Sanskrit portion of the Museum plates as tolls on articles measured by weight and by capacity.[48] That this was a very small toll is seen from the rate of half-nāḻi per *kalam* recorded in an inscription from Tiruvāmāttur of the time of Rājarāja I;[49] in this place this *kūli* was given to the *paḷḷis* of the village who measured the paddy due to the temple from its tenants till about A.D. 1010, when as a result of an enquiry into the affairs of the temple, this *kūli* was transferred to the *uvaccar* as remuneration for their services in the temple, including the cost of clothes to be supplied to a *māṇi* (a *brahmacārin*) who officiated at the *śrī-bali* ceremony. Examples of general taxes falling upon the residents of Tiruvallam in the fourth year of Rājēndra I are stated to be: the price of water from wells and tanks and the gold of joyous persons. The latter (*ugappār pon*) seems to be a small payment made by householders on auspicious occasions like marriages.[50] In the sixth year of Rājēndra I, the Tiruvālangāḍu plates record a formidable list of *parihāras* made over to the temple; all these *parihāras*,— the list is a long one and yet said to be not exhaustive,[51]— were thenceforth to be collected by the temple and not by the king. Some years later, in A.D. 1021, the *sabhā* of Vēmbaṟṟūr received sixty-five *kāśus*[52] from the Śiva temple of Śrī-Kuḍittiṭṭai, and in lieu of interest thereon, they agreed to forgo the following dues from some temple lands: the *siddhāya-kāśu*, the *pañcavāra*-paddy, gram and dholl, oil and ghee and other *vari* levied by the town (*ūriḍuvari*), the payment for the tank (*ēri-īvu*) and the forced labour (*vēdanai*) on banks and bunds (*kulai* and *kurambu*) and other smaller dues (*śilvari*). An inscription of Uḍaiyār Sundara Cōḷa-Paṇḍya

from Tiruvālīśvaram[53] states that five *vēlis* of land were converted from *brahmadēya* into ryotwari land (*veḷḷān-vagai*) and required thereafter to pay as land-tax (*iṟaik-kaḍan*) paddy to the amount of 642 *kalams*, 6 *kuriṇis* 2¾ *nāḷis* and 2½ *śeviḍus* as measured by the *nārāyam* equal to five *nāḷis;* besides 35¼ and 3|80 *kāśus* as *uruvu kōl-nilan-kāśu* and 5 *kāśus* as *kāṭci-erudu-kāśu*. Among money-dues (*āyam*) to be collected from some lands in Kīḻūr were : *maramañjāḍi, pāḍikāval, vēṇḍu-kōḷ, manaik-kāṭci-ppēṟu, kūṟaik-kāśu, kiḍāk-kāśu* and others; only these *āyams*, and no other kind of dues, were to be levied from the lands (older *dēvadānas* excepted) set apart by two Malaiyamān chieftains for certain expenses in the temple at Tirukkōyilūr.[54] Of these cesses *mara-mañjāḍi* seems to have been the levy of one *mañjāḍi* of gold on each useful tree; *pāḍi-kāval* was no doubt a payment on account of the village watchman's fee, and *kiḍāk-kāśu*, a small cess on each head of male cattle; the nature of the other dues is not easily understood. An important record of the reign of Rājādhirāja I from Tribhuvani gives the information[55] that the annual share of the landlord on 72 *vēlis* of land was 12,000 *kalams* of paddy, giving an average of 166 and ⅔ *kalams* per *vēli;* and that after remitting this amount of paddy, the tenants cultivating these lands were to be held liable only for *ēri-āyam, pāḍi-kāval-kūli*, free labour (*amañji*) on the tank, and not for any other customary dues (*marijādi*) of the *piḍāgai* (section of village) such as *veḷḷān-iṟai, uḻaviṟai, āḷ* and *amañji*. In the second year of Vīrarājēndra[56] the proceeds from the following taxes in several villages named belonging to three *nāḍus* were made over to the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍu towards the expenses on festivals and offerings on the king's birthdays: all *kīḻ-iṟaip-pāṭṭam* (smaller taxes) including *ūrk-kaḻañju, kumara-kaccāṇam, mīnpāṭṭam, āṟṟup-pāṭṭam* and *taṭṭārp-pāṭṭam; taṟip-puḍavai, daśa-vandam, vēlik-kāśu, śēvakak-kāśu, valangai-iḍangai-mahanmai, tingaḷ-mōham*, and ten *kāśus* per head on account of the *panmai* and *paṇḍa-veṭṭi* (free supplies?) dues from these villages. Another record of the same reign dated three years later gives a very similar list of taxes and dues from places in the Chingleput district made over to the temple of Accarapākam for a like purpose.[57] In this list the term *antarāyam* is applied to a number of taxes collected by the *sabhā* including *iṟai-*

yilik-kāśu, panmai, paṇḍa-veṭṭi, ugavaipon, kāval-śēvagam and so on; and others fall under the heads of *kuḍimai* and *kaḍamai*, though the principle of grouping is by no means easy to infer from the names of the taxes themselves.

In A.D. 1100, the dues remitted on some *dēvadāna* lands at Cōḷapuram (South Travancore) included *māḍaik-kūli* and *daśavandam* among the *pāṭṭams*, and *antarāyam* and *śil-kuḍimai*.[58] An inscription from Tennēri (Chingleput), dated 1116, exempts the people residing on some lands from the payment of *vāśaltiramam* (door-tax) and the provision of *manai-yiraiśōṟu and veṭṭi-muṭṭai-yāḷ* (free food and labour on specified occasions); the *mahāsabhā* undertake themselves to pay *nīrvilai-antarāyam* and all *śilliṟai* on the same land.[59] Again, a record of 1123 from Tiṇḍivanam mentions that for capitalising the due on a plot of land worth 20 *kāśus*, a donor had to pay down 100 *kāśus*, from the interest on which were to be met dues described as follows: *sennīr-amañji tiruveḷuccik-kuḍimai peruvari śilliṟai eccoṟu veṭṭi muṭṭaiyāḷ kōyil vāśalil pōndakuḍimai eppērppaṭṭadum*.[59a] The same record also gives the following as due from the *nattakkollai*, residential part, of the village: *uppukkāśu śennīr-amañji tiruveḷuccik-kuḍimai eccoṟu kūṟṟunellu eppērppaṭṭana*. The *sabhā* of Madhurāntakam sell some land from the *gōpracārabhūmi*, grazing common, of the township, and in doing so, they state that they forgo the *kaḍamai* due on areca-trees growing on the land then sold, and in fact, all other taxes (*vari*) including the *manai-iṟai* (house tax) on the houses built upon it.[60] The names of other dues mentioned in the inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja III are: *māp-padakku, kaṇkāṇi, tari-iṟai* in the *tirumaḍai-viḷāgam* (temple premises), *maganmai* from carpenters and smiths and potters, poll tax (*pērvari*) on *vāṇiyar* (oil mongers), and the *kaḍamai* on oil-mills— mentioned in a record of the thirteenth year from Munnūr, South Arcot;[61] *taniyāṭ-pēṟu* and *kangāṇi mā-nellu* in a record of the fifteenth year from Vāyalūr (Vailur);[62] *kārttigai-ariśi, kārttigai-paccai* and other cash dues (*kāśāyam*), *kaḍai-iṟai* (shop-tax) and *ājīvakak-kāśu*, evidently a tax on Ājīvakas—mentioned in an inscription of the twenty-second year from Poygai near Viriñcipuram;[63] *kaṇakka-vari, eḍuttukkoṭṭi, arimukkai*—three dues collected in the form of paddy, and *veṭṭip-puḍavai, muḍaṟ-ṟiramam, vagaindakāśu, paṭṭōlaik-kāśu, muḷḷadiśin-*

nam, vēlip-payaṟu, tāppaḍi-ariśi, acca-taṟi, śāligait-taṟi, tūśagat-taṟi, paṟait-taṟi—all apparently small cash dues (*kāśukaḍamai*) mentioned in a record[64] of the twenty-eighth year from the same place, with the addition 'and other dues in cash and kind'; and lastly *paṭṭit-teṇḍam, māvaḍai, maravaḍai* in a record of the thirtieth year from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[65] Most of these terms are still obscure; but they give an idea of the extent of local variations and the senseless multiplication of very minor dues in the tax system, and almost seem to suggest that the number of dues was increasing with the weakness and ineffectiveness of the central government. There can be no doubt that, judged by any standard, the system especially in the later period was complex, confused, vexatious in the extreme and, most probably, relatively unproductive.

An inscription[66] of Adhirājēndra states that the minor dues from the *dēvadāna* villages of the Tiruvallam temple detailed under the heads *kīḻiṟaippāṭṭam* and *antarāyam*, were collected at the consolidated rate of 25 *kāśus* per 1000 *kalams*. But what are these 1000 *kalams*? Do they represent gross produce, or the temple's share of it? On the former assumption, the minor taxes would constitute a substantial addition to the burden laid on land. As the same inscription states that one *kāśu* was equal to four *kalams* of paddy, the surcharge on account of the minor taxes comes to 10%. If this is a rate calculated on the gross produce, and if the incidence of land revenue calculated above may be presumed to have continued to hold in this reign as well, cultivators had to give up in one way and another something well over 40% of the gross produce; a rate that does not compare unfavourably with what we know of the land tax under the Vijayanagar or the Mughal rulers.

Pāḍi-kāval.

The term *pāḍi-kāval* occurring more than once in the lists of taxes and dues deserves more attention than most of the other items mentioned; for it refers to a universally prevalent system of safeguarding property from theft, especially at night. This was the system by which each village maintained its own *kāval-kāran* who, in return for certain regular payments to him, held himself responsible for the security of property in the village to the extent of either recovering lost property or making it good; this system survived

in some measure almost till the other day in the Tamil country, and it seems to have been indeed of very ancient origin. A special staff of officials entrusted with this duty, and maintained from the proceeds of a special cess ear-marked for the purpose, the *pāḍi-kāval-kūli* as it is sometimes called, formed a regular feature of the Cōḷa administrative system. In the later Cōḷa days, we find these duties increasingly falling into the hands of the over-grown vassals whose rise was a symptom of the imminent dissolution of the empire. Humbler men in charge of relatively restricted areas also carried on their work more quietly and with less detriment to the well-being of the central administration. An inscription from Talaiccangāḍu (Tanjore district) dated A.D. 1221 states that the *pāḍi-kāppār* were provided with residences in the villages in addition to some allowances as their wages.[67] Examples of the other type are quite numerous; often an individual is found in possession of the *pāḍi-kāval-kāṇi* of a whole *nāḍu*, if not of a wider area, and such an individual often gave expression to his vanity or piety by remitting the fee due from sacred property belonging to temples, or requiring the temple authorities to burn lights or conduct festivals in the manner specified by him instead of paying the fee. The Vāṇakōvaraiyas, Malaiyamāns, Muttaraiyas, Śāmbuvarāyas and Kāḍavarāyas all furnish instances of the practice sketched above.[68] The terms *perumbāḍi-kāval*[69] and *mēṟ-pāḍi-kāval*[70] are sometimes employed, and these are perhaps meant to indicate the wider sphere of their police duties, or their higher status as compared to the ordinary *pāḍi-kāval* of the villages.

Iṟaiyili.

The term *iṟaiyili* (tax-free) so often met with in the epigraphy of the period does not appear to have always meant absolute immunity from all taxes and dues. The nature and extent of the immunity granted was apparently defined in each individual case, the use of the term in respect of any land simply meaning that there were some such immunities to be taken account of in the particular case. This is seen not only from the mention in some inscriptions of an impost called *iṟaiyilik-kāśu*, meaning perhaps *kāśu* due from *iṟaiyili*-lands,[70a] but from an explicit record of the time of Rājarāja I from Tiruppānmalai in the North Arcot district.[71] From this it becomes clear that the village Kūṟakam-pāḍi was an

iṟaiyili-paḷḷic-candam in the enjoyment (*bhōgam*) of the Jaina temple in Tiruppānmalai. The Iḷāḍa chieftains ruling in the area before the eighth year of Rājarāja, the date of the inscription, levied the *kaṟpūravilai* from the temple, and as a result the temple did not have enough for its expenses;[72] the wife of the Iḷāḍa chieftain Vīra Śōḷa drew his attention to this fact when they went together to worship in the temple, and he agreed thenceforth to cease collecting the *kaṟpūra-vilai,* and another cess, called *anniyāya-vāva-daṇḍa-iṟai,* of which the exact nature is by no means certain.[73] An inscription of the reign of Rājarāja III from Tirukkaḍaiyūr[74] furnishes evidence that even *iṟaiyili* lands had to make periodical payments of lump sums on a lower scale than usual for the renewal of their *iṟaiyili* status—*iṟaiyili variśaippaḍi-iṟai-muḍaṟ-kāśu taṇḍakkaḍavadāna-paḍi-tavira.* The lands dealt with in this record are described as *kāśu koḷḷā ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili.*

Again, as noticed already, the term *ūr-kiḻ-iṟaiyili* suggests that the *ūr* made itself responsible for the dues thereon; another possibility is that the land so described was free from the payment of local taxes, but had to contribute to the revenues like any other land.

Non-taxable land.

The Tanjore inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I make it clear that in each village some land was absolutely exempt from all taxes and imposts. Such lands included the sites occupied by the *ūr-nattam* (i.e., the residential part of the village), the temples, tanks, the channels passing through the village, the *paṟaiccēri* (the hamlet of the pariahs), the *kammāṇaccēri* (the artisans' quarters) and the burning ground (*śuḍu-kāḍu*).[75] The total extent of such areas is stated and subtracted from the gross area of the village in order to ascertain the net area of taxable land. The existence of different grades of *iṟaiyili* lands with varying degrees of immunity enjoyed by them is thus clearly established.

A late Cōḷa inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr,[76] dated A.D. 1223, records the fact that some lands which were treated as *iṟangal* were, on enquiry, found to be only *nīngal* and that, consequently, they had to pay into the treasury of the temple a considerable number of taxes and dues which had so far not been collected. It is clear that the term *iṟangal* means

exemption (from taxes) while *nīngal* implies only that the taxes were removed from the state revenue registers because they had been transferred to some other agency for its own use.[77] Again, some cultivable land which was lying unclaimed (*paṟṟili*) was assigned in 1233 by the *sabhā* of Talaiccangāḍu as *iṟaiyili dēvadāna* to three Śiva temples of the locality; the gift contained the provision that if the land was not entered as *iṟaiyili* in the *oḷugu* and *pottagam*, title-deed and register, but only as *tirappu*, open (to assessment), the *iṟai* on the land was to be borne by the inhabitants of the village.[78] Evidently the record was engraved when the status of the land had not been finally decided; the assembly had evidently taken steps to secure *iṟaiyili* status for the land from the central government; but they also provided against the contingency of their efforts proving unsuccessful. Records like this give us a casual glimpse of the relations between local and central authorities.

Incidence of the tax system.

To estimate the incidence of so complex a system of taxes and dues, central and local, compulsory and optional, modified by partial and total remissions of various types would always be a difficult task; and in the actual state of our evidence, utterly impossible. The pressure of taxation in different localities must have varied with the number and rates of the local cesses added by local authorities to the tax system imposed by the central government which may be presumed to have been more or less uniform as between different provinces. Then, the wide-spread practice of assigning revenues to members of the official nobility, to feudatory chieftains, to temples and so on, introduced a new factor; not all of these agencies could have adopted equally rigorous methods of exacting their dues. An appeal to the centre against local excesses, and in the last resort, migration from the locality when it was possible were the only remedies open; and it is hard to believe that the utmost vigilance even of an efficient bureaucracy could have done much to ensure a uniformity of practice among such diverse agencies of tax-collection. Instances are not altogether lacking of oppressive methods adopted in the process of collecting taxes and other dues; the *sabhā* of *brahmadēyam* Mahēndramangalam have left on record[79] the fact

Processes of tax collection.

that in A.D. 1001 the military (*paḍaiyilār*) subjected them to such torture (*vēdanai*), putting them in water and standing them in the sun, that, unable to bear the treatment, they proceeded to Tāñjāvūr with an escort to lay the matter before Rājarāja-Mahārāja; and that the king remitted the matter again to local officers. Supporting the man on the spot is evidently not so modern a device in administration as we are apt to think; though incomplete, the inscription seems to record the enforcement of the original order without any modification being effected. In the village of Jambai, an officer demanded some tax from a woman in the third year of Rājēndra II;[80] when she denied her liability the officer did something[81] which forced her to commit suicide by taking poison. The officer had to expiate the crime by endowing a lamp of 32 *kāśus*.

While thus, in the early period of imperial Cōḷa rule, the rigour of collection occasionally tended to become oppressive in character, the people were exposed, in later times, to another danger. This arose from the increasing autonomy of local chieftains who were no longer restrained by a powerful central government and often resorted to oppressive fiscal methods. An inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr,[82] dated A.D. 1213, records in detail a painful episode, possibly typical of several unrecorded occurrences of the period. A Yādavarāya chieftain either imposed a new tax or revised the assessment under an old head of revenue—the name of the tax involved is *pon-vari*—and levied a rate of one-fourth *māḍai* on each *vēli* of arable land; he did not allow the usual exemptions in favour of deserted or decadent townships, but insisted on all the villages and townships of the *nāḍu*, whatever their condition, paying the full measure of the dues. The tax-gatherer appointed by the Yādavarāya came round to Punnaivāyil; and after collecting as much of the tax as he could, he caught hold of the members of the local *sabhā* and bound and imprisoned them; the members of the *sabhā* thereupon proceeded to sell away 80 *vēlis* of the cultivable land of the village together with part of its residential area for a sum of two hundred *paḷangāśus* in order to meet the balance of the oppressive impost. It is significant that the man who bought the land at once transferred it to the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, ear-marking it for certain specified purposes, religious and edu-

cational; this was obviously because of a sentimental dislike to use for one's own private benefit property acquired under such distressing conditions. Virtually, therefore, it comes to this: that a generous nobleman came to the rescue of the oppressed *sabhā*, and saw to it that though the village became distinctly poorer on account of the new impost, the loss it sustained was just made tolerable to it, as it led to a definite increase in the social amenities available in the neighbourhood. In the years 1238 and 1239, we have records[83] from Mannārguḍi, in the heart of the Tanjore district, stating in unmistakable terms the oppressive and vexatious nature of the imposts levied on the people by all and sundry authorities and the consequent resolution taken by them to abandon all cultivation until conditions improved. The language employed is very clear and furnishes an eloquent testimony to the internal condition of the Cōḷa kingdom in its decay: *palarum kai vandapaḍi taṇḍik-koḷgaiyālē engaḷukkut-tarippaṟudiyālē*, 'as it has become difficult for us to sustain ourselves on account of the arbitrary imposts exacted by several (persons).' These complaints from the people were heard by the *sabhā* of Mannārguḍi met together with the assemblies of five adjacent *nāḍus*, and the meeting resolved to authorise the people to pay only the legitimate dues that were then recorded in detail and to resist all other demands in excess of the standard laid down by that meeting. It should be noted, however, that considering the extent of space and time covered by these inscriptions, the instances of the employment of such oppressive methods are remarkably few indeed.

It should also be noted that protests against unusual levies and successful attempts on the part of the people to resist them by codifying the standard of normal fiscal practice are not unknown. An inscription[84] of the third year of Kulōttunga I from the Mysore territory is very interesting in this connection. The inscription is a record of the *periya-viṣaiyam*, the Great Assemblage. It opens by saying that since the race of Cōḷa rulers began, no tax had been laid on cows and she-buffaloes in all the territory comprising the 78 *nāḍus* of Nigarili-śōḷa-maṇḍala, the 48,000 *pūmi* of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam, the Rājēndra-śōḷap-padineṇpūmi assigned to the Valangai-mahāsēnai of the Great Army, and that consequently, the new levy

on cows and she-buffaloes introduced by Adigārigaḷ Śōḷa-mūvēndavēḷār need not be paid. Again the government share (*mēlvāram*) was specified as one-fifth of the produce of forest tracts and dry crop lands, and one-third of that of rice lands under a tank. Further, the rate of tax on the cultivation of hill-tracts by hill-tribes (*vēḍar*) was to be one cloth (*puḍavai*) for 1500 *kuḷis;* the record also laid down the rates for all other miscellaneous dues and services, concluded by specifying the length of the measuring rod to be employed in land measurements. We have not many recorded instances of such popular attempts to fix the scale of customary taxes and dues to government; and such attempts might not have always restrained a self-willed and autocratic ruler or chieftain; but that they were made, and that in the popular consciousness there was a clear limit to the taxing power of government—these are facts of some significance and must be noted in any account of Cōḷa polity.

The methods of collection, however, clearly included distraint and sale of land for arrears in payment; such sales were public in character and called after the king in whose reign they took place. In a *Rājēndrapperuvilai,* for instance, the assembly of Ariñjigai-caturvēdimangalam came by some land, as the three sons of Nārāyaṇa-kramavittan had migrated elsewhere and not paid the dues on the land for a period of about fifteen years.[85] Rājarāja's order against the *Kāṇi-uḍaiyār* (service-tenants) of particular classes of villages in the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Toṇḍai countries, which has been discussed above, also sanctions confiscation and sale of land for arrears of *ūr-iḍu-varippāḍu.*

The *ūr* of Tirukkāccūr (Chingleput district) suffered from a failure of harvest, and finding it difficult to pay the taxes, they resorted to raising a loan from a nobleman in the neighbourhood; they did not repay the sum, perhaps they could not, but allowed him to bring under cultivation some of the waste land belonging to the village, and then, in lieu of the interest on the loan they undertook to pay the taxes on the land newly brought under the plough.[86] A similar instance of crop-failure due to scarcity of water in a village in the Tanjore district is met by a reduction of the area under wet crop from A.D. 1160, the local temple being required to

convert some land into a betel garden so as to relieve the pressure on the water-resources of the village;[87] the temple also advanced some money, and got the land in question declared a *kāśu-koḷḷā-iṟaiyili*.

Instances are by no means wanting, from the later Cōḷa period, of land tax being realised, in the last resort, by the sale of the defaulters' lands. Some Brahmin tenants of Vānavanmādēvi-caturvēdimangalam (Tiruccirai) in the Tanjore district, unable to pay the taxes, had abandoned their lands and left the village, and these lands were sold to a neighbouring temple in 1117;[88] it is not clear whether the inability of the deserters to pay the taxes was due to heavy assessment or irregular collection resulting in an accumulation of heavy arrears; the *sabhā* of the village conducted the sale, and this favours the latter assumption. Two years later, a very similar instance of desertion and sale is recorded in Kōnērirājapuram, also in the Tanjore district;[89] in this case, it was clearly the tenants who deliberately defaulted; there was no accumulation of arrears, for only the taxes of the forty-ninth regnal year, the year of the record, were involved; and the village assembly was required by a letter from the revenue officers of the king to sell the lands and realise the tax dues. It looks as if an attempt was made to enforce more regular collections.

In the fifth year of Vikramacōḷa, *the mahāsabhā* of Karikāla-cōḷa-caturvedimangalam resolved to fulfil their responsibilities in regard to land-revenue due from persons who were unable to pay the taxes and from those who had emigrated elsewhere, by selling their lands in *sabhai-vilai*, public sale by order of the *sabhā*, or by making them *iṟaiyili dēvadānas* and, of course, getting the money equivalent from the temple treasury.[90]

An inscription of Vikramacōḷa's reign from Ūṭṭattūr, (Trichinopoly district) is interesting in many ways.[91] It records that a person, in possession of a *kāṇi* (landed estate) which he had bought, was unable to meet the tax dues thereon; the *sabhā* of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdimangalam, where his land was situated, took the matter up. Meanwhile, he was found guilty of a minor offence in the temple and sentenced to a fine of 20 *kāśus*. His lands were sold, and the taxes and

fine realised from the proceeds. These incidents seem to be recalled several years later in an inscription from the same place,[92] dated 1199, which states that the land had originally been held by a Brahmin who, having stolen the jewels of the goddess, was compelled to give it up along with his house in the *nattam* and his slaves (*nattamanaiyum aḍimaiyum*) as *dēvadāna*.

Even a temple had occasionally to sell its land to be able to meet the revenue dues on its estates; an instance of this is recorded in Śāḷuvankuppam near Māmallapuram, about A.D. 1215.[93] On the other hand, the temples collected the dues owing to them from their tenants by distraining and, if necessary, selling their possessions with the king's sanction.[94]

Social expenditure.

No account of the financial aspect of Cōla administration can be complete which omits to lay stress on the extent to which the excesses to which the system was liable corrected themselves more or less automatically by the social uses to which wealth was put. Hoarding was by no means unknown, especially on the part of kings and temples; but there was much spending also, and in the conditions of mediaeval life the opportunities for extravagant and wasteful expenditure of an anti-social character were much fewer than at the present day. No great gulf separated the personal habits of the rich magnate and his poorer neighbours. The rich had to seek distinction by competing in the service of the gods and of the poor. To build a temple or endow a *maṭha*, to attach a school or a hospital to either, to reclaim land and to promote irrigation,—such were the most common roads to social eminence and public recognition. The temples which by their hoards tempted the cupidity of the foreign invader at a later day, were at this period, the mainstay of the people and their refuge in times of physical and financial distress. They constituted a sort of reserve bank with branches in every village which absorbed and retained the surplus wealth of the community in normal times, and released it for use in seasons of financial stringency, and was ever ready to help the community to turn a sharp corner. A destructive flood, or prolonged drought might have wrought far more permanent damage to the economy of a locality if it were not for the assistance its people derived from the resources of the temple

accumulated by the piety and industry of generations of their ancestors. The king, the nobles and the temples drew largely in various ways upon the products of the industry of the common people; but much of this wealth was returned to them in ways that greatly advanced their common good. It was a wonderful social harmony based, not on equality of classes or individuals, but on a readiness to give and take, a mutual goodwill that had its roots deep down at the foundations of communal life.

1. Ferrand—*Voyage*, p. 138.

2. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates say that Rājēndra I captured the pearls of the Pāṇḍya King in his Southern expedition.

3. Note the use of *manṟa* as a verb in this sense. (*SII.* iii, 27, l. 9).

4. *SII.* iii, 93—*Daṇḍam-uḷḷiṭṭu eppēr-ppaṭṭa manṟupāḍum* (ll. 28-30). The preceding syllables *'ānavāy'* have been read together with *'daṇḍam'* by Krishna Sastri, who sees a new duty in the phrase *'ānavāy-daṇḍam.'* I am inclined to think that *'ānavāy'* means 'as occasion arises.' Again Krishna Sastri takes *manṟu-pāḍu* to be a duty levied by the assembly; if the assembly had a part in its levy and collection, it must have exercised its judicial power on such occasions.

5. 255 of 1911.

6. 521 of 1920, *ARE.* 1921, II 35.

7. *SII.* iii, 142.

8. 194 of 1923.

9. 121 of 1925. Cf. also 388 of 1913; and 140 of 1926 for similar phrases. 147 of 1925 has: *'peru-vari śil-vari tiru-vāśalil pōnda kuḍimai eppērppaṭṭadum.* See also 149 of 1925.

10. This is one of the most difficult terms. Does it stand for *eccōṟu* after all, 'any kind of meal' or 'a meal on any account'? It will be remembered that the right of some persons to be fed is stipulated for in certain conditions.

11. Sometimes we have only *Vāśalil-pōnda Kuḍimai* for this class as in 388 of 1913. cf. *Rājadvāra* in 197 of 1923.

12. *SII.* iii, 93. The phrase used is *'Kuḍimai-śeyyil'*, if (we) levy *Kuḍimai.* Krishna Sastri translates this into: 'if we assert our occupancy-rights'. It seems to me to be a promise meant to stop, not the encroachment on the land itself, but on the income from it which was to be devoted to the maintenance of the tank.

13. 109 of 1911 seems to explain the meaning of *Ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili* in the following: *innilangaḷukku ūr viḷukkāṭṭuppaḍi pottagappaḍi parri vanda nilam engaḷ pērgaḷilē ērri iṟukkak-kaḍavōm āgavum; engaḷ pakkal virṟukkoṇḍārum śtrī-dhanam peṟṟārum maṟṟum peṟṟu uḍaiyārum*

ippaḍi iṟukkak-kaḍavargaḷ āgavum. 224 of 1917 from Koṟukkai, Tanjore district, dated 1169, furnishes an example of the *sabhā* taking 160 *kāśus* from the temple treasury and agreeing to pay the taxes due on half a *nilam* which, after years of neglect, was brought under cultivation to provide for the supply of a flower garland every night to the temple; the *sabhā* agreed to continue to pay the taxes on the land irrespective of any changes in ownership.

14. *SII.* iii, 9.
15. 604 of 1920.
16. 526 of 1918.
17. 168 of 1929.
18. 336 of 1925.
19. 365 and 367 of 1924; *SII.* iii, 212.
20. 145 of 1928.
21. 167 of 1910. The record is a late copy of a genuine one.
21a. 177 of 1902 (*SII.* vii, no. 804).
22. 198 of 1925.
23. 73 of 1914.
23a. 165 of 1936-7, *ARE.* II, 28.
24. 21 of 1903.
25. 261 of 1909.
26. 537 of 1922.
27. 327 of 1928.
28. 204 of 1908.
29. 4 of 1899.
30. 187 of 1928.
31. *TAS.* vi, pp. 11-12.
32. 96 of 1911. cf. the term *sabhā-viniyôgam.*
33. 199 of 1917; 59 of 1913; 413 of 1902, etc.
34. 113 of 1927.
35. Both the words now mean 'barbers'; possibly there was some difference between the two classes in the past.
36. 103 of 1912.
37. 343 of 1917, l. 11; 386 of 1903, dated 1074, mentions the 14th grade at Mahādānapuram.
38. *IA.* Vol. 40 (1911), pp. 165-8, contains a superficial attempt in this direction.
39. *SII.* iii, 28, l. 7.
40. *SII.* ii, 4, 5 etc.
41. Letter to the Private Secretary to the Governor, dated Anantapur, 20th June 1806. I owe this reference to Dr. K. N. V. Sastri. See also Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar,* p. 98.
42. 3 of 1899 is a very interesting, though fragmentary, record giving a vivid idea of the process of re-settlement and the accuracy of the land-revenue registers of the time.
43. 356 of 1924.
44. *Ninṟiṟaiyāy,* l. 76.

45. The committees named are: *samvatsara, ēri* and *tōṭṭam.*

46. *SII.* iii, 12.

47. ll: 89-94. The expression *Pūrva-marjjādi-iṟai* recalls *purvācāram* of the Uttaramērūr inscriptions.

48. ll. 4, 15-6.

49. 16 of 1922.

50. *SII.* iii, 54. The text is: *mē-nīrum kiṇāṟum nīr-kkīy vilaiyum ugappār ponnum.* Hultzsch translates this into: 'the high level water, the wells, the price paid for water, the gold of *ugappār.*' *Mē-nīr* in contrast with *kiṇaṟu* (well) seems to imply 'a receptacle of water from above', a tank. The whole of the first phrase, therefore, may be understood as above.

51. *SII.* iii, pp. 410-11, ll. 436-442. Krishna Sastri gives tentative renderings of some of these in his translation (pp. 436-37).

52. 292 of 1908.

53. 327 of 1916.

54. 262 of 1902.

55. 176 of 1919.

56. 113 of 1896.

57. 253 of 1901.

58. 31 of 1896.

59. 224 of 1922. Note the word *tiramam* (*drachm*).

59a. 205 of 1902.

60. 128 of 1896.

61. 57 of 1919.

62. 421 of 1922.

63. *SII.* i, 59. The phrase *āśuvigaḷ-pērāṟ-kāśu* occurs in 199 of 1912, a very interesting record.

64. *SII.* i, 64.

65. 495 of 1902.

66. *SII.* iii, 57, ll. 8 ff.

67. 207 of 1925, *muṟkāvaluḍaiya pāḍi-kāppār.*

68. 243 of 1929; 177 of 1906; 16 of 1903; 244 of 1901 etc.

69. 157 of 1902.

70. 502 of 1904. The term *śiṟu-pāḍi-kāval* occurs in 199 of 1912 and 421 of 1922.

70a. 168 of 1923 from Uttaramērūr states that on some lands no *iṟaiyilik-kāśu* would be collected for the current year and five *kāśus* would be collected under this head for every subsequent year.

71. 19 of 1890. *EI.* iv, pp. 137-40. Venkayya seems to me to miss the point that the temple paid certain taxes on its *iṟaiyili* lands before, and was freed from them in the manner recorded in this inscription.

72. The text is: *ittarmam-keṭṭuppōgiṟadu.*

73. Venkayya suggests two meanings: tax on unauthorised looms or on such quivers (ibid.).

74. 245 of 1925. This is treated as an exemption from *iṟai-kāval* in *ARE.* 1925, App. B.

75. *SII.* ii, 4, para 1. Among the boundaries of some land in Tiruveṇkāḍu we find 'the path along which corpses are taken'. (502 of 1918).

76. 199 of 1912. This record mentions a tax (*uḍamai*) on dyers (*śivapputtōyppār*). It names several taxes and dues and shows that these varied according to the crops raised. It also mentions *ariśi-kāśu* on salt pans.

77. Sewell, *HISI.*, p. 136, n. 2.

78. 206 of 1925.

79. 159 of 1895. In this case the *sabhā* appears to have suffered for the default of an accountant who had a *kāṇi* in the village.

80. 80 of 1906.

81. The officer's action on her denying that she was liable to pay the tax is expressed in the words: *avaḷai koccai-vikka. ARE.* 1907 II, 42 suggests that this means he put her through an ordeal. 'Koccai' means '*iḻivu*', humiliation. Or better, *kōcceydal* meaning 'compel', as in *SII.* viii, no. 529 l. 3—a suggestion I owe to Desikavinayakam Pillai.

82. 202 of 1912.

83. 96, 98, 104 of 1897.

84. 464 of 1911 = *EC.* x. Mb. 49 (a); see p. xxviii—*ibid.*

85. 189 of 1914.

86. 274 of 1909.

87. 191 of 1925.

88. 620 of 1909.

89. 647 of 1909.

90. 4 of 1914.

91. 512 of 1912.

92. 490 of 1912. It should be noted, however, that there is a discrepancy between the *śiṟu aparādam* of the earlier inscription and the theft of jewels of the later record; one wonders if that could be called a minor offence. Again, the earlier record mentions only a fine of 20 *kāśus* for the offence in the temple, and says nothing about the confiscation of the house and servants. It may be that the same person committed a second offence and lost the house and servants in consequence, these being all that were left to him after his lands had been sold on the prior occasion.

93. 57 of 1890.

94. 264 of 1911.

Chapter XX

POPULATION: SOCIAL DIVISIONS: STANDARD OF LIFE

General aspect of Society.

Caste was the basis of social organisation and many examples of caste organisations have been incidentally passed under review in the course of our study of social and economic life. Each caste was more or less a hereditary occupational group with an active organisation for the regulation and protection of its economic and social interests; and the Indian society of those days is best conceived as a loose federation of strong self-regulating groups which shared a common background of social rights and obligations making for mutual understanding and accommodation. There is practically no evidence of ugly social conflicts and jealousies such as those between the right-hand and left-hand castes, or between Brahmins and non-Brahmins of more recent times. The general impression derived is one of social harmony, removed alike from the placid content which knows no ambition and the blind and ruthless pursuit of class-interests.

Social freedom.

There was on the whole greater social freedom, especially among the upper classes, than is now found in rural areas, and heredity was not always a bar to a person changing his occupation and his group-relations with it. This is clear from the fact that the Brahmins who took to trade at Eṇṇāyiram were counted along with the Vaḷañjiya merchants of the South bazaar of Eṇṇāyiram in one common group.[1] These were exceptions, and the Brahmins as a class were still devoted to their time-honoured ideals of spiritual culture and plain living, and commanded the voluntary homage of the other classes, as may be seen from the numberless endowments in their favour made in all parts of the country and by all classes without distinction.

Population.

We lack all means of reaching a reliable conclusion on the important question of the numbers of the population. There is not even a passable guess on this subject in any of our records, Indian or foreign. And it seems never to have occurred to a government, which was very strict about maintaining a very minute record of land rights for its revenue purposes, that it might order a periodical census of the population under its control; for it is extremely unlikely that if such a practice had existed, we should have heard nothing of it in the thousands of inscriptions to which we owe practically all our knowledge of the organisation and working of the government in those days. We are therefore driven to depend solely on rather vague personal impressions derived from a study of the records of the age. It is remarkable that most of the villages and towns known to us now are mentioned with almost the same names in the inscriptions; some of them, like Uttaramērūr in Chingleput, Śendalai and Tiruvidaimarudūr in Tanjore, Tiruverumbūr and Lālgudi in Trichinopoly,[2] and others that could be named in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts, were clearly more populous and flourishing than the places that now go by those names. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the larger cities were not quite as large as the average Indian city of to-day, very large modern centres like Madras, and perhaps Madura and Trichinopoly, excepted. The average administrative unit in charge of one officer of the central government was more or less of the same size as the modern Taluq; but it may also be that the size of the Taluq is itself the result of an ancient administrative tradition. The evidence on the state of agriculture, industry and trade, on the army and navy, and on the amount of labour and resources applied to the erection of public works of a useful as well as ornamental nature also tells in favour of our postulating a numerous and busy population. Internal peace was on the whole well maintained; and there was no great difference between now and then in the ideas relating to marriage or the standard of life. There cannot be the slightest doubt that under the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line, Southern India was vastly more populous and that social life had become far more complex than in the Śangam Age. It seems equally clear that the numbers of the people could not have

been anywhere near what they are now after nearly 150 years of *pax Britannica*. We may imagine that we may find a parallel in this respect immediately before the establishment of British rule, say about the end of the eighteenth century.

Co-operation among classes.

Caste and group life formed no hindrance to social co-operation for common ends. The manner in which the burden of maintaining the services in a temple and the cost of feeding ten Brahmins regularly were shared by all the groups residing at Talaiccangāḍu[3] at the instance of the *mūlaparuḍai* (of the temple) is typical of their readiness to recognise a public interest and co-operate in its pursuit. Signs of exclusiveness and class-rivalry are not altogether wanting, but these tendencies were apparently well under control. Brahmins evinced a desire not only to live in separate rural communities with *sabhās* of their own, but as far as possible to exclude other castes from ownership of land in their villages; in both these respects, their attitude seems to have had the general approval of the government and the people.[4]

Special privileges.

Other classes also succeeded in obtaining special exemptions and privileges for themselves. The *veḷḷālas* of Kuṇṛa-Vattanakkōṭṭam gained exemptions from certain local dues in the reign of Rājarāja I;[5] the artisans (*śilpis*) of the Ōvikula of Kāñcī had apparently the privilege of engraving the important copper-plate grants of the king in the reign of Rājēndra,[6] just as weavers of Kāñcī were the makers of royal robes in Uttama Cōḷa's reign.[7] On the other hand there were restrictions placed on the activities of some sections of the populace. In the *dēvadāna* of Paḷaiyanūr, the *Iḷavas* were not to tap coconut and palmyra palms for toddy.[8]

Restrictions.

Apart from such exceptional privileges and disabilities which formed the subject of regulation by specific agreements, the place and duties of each class in society were largely a matter of ancient custom which doubtless underwent slow and imperceptible modification under the stress of new circumstances. The economic bonds which united the members of each profession or caste come prominently into view in the arrangements recorded in inscriptions. The principle of collective responsibility was commonly observed, and even

a sort of frank-pledge by which the group guaranteed the proper conduct of each of its members was not unknown.[9]

Mixed castes.

Some curious instances of mixed castes and their duties are recorded in the inscriptions; these show that the theories of mixed castes, *anulōma* and *pratilōma*, were not the purely fanciful concepts of law-givers that we generally take them to be; either they had some basis in the facts of social life, or what is perhaps more likely, particular sections of the population began to pin their faith to particular sections of what was originally a mythical scheme.At any rate it is difficult to believe that the scheme of the four original *varṇas* ever conformed to the facts of South Indian social life; even less credible are the theories of particular castes arising from mixed unions of particular types. Towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I, the *bhaṭṭas* of Rājāśraya-caturvēdimangalam consulted the *śāstras* and laid down the professions to be followed by the *anulōma* caste of Rathakāras, viz. architecture, coach- and chariot-building, the erection of *gōpuras* with icons on them and of *maṇḍapas*, the manufacture of sacrificial instruments and so on.[10] It is to be noted that the decision here recorded is in close conformity with the views of Vijñānēśvara, the contemporary jurist and author of the *Mitākṣarā*, the celebrated commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. From an inscription dated 1169, the class of Rathakāras is seen to have included blacksmiths, goldsmiths and stone masons, besides carpenters.[11] Two inscriptions of the reign of Vikramacōḷa give accounts of a class of *utkṛṣṭa-āyōgavas* or *paṭṭinavans* which do not seem to fit in so easily with the extant legal texts, at any rate, not with the *Mitākṣarā*. The two inscriptions differ from each other and from Yājñavalkya with regard to the origin of this class; the *smṛti* makes them children of Vaiśya women and Śūdra men; one of the inscriptions calls them children of Brahma-Vaiśya, perhaps Brahmins following Vaiśya occupations,[12] while the second inscription quotes a Sanskrit verse which says that an *āyogava* is born of the union of a Kṣatriya woman with a Vaiśya;[13] on the whole they seem to have been accepted as a *pratilōma* caste. Their profession was weaving, and it was their privilege to supply fresh cloth for *upanayana* and other domestic ceremonies, for *dhvaja-paṭas* to the temples during

festivals and generally to supply all things made of yarn and required by gods, Brahmins, and kings. In 1127, some families of this caste accepted some *iṟaiyili* land at Tribhuvani and in return undertook to supply cloths to the local temple on specified occasions and in stated quantities; they authorised the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the temple to surround (their dwellings), to imprison them, and take all steps necessary to force them to keep the engagement if they were in default.[14] In the very next year, 1128, twenty families of this class migrated from five different villages to Tirukkaṇṇapuram to settle there and accept service in the *brahmadēya* village and its temple; the terms of their settlement being placed under the protection of *mahāsabhai ēḷaimbadinmar,* the *Mahāsabhā* 350, and Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the eighteen *nāḍus.*[15]

Inscriptions from Karuvūr and Pērur contain records of privileges accorded to Kanmāḷar stone masons, of Vengalanāḍu and Ten-kongu, and to other artisans elsewhere.[16] These privileges were granted by a Cōḷa monarch whose identity could not be made out as he is described only as Konerinmaikoṇḍān. The privileges were: the blowing of two conches, the beating of drums and so on at domestic occurrences good or bad; the use of sandals when they went out of their homes; and plastering of the walls of their residences with lime plaster. The construction of houses with two storeys and with double doors is also mentioned together with the right to decorate the front of their houses with garlands of water-lilies.[17]

Right and Left hand classes.

No picture of the social divisions in South India under the Cōḷas will be complete without a reference to the broad division of the industrial population of the country into the Right-Hand and Left-Hand, *Valangai* and *Iḍangai* divisions. The quarrels among these divisions often threatened to fill the streets of Madras with blood in the days of the East India Company. The origin of this division is unknown.[18] Legend ascribes it to the design of Karikāla Cōḷa and also, with more plausibility, to a famous occasion when the two sections of the population laid their disputes before a Cōḷa king, one party standing on the right hand side of the monarch, the other taking a position on the left.[19] Several regiments of the army were counted as of the *Valangai* in the reign of Rājarāja I,[20] and this

section is also mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Rājēndra I from Tiruviśalūr.[21] In the second year of Kulōttunga I, a clash between the Right and Left hand castes resulted in the burning of the village (Rājamahendra-caturvēdimangalam, Papanasam tq. Tanjore dt.), the destruction of its sacred places, and the looting of the temple treasury by robbers. The property left was not safe in the temple. For the rehabilitation of the place, the *sabhā* borrowed 50 *kaḷañjus* of fineness half *māttu* less than that of *Rājēndraśōḷan-māḍai* which with interest for one year amounted to 75 *kaḷañjus*. Of this sum, 5 *kaḷañjus* were spent in the third year on renovation and reconsecration of the temple, and the balance for the purchase of some lands and for making them tax free for the upkeep of the temple. The inscription giving this decision regarding remission of taxes was recorded in the eleventh year of Kulōttunga I, and, for some unknown reason, at Śrirangam.[21a] There is a curious inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga III which gives the earliest account so far known of the beliefs of the *Iḍangai* classes regarding their origin.[22] They claimed to have been created from the *agnikuṇḍa* (fire-pit) for the protection of the sacrifice of Kaśyapa, and to have settled in the Cōḷa country in the time of the emperor Arindama; this emperor imported a large colony of holy Brahmins from Antarvēdi, and the *Iḍangai* classes accompanied these Brahmin colonists as the bearers of their slippers and their umbrellas. They got some lands in five villages, all of them now in the Trichinopoly district, and had long lost the memory of their origin when they recovered it about A.D. 1128. They then entered into a compact among themselves to the effect that they should thenceforth behave like sons of the same parents. 'If anything derogatory happens to the *Iḍangai* class, we will jointly assert our rights till we establish them. It is also understood that only those who, during their congregational meetings to settle communal disputes, display the *birudas* of horn, bugle and parasol shall belong to our class. Those who have to recognise us now and hereafter, in public, must do so from our distinguishing symbols—the feather of the crane and the loose-hanging hair. The horn and the conch-shell shall also be sounded in front of us and the bugle blown according to the fashion among the *Iḍangai* people. Those who act in contravention to these rules shall be treated

as the enemies of our class. Those who behave differently from the rules (thus) prescribed for the conduct of *Iḍangai* classes shall be excommunicated and shall not be recognised as *Śrutimāns*. They will be considered slaves of the classes who are opposed to us.' This record was engraved at Ūṭṭattūr and Tiruppaññili by the *Śrutimāns* of the area. The ninety-eight sub-sects of the *Iḍangai* are again mentioned in a later inscription from Āḍuturai,[23] which records the hardships to which these sub-sects were exposed at the hands of the Vanniya tenants and the Brāhmaṇa and Veḷḷāḷa landlords, backed by government officials. In 1227 the *nāṭṭavar* of eleven *nāḍus* of Milāḍu (which comprised 79 *nāḍus* in all) met in Tiruvalañjuram-uḍaiyār temple at Varañjuram (Kallakurichi tq. S. Arcot dt.) to admit into the *Iḍaṅgai* group the two classes of people known as Malayamakkaḷ and Nattamakkaḷ, and take an oath to keep to this settlement for ever; the same oath is taken by other *Iḍangai* people of the area—*Iḍangaittanattom.*[23a] Such are the beginnings of an obscure, but deep-seated antagonism between two sections of the populace which often burst into open hostilities in later days. At Kāñcīpuram the *Valangai* and *Iḍangai* sects would not worship in the same temple, or use the same pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) for religious purposes,[24] and the division affected even the class of courtesans and dancing girls.[25]

Personal names.

Names of individuals very often gave little indication of their social status. Thus Ariñjimādēvaḍigaḷ, for example, was not, as her name might lead one to suppose, a queen herself, but only a queen's maid (*peṇḍāṭṭi*); and her daughter, who lived in concubinage with a certain Arumoḷidēvan, bore the name Bhaṭṭan Gandarāditti.[26] Numerical names like Munnūṟṟuvan, Īrāyiravan and so on were apparently borne by members of all classes.

Women.

Women were placed under no restraints in their social life and activities, though modesty was considered the highest among their graces. The inscriptions give many examples of women of the upper classes owning property in their own right and disposing of it as they chose. The influence exerted by some of the princesses of the royal family on the public policy of ruling princes has already been noticed. Though kings and

nobles indulged in a plurality of wives, the monogamous family was doubtless the normal unit of social life. The employment of female labour in the less skilled occupations was perhaps quite as common as at present.

Satī not common

Satī or the self-immolation of a woman on the funeral pyre of her husband is occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions, but the references are so few that it can hardly be regarded as a common practice in the Tamil country under the Cōḷas. Gangamādēviyār, the wife of Vīra-śōḷa Iḷangōvēḷār, is said to have endowed a lamp before she entered the fire;[27] this was perhaps early in the reign of Parāntaka I. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates[28] mention the case of Vānavan-mahādēvi, the queen of Sundara Cōḷa, recorded in more detail in an earlier Tamil inscription of the reign of her celebrated son Rājarāja I.[29] The language of these inscriptions, together with the absence of any other instance of a Cōḷa queen practising *satī*, shows that the action of Vānavan-mahādēvi was indeed applauded, but not often imitated. Three instances of women from among the nobility and the common folk committing *satī* come from Mysore country. In 1057, a man killed a relative of the king in a wrestling contest, and was sentenced to death; his wife, Dekabbe, the daughter of a chieftain of Nunganāḍ, followed him in spite of violent opposition from her parents, and the whole story is recorded in the form of a pathetic Kannaḍa poem in *Kāvya* style.[30] The two remaining instances occurred in 1067 and 1068, one of them being just recorded as a fact,[31] while the other is mentioned incidentally in an endowment of a charity by the son of the deceased couple for their spiritual benefit.[32] A reverse instance of a father commemorating the death of his son and daughter-in-law who committed *satī* also occurs in the Mysore country in A.D. 1088.[33] Nothing can more truly illustrate the tragic conflict of feelings in a mind torn between the dread of physical suffering and the eagerness to live up to an inhuman standard of duty than the pathetic declaration of a woman, recorded in an inscription of the reign of Vīrarājēndra from South Arcot; she avers that if she lived after the death of her husband, she should become the slave of the other wives of her husband and utters imprecations against those who seek to persuade her to refrain from immolating herself, nay even against people who do not come

forward to bind and throw her into the fire, imprecations too shocking to be transcribed here.[34] Such a record could be only understood to indicate the prevalence of an atmosphere normally unfavourable to the practising of *satī*.

Courtesans.

The class of courtesans has always held a considerable place in Indian society. From pre-historic times the nautch-girl has been a great social attraction. Her public appearances were usually associated with religious festivals and she was generally an expert in music and the dance. She mixed freely with men and was under no obligation to observe the restraints imposed on matrons in their social intercourse. Her private company was given to select friends, and her choice was guided at least as much by sentimental and aesthetic as by mercenary motives. To judge by the evidence of literature and epigraphy, there is little to justify the squeamishness with which the institution is viewed by the 'social reformer' who derives his notions from the hideous traffic in helpless women and girls that has grown up in large modern cities. At her best the courtesan led a life of cultured ease and pleasure, and like her Greek cousin, the hetaera, provided amusement and intellectual companionship to those who could afford the luxury; at her worst she was a temple-drudge who, when she consented to serve a passing stranger, still believed that she was performing an act of worship. The testimony of Muhammadan writers is clear and unanimous that the earnings of the courtesans attached to temples were surrendered into the hands of the priests or other authorities of the temple for defraying the expenses of worship.[35] As these writers, however, were prone to repeat uncritically statements made by their predecessors, we should be slow to accept their evidence, which is not confirmed by indigenous sources.

The social standing of courtesans in the ancient Cōḷa country is clearly indicated by the numerous records registering rich endowments made by them for various public benefactions and the recognition afforded by local powers to their public spirit; in a record from Tiruvorriyūr, dated A.D. 1049, a certain *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* (courtesan), Caturaḷ Caturi, by name, is also described as the wife (*ahamuḍaiyāḷ*) of a citizen, Nāgan Perungāḍan.[36] The marriage of another dancing-girl belonging to a

temple in the Tanjore district is recorded in an inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga III.[37]

Slavery.

That a considerable element in the population, especially among agricultural labourers, lived in a condition not far from slavery is clear from the literature of the age. There are several inscriptions which show that the most odious form of private property, property in human beings, signalized by their being bought and sold by others irrespective of their own wishes, was not unknown. Free men and women fell into slavery for various reasons, and it would appear that there were several grades among slaves. Most of the sales recorded in the inscriptions are sales of persons to temples. Sometimes they are voluntary; two ladies sold themselves and their dependants and their relatives to a temple in the Tanjore district;[38] in these instances, the religious motive must have been more dominant than the economic. But when six persons are sold to the same temple in the same year for thirteen *kāśus* by another person, neither the voluntary nor the religious character of the transaction is so apparent.[39] There is another sale of eight persons recorded in the same place some years before, the price not being stated.[40] All these inscriptions are dated in the regnal years of some unknown Cōḷa king. About A.D. 948, a *madhyastha* of the village of Nandivarman-mangalam presented to the temple of Vayalur (Trichinopoly dt.) three women to sing *Tirupadiyam* and serve as *Kavarippiṇā* (chauri-bearers) to god Parameśvara; he had acquired these women six years earlier as Kulḷāḷ (?)[40a] Another record of the reign of Rājarāja I from Tiruvaḍandai (Chingleput), dated in the seventeenth regnal year, A.D. 1002, states that twelve families of fishermen (*paṭṭinavar*) were dedicated to the temple of Śri Varāha Dēva at the instance of two officials serving in the locality as *nāḍu-kaṇkāṭci* and *nāḍu-vagai;* the families of the twelve persons named had each to pay, out of their income from weaving and fishing, ¾ *kaḷañju* of gold, and to assist in the celebration of two annual festivals in the temple, one of them being of seven days' duration and ending with the day of Śadaiyam in the month of Āvaṇi, the day of the king's nativity. The *sabhā* and the *ūr* of Tiruvaḍandai undertook to hold them and their decendants strictly to their obligations.[41] The terms of this dedication are on the whole liberal and do

not constitute slavery; they even included some privileges of the dedicated families such as the receipt of *prasādam* (food-offering) on the festival days. But the element of compulsion, the hereditary nature of the dedication, the part played by two officials of the state and the undertaking of the *sabhā* and *ūr* to enforce the terms, prove that the dozen families of *paṭṭinavar* would not have readily accepted the arrangements of their own choice. Kulōttunga I ordered in A.D. 1088 that some *dēvaraḍiyār* of the temple of Kāḷahasti who had been wrongly appropriated to the palace service should be restored to the temple; these persons had been stamped with the king's seal which was erased and the trident stamped on their bodies in token of their servitude to the temple.[42] At Tiruvallam, in 1119, one of the *villikaḷ*, (bow-men) of Bāṇapuram, dedicated some women of his family as *dēvaraḍiyār* after stamping them with the trident.[43] In the reign of Rājādhirāja II is recorded a sale, in A.D. 1175, of four women to the temple of Tiruvālangāḍu for a sum of seven hundred *kāśus*.[44] As the term *kāśu* is applied to coins of varying value, it is not possible to compare the price recorded here with prices stated in some of the inscriptions cited above. An inscription[45] of somewhat uncertain date from Tiruvālangāḍu (Tanjore) mentions some facts which bring out the general prevalence of slavery and the treatment meted out to slaves. A certain Vayirādarāyar had a number of slaves, some belonging to him and others forming part of the dowries of his wives. With the consent of his wives, he sold some of these slaves to the local temple which purchased them for employment as slaves of a *maṭha* (*maḍa-aḍimaigaḷ*). In accordance with a sale deed, and a royal order (*rāja-sādana*), the *māhēśvaras* and the authorities of the temple recorded the transaction in a stone inscription, marked the slaves with the trident-mark, and resolved to assign specific duties to them and punish them suitably when they failed in their duty. The inscription then states that after some time some of the slaves defied the orders of the *sthānattār* of the temple and took to mischievous and roguish ways, and the matter was laid before a general assembly of the authorities of the temple and of the *maṭhas*. Their decision is not easy to make out owing to gaps in the record. In fact the slaves would have been more than human had they not chafed at their lot. And as slavery was

not confined to temples, the idea that slaves consoled themselves by looking on their lives as dedicated to the service of God can only have a limited range of application, if it had any at all.[46] There are also instances of slavery due directly to poverty; in times of famine, destitute persons escaped death by literally selling themselves and sometimes their unborn descendants for their keep. Only temples seem to have left records of this mode of accession to the numbers of their slaves; but we cannot be sure that rich and powerful individuals did not trade on the necessities of their less fortunate brethren.[47]

Wages and Prices.

Some idea of the economic condition of the different classes of labourers may be had by a review of the data on wages and prices yielded by the inscriptions.[48] No general statement on the standard of life of the people is possible; much less can we now trace the changes in the standards and tastes of the population. The sources of our information are not sufficiently copious or precise to allow of such attempts being made with success. The permanent staff of village servants and others in the enjoyment of hereditary service-holdings are, of course, not included in the discussion which follows. So also the serfs and slaves are excluded.

The wages of common labour can be estimated from the following instances. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Cōḷa record a wage of one *kuṟuṇi* per day and two *kaḻañjus* per annum for clothes for a watchman; and six *nāḻis* per day with half a *kalañju* per annum for a gardener. At Lālguḍi (Trichinopoly district), about A.D. 960, digging was done at the rate of fifty *kuḻis* per *kāśu*, each *kuḻi* being about 10 feet square by two feet and a half.[49] In the village of Kiḻiyanūr (South Arcot), the man appointed to sound the bugle for summoning the *sabhā* had, from A.D. 1001, a fixed wage (*nivandam*) of two meals a day at the cost of the village, besides the supply of such things required for his personal use as were sold in the village.[50] In A.D. 1018, the daily wage of a wood-cutter at Nattam (Chingleput) was four *nāḻis* of paddy per day,[51] which was also the daily wage of a Brahmin cook.[52] The wage of a palanquin bearer at Tirumukkūḍal (Chingleput) was also four *nāḻis* of paddy in the reign of Rājēndra I.[53] This was obviously not a full day's wage, for

we find that garden labour in the same place and about the same time commanded a wage of ten *nāḻis* per diem.[54] The same rate is given in a record of Rājādhirāja I as a sort of family wage for the same kind of labour.[55] For lifting water and irrigating gardens and fields, and for gathering flowers and other like operations, the wage of male labourers was eight *nāḻis* per day at Tiruvāmāttūr (South Arcot) in A.D. 1030; but women employed in making garlands and flowers were paid only at half the rate.[56] In the reign of Rājādhirāja I, however, the women servants employed in a feeding house at Tiruveṇkāḍu earned a wage of two *nāḻis* per day.[57] A man employed to supply drinking water in a public place at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in 1077 was paid two *kāśus* per annum besides a daily wage of one *kuṟuni*.[58] The rather low wage of two *nāḻis* per day for a potter and for a fuel supplier at Kuḍumiyāmalai in 1213 was, no doubt, only remuneration for part-time work,[59] the men being free also to work and earn wages elsewhere.

Work that demanded some kind of skill or special equipment in the workman commanded correspondingly higher rates of wages. A certain Tiruvēḷ Araiccākkai was remunerated at the rate of two *kalams* of paddy for each *kūttu*, some kind of operatic dance, performed by him; and seven such performances were guaranteed to him in a year in one temple in the reign of Āditya II.[60] Possibly he was free to accept other engagements elsewhere. With this may be compared the permanent endowment of a house and one hundred *kalams* of paddy per annum for each of the four hundred dancing-girls settled by Rājarāja I round the big temple of Tanjore.[61] Three *kuṟuṇis* per day was the wage-rate fixed by the same monarch for each of the fifty persons of the choir established by him for singing *Tiruppadiyam* in the same temple.[62] The wages mentioned in another Tanjore inscription of the same monarch may also be noted:[63] each *māṇi* (*brahmacāri*) serving in the temple got one *padakku* (sixteen *nāḻis*) of paddy per day and four *kāśus* (two *kaḻañjus*) of gold per year;[64] ten among them who had vowed permanent service in the temple were to get an extra *kuṟuni* (eight *nāḻis*) of paddy per day; twenty others who apparently made garlands were to receive one *padakku* each per day and five *kāśus* per annum. An

accountant received 200 *kalams* of paddy per annum, and his assistant seventy-five, which works out at 6⅔ *kuṟuṇis* and 2½ *kuṟunis* respectively for a day. An accountant of another, perhaps smaller, temple at Periyakoṟukkai, Trichinopoly district, earned 1½ *kuṟuṇis* of paddy a day in the reign of Rājarāja III.[65] An inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[66] of A.D. 1038 states that two garland makers were employed each on a wage of 10 *nāḻis* (one *padakku* and four *nāḻis* for both) per diem in addition to a *kaḻañju* and a half of gold per annum for clothes; and four Brahmins to recite *stotras* and Vēda at 12 *nāḻis* (*kuṟuni* and four *nāḻis*) each per day together with 1½ *kaḻañjus* of gold per annum for clothes. At Eṉṉāyiram, about the same time,[67] the persons who recited *Tiruvāymoḻi* were paid, like the reciters of *Tiruppadiyam* at Tanjore, three *kuṟunis* per day, which is twice what the Brahmins of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr got. The rate of three *kuṟuṇis* also obtained at Tribhuvani for reciting *Tiruvāymoḻi* in A.D. 1048[68] whereas the officiating priest got only a *padakku* per day. A Brahmin appointed to expound the Śivadharma at Tirunāgēśvaram in A.D. 1054 was also paid seventy-five *kalams* of paddy in a year,[69] the same as the wage of the Junior Accountants of the Tanjore temple. A *nambi,* officiating priest in a temple, got two *kuṟunis* of paddy per day at Tirumaṇañjēri, Tanjore district, in addition to sixteen *kalams* per annum in lieu of two *kāśus.*[70]

Barter.

The currency of money of small denominations did not altogether displace the ancient habit of exchanging things for corn. The earliest Tamil poems state that salt and venison were exchanged for paddy; to this day, in the villages of South India, housewives may be seen pouring out the grain from their stores into the baskets of hawkers and dairy-women in return for the vegetables, ghee or curd supplied by them. The picture of economic conditions under the Cōḻas will not be complete without some idea of the relation of paddy to other commodities and to money. Ghee was converted into gold at 9 *kuṟuṇis* per *kaḻañju* and fifteen *kalams* of ghee are equated to twenty *kaḻañjus* of gold. If this rate of conversion followed the prices prevailing at Kāḷahasti in A.D. 1012, the date of the record,[71] the price of ghee in those days must have been about a sixth or seventh

of what it is to-day. A *nāḻi* and a half of curd was to be had for one *nāḻi* of paddy,[72] and paddy was selling at seven *kalams* per *pon-kaḻañju*, a price which to all appearance is slightly higher than the prices of 1937. We shall see, however, that the price of paddy in gold varied very much with time and place. At Nattam (Chingleput), three *nāḻis* of paddy fetched forty-eight betel leaves and twelve areca nuts[73] in A.D. 1018. In the same year, at Tiruppangili in the Trichinopoly district, a *nāḻi* of good *dhal* was of the same value as five *nāḻis* of paddy; one *palam* of crude sugar as two *naḻis* of paddy; and one *nāḻi* of paddy was required to make one curry-offering in the temple.[74] At Tirumukkūḍal in Chingleput, in A.D. 1016, one *nāḻi* of oil was bought for four of paddy, one *nāḻi* of ghee for ⅓ *kalam* of paddy,[75] and one measure of curd for two of paddy; milk was had also at the same rate, and one *nāḻi* of turmeric was got for one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy.[76]

Food.

Inscriptions recording endowments for charitable feeding often lay down schedules of expenditure calculated to give an idea of the quality of the food supplied and of the prevailing prices of food-stuffs. One record of A.D. 1004 from Tiruvaḍandai[77] states that it took ⅝ of a *kalam* of paddy for providing one meal to twelve Brahmins, the items of expenditure being: 21 *nāḻis* of rice at 1¾ *nāḻis* per head, (equal to 52½ *nāḻis* of paddy); 6 *nāḻis* of paddy for 1 *uḻakku* and 2½ *śeviḍus* of ghee; 5 *nāḻis* for vegetables and 5 for curds; ½ *nāḻi* for salt; 2 *nāḻis* for the man who supplied fuel, four for the Brahmin cook, three for the potter who supplied earthenware, and two *nāḻis* for betel leaves and nuts. Considering that this allowance of ⅝ *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per head sufficed for a square meal for an adult, the provision of ¾ *kuṟuṇi* for each of the junior pupils and 1¼ *kuṟuṇis* for the seniors in the college at Eṇṇāyiram, and of ¾ and 1 *kuṟuṇi* respectively at Tribhuvani must be considered fully adequate to their requirements. An inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga I,[78] dated A.D. 1115, records that an endowment for feeding fifty Brahmins in a Vaiṣṇava *maṭha* on new moon days was made on the basis of one *kuṟuṇi* per head, and that this included provision for rice, curry, salt, pepper, ghee, curd, earthenware pots, fuel, areca nuts and betel-leaves.

Price of paddy.

Some variations are recorded in the price of paddy and the rate seems to have generally differed with the fertility of the area concerned. Often these rates are not temporary prices prevalent at the time of the record, but some standardised average rates to hold good for all future time. At Tiruvallam in North Arcot we find the rate 40 *kāḍis* or 13⅓ *kalams* per *kaḷañju* recorded in A.D. 992;[79] and this is repeated in A.D. 1015 in another inscription from the same district.[80] Yet another record of A.D. 1012 from Kāḷahasti equates one *pon* to seven *kalams*, and the *pon* was the same as the *kaḷañju*.[81] Differences in the measures employed often make close comparison difficult. An inscription of Vīrarājēndra's reign from Tirumukkūḍal (Chingleput) states that 16 *kalams* of paddy by the *Rājakēsari* measure was the equivalent of one *kaḷañju*.[82] At Tiruppugalūr (Tanjore district) eight *kalams* per *kāśu*, i.e., sixteen to the *kaḷañju*, was the price in A.D. 1006.[83]. At Cidambaram the spurious inscription of Rājakēsari Rājēndra gives the rate 8½ *kalams* per *kāśu*,[84] or seventeen *kalams* to the *kaḷañju*. A Rājakēsari record gives 15 *kalams* per *kaḷañju* for Paṇḍāravāḍai (Tanjore);[85] the rate of ten *kalams* at Tribhuvani in A.D. 1048 is high, though not the highest price recorded in the inscriptions of the early period as the basis of a permanent endowment of charities.[86] Twelve *kalams* per *kaḷañju* is found at Nattam (Chingleput district) in A.D. 1018.[87] Early in the reign of Kulōttunga I, the *kāśu* still equal to half a *māḍa*, fetched only 2¾ *kalams* of paddy at Kōlār and 4 *kalams* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr;[88] the relatively high price must have been due to scarcity consequent on the disturbances which caused the death of Adhirājēndra and led to the war between Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and Kulōttunga. At the end of Kulōttunga's reign, the *kāśu* paid for thirteen *kalams* of paddy in the Tanjore area;[89] but even the *māḍa* fetched only eight *kalams* at Emappērūr (South Arcot) in A.D. 1136.[90]

Money prices.

Of the money prices of commodities relatively little is learnt from the inscriptions. Only the more precious articles which formed the staples of long distance trade seem to have been bought and sold for money. The Tanjore inscriptions tell us, for instance, that one *kāśu* (half-*kaḷañju*) fetched towards the close of the reign of Rājarāja I, 1½ *kuṟuṇis* of cardamum seeds, 2 *kuṟuṇis* of cam-

paka buds, 605 *palams* of *khaskas* roots, 2½ to 3 *kaḷañjus* of camphor,[91] and two *palams* of sugar which seems to have been a luxury at the time.[92] One *kāśu* (*pon*) fetched nine ewes at Mēlappaḷuvūr, (Trichinopoly district) in A.D. 931,[93] and at Śenkuṉṟam (North Arcot) in A.D. 1014,[94] but a Tanjore inscription gives only three ewes for a *kāśu*.[95] A *paśu* (cow) is valued at fifteen *kāśus* at Tiṭṭaguḍi (South Arcot) in 1136.[96] The price of a cocoanut tree was 150 *kāśus* at Nallūr (Tanjore district) in 1221 if it was yielding fruit (*kā-tengu*) and 100 if it was not;[97] but the *kāśu* of the time of Rājarāja III was a very depreciated coin.

Of the value of metals we learn incidentally that bronze sold at 35 *palams* per *kāśu* (half *kaḷañju* of gold), copper at 30 *palams*, tin at 26⅔ *palams*, and *tarā* (alloy) at 70 *palams;* these rates are found in a record of A.D. 1099 from Tiruppanandāḷ.[98]

Famines.

Some instances of scarcity and famine are incidentally recorded in the inscriptions, but they are not many. About 1131 (thirteenth year of Vikramacōḷa) as the result of a famine in the mountainous regions of S. Arcot people began to move out from Arakaṇḍanallūr (Tirukoyilur tq.) after selling their lands; the *sabhā* of the place met and redistributed the 24 shares in the village to new persons with the condition that no sale or barter to outsiders was permissible, and that violation of this condition would involve loss of the land besides a fine of 64 *kaḷañjus*.[98a] Individuals were sometimes hard hit and had, as pointed out already, to seek livelihood at the price of their personal freedom. The most outstanding instance of a somewhat widespread distress and the measures adopted for combating it is found in an inscription from Ālanguḍi (Tanjore district) of A.D. 1152.[99] Its import is unfortunately not free from uncertainty. It states that there was a *kāladōṣam*, 'bad time', in the third year of the reign of Vijayarājēndradēva who, after taking Kalyāṇapuram and Kollāpuram, died on the back of an elephant. The king so described nearly a century after his time must have been Rājādhirāja I or his younger brother and successor, Rājēndra II.[100] The cause of the scarcity from which the people of Ālanguḍi suffered is by no means clear.[101] But we are told that the people borrowed from the treasury of the local temple all the gold jewels and silver

articles that could be spared to the extent of 1011 *kaḻañjus* of gold and 464 *palams* of silver in order to be able to maintain themselves and buy seed and manure for resuming cultivation. These transactions are recalled on the occasion of a fresh agreement with the temple relating to the terms of the repayment of the loan.

1. 343 of 1917.

2. An inscription of A.D. 1219 from Turaiyūr (Trichinopoly district) mentions the *ūr-madil* (town-wall), and *puḻakkaḍai-madil* (wall at the backs of houses), an indication that towns and houses were sometimes walled for safety. (701 of 1909).

3. 198 of 1925.

4. 46 of 1897; 311 of 1911.

5. 375 of 1911.

6. Tiruvālangāḍu Plates ll. 517-24. The Anbil plates were engraved by a single worker Vīra Cōḻa *takṣan*. Leyden grant ll. 107 ff.

7. Museum Plates, l. 10.

8. Tiruvālangāḍu Plates, l. 456.

9. 197 of 1923; *SII.* ii, p. 251; *TAS.* v. pp. 29-30.

10. 479 of 1908. *ARE.* 1909, II, 45. Also the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya I, 95.

11. 189 of 1925.

12. 208 of 1919. Cf. Brahma-Kṣatris of N. Indian inscrr. The statement in *ARE.* that they were the offspring of Brahmins and Vaiśya women seems unwarranted.

13. 508 of 1922.

14. 208 of 1919.

15. 508 of 1922.

16. 66 of 1890, (*SII.* iii. 25); 562 of 1893; *ARE.* 1905, II, 43.

17. 136 of 1905.

18. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*: pp. 100 ff.

19. *ARE.* 1921, II, 47.

20. *SII.* ii, Intro. p. 10.

21. 341 of 1907.

21a. 31 of 1936-7; *ARE.* II. 27.

22. 489 of 1912; *ARE.* 1913, II, 39.

23. 34 of 1913.

23a. 184 of 1940-41; *ARE.* 1939-40—1942-3, II, 42.

24. *ARE.* 1921, II, 47.

25. The real history of the division between the right hand and left hand sections of society may indeed date from a much earlier time than we suspect or even the *Śrutimāns* of the reign of Kulōttunga III believed. A Chinese author of the 3rd century, cited by

another in the 10th, says of Fu-nan: 'Les regions vassales ont toutes leurs mandarins; *les grands officers de droite et de gauche du souverain s'* appellent tous *K'ouen-louen*' P. Pelliot, *Le Fou-nan, BEFEO*, iii, p. 282; also vii. pp. 316-17 for the same feature in Campā.

26. 235 of 1926.
27. 376 of 1903.
28. vv. 65-66.
29. 236 of 1902.
30. 141 of 1898; *EC.* iv, Hg. 18; *EI.* vi, pp. 213-9.
31. 174 of 1911; *EC.* ix, Dv. 14.
32. 188 of 1911; *EC.* x, Ct. 161.
33. 499 of 1911; *EC.* iv, Hg. 100.
34. 156 of 1906; *ARE.* 1907, II, 41.
35. Abu Zayd, in Ferrand *Voyage*, p. 124.
36. 147 of 1912.
37. 411 of 1925.

38. 218 of 1925 (seven persons for thirty *kāśus*); 219 of 1925 (fifteen persons for the same amount). *ARE.* 1925, II, 18.

39. 217 of 1925.
40. 216 of 1925.

40a. 149 of 1936-7, *ARE.* II, 21.

41. 274 of 1910.

42. 141 of 1922.

43. 230 of 1921. It is not clear what process was adopted for impressing the mark (*ilaccinai*) on the skin. The words '*iṭṭu*' or '*śātti*' do not necessarily mean 'branding' as they are often rendered in the Epigraphical reports.

44. 80 of 1913.
45. 94 of 1926.
46. *ARE.* 1925, II, 18.

47. Some of the other instances known may be briefly mentioned here: Sale by three Veḷḷāḷas of two women and their descendants as *dēvaraḍiyār* at Tiruvakkarai, South Arcot in 1099 (183 of 1904); a *dharmadāna* by a *mahārāya* of an *uvacca aḍimai* in the Tinnevelly district in 1105 (280 of 1928); the gift of two slaves for service in a *maṭha* in Drākṣārāma in 1113 (354 of 1893); lists of *aḍimais* belonging to the temple and *maṭha* in Kiḷaiyūr, Tanjore district, dated 1184 (74 and 76 of 1925); the large numbers of *maḍa-aḍimais* bought and given to the *maṭha* in Tiruvālangāḍu by a nobleman in the years 1198 and 1208 (91 and 90 of 1926); the case of a Veḷḷāla and his two daughters who sold themselves to the temple at Tiruppāmburam to escape starvation in 1201 (86 of 1911); and the sale by two accountants of a temple of number of women who were slaves forming part of their ancestral estate—*engaḷukku kramāgatamāy varugiṟa aḍiyār* (296 of 1911). Yet other instances are found in 499 of 1904 (Vēdāraṇyam, A.D. 1219); 409 of 1925, a stone mason, his wife and four sons, (Acyutamangalam), A.D. 1219; 223 of 1917, a host of over 100 male and female slaves of the

temple, (Korukkai, A.D. 1235); 110 of 1892, same as 122 of 1912, (Tiruvorriyūr, A.D. 1235); and 216, 217-219 of 1925 (Mēlapperumbaḷam, n-d).

48. See also *SII.*, ii, Intr. 17-8 for a discussion of the data from the Tanjore inscriptions.

49. 104 of 1929. I have assumed that a *piḍi* is equal to 4".

50. 156 of 1919.

51. 263 of 1912.

52. 267 of 1910, (Tiruvaḍandai). Same wage in A.D. 1115 (281 of 1910).

53. 175 of 1915: *Tiruppaḷḷiccivikaik-kāvalar* in the temple, possibly Vaiṣṇava Brahmins.

54. 172 of 1915.

55. 45 of 1925. The *tapasyar* who supplied water for *tirumañjanam* in the temple at Tiruvārūr had the same rate of remuneration, 671 of 1919 (A.D. 1094).

56. 18 of 1922.
57. 450 of 1918.
58. 154 of 1912.
59. 364 of 1906.
60. *SII.* iii, 202.
61. *SII.* ii, 66.
62. *SII.* ii, 65.

63. *SII.* ii, 69. The schedule is unfortunately not complete on account of gaps in the record.

64. A record from Nattam (Chingleput) of A.D. 1018 (263 of 1912) gives two *Kāśus* per annum as the price of clothes to be supplied to each *māṇi* in a year. The Museum Plates of Uttama (ll. 44-6) give the rate six *nāḻis* per day and one *kaḻañju* per annum.

65. 268 of 1926 (A.D. 1243).
66. 146 of 1912.
67. 333 of 1917.
68. 176 of 1919.
69. 214 of 1911.

70. 10 of 1914 (undated). A *padakku* per diem and five *kaḻañjus* in a year for clothes form a priest's remuneration in the Museum Plates of Uttama Cōḷa, ll. 42-4.

71. 299 of 1904. Another inscription of A.D. 1038 gives the rate of 50 *nāḻis* per *kaḻañju* at Tiruvorriyūr (146 of 1912).

72. Ibid.

73. 263 of 1912. But 8 nuts and 32 leaves could be had for one *nāḻi* in 1104 at Narasingapuram (same district)—249 of 1910.

74. 91 of 1892.

75. This rate of barter almost looks like a standard rate; it occurs in 506 of 1920 (Ālanguḍi, A.D. 1094); 518, 515, and 512 of 1920, also from the same place with dates 1116, 1117, and 1125.

76. 175 of 1915.
77. 273 of 1910; *ARE.* 1911, II, 21.
78. 281 of 1910.
79. 218 of 1921.
80. 176 of 1915.
81. 299 of 1904.
82. 182 of 1915.
83. 68 of 1928.
84. 118 of 1888.
85. 232 of 1923.
86. 176 of 1919.
87. 263 of 1912.
88. 131 of 1892; 106 of 1892.
89. 44 of 1891.
90. 533 of 1921.
91. 3 *Kal* rate in 146 of 1912 (A.D. 1038) from Tiruvorriyūr.
92. *SII.* ii, Intro. 18, Table A.
93. 378 of 1924.
94. 149 of 1921.

95. *SII.*, ii, 64; 63 says six ewes = 3 cows = 1 buffalo, 302 of 1901 equates one cow with four sheep in the reign of Rājarāja III, year 16.

96. 15 of 1903.
97. 58 of 1911.
98. 46 of 1914; *ARE.* 1915, II, 23.
98a. 151 of 1934-5, *ARE.* II, 14.
99. 5 of 1899.

100. *ARE.* 1899, paragraph 53; *SII.* iii, p. 191. But see above p. 258 and n. 86 (p. 279).

101. Venkayya suggests that failure of rain was the cause and that Rājēndra II did not come to the rescue of the people because he inherited an empty treasury from his war-like and extravagant brother, Rājādhirāja I. *ARE. Ibid.*

Chapter XXI

AGRICULTURE AND LAND TENURES

Peasant proprietors.

The vast majority of the people lived a rustic life in the villages, and agriculture was their principal occupation. The prestige attending the ownership of land had a high social value, and the independent peasant proprietor was then, as now, the backbone of social life. It was the deliberate object of every one, whatever his occupation, to have a small plot of land he could call his own. In fact, the village was primarily a settlement of peasants; and the village assembly an association of landlords. Part of the land surrounding the village was held in common, and the rest was subject till very recently to periodical redistribution;[1] even now, this old rule of redistribution from time to time appears to survive in some of the villages of Tanjore. As evidence of communal ownership of land in Cōḷa times may be noticed the terms *sabhāmañjikkam*[2] and *ūr-mañjikkam*,[3] and *ūrppodu*,[4] the escheat to the village of land that was in arrears for the *iṟai* on it,[5] and the sale of waste land by the village for being reclaimed and put to some specific use.[6] An inscription of the reign of Sundara Cōḷa from Madhurāntakam records the sale by the *Sabhā* in a public manner (*sabhai-vilai*) of some land described clearly as part of the unappropriated common land of the village.[7] Individual ownership of land was clearly recognised also, and numberless instances of alienation by sale or gift of the absolute proprietorship of the soil by individuals, and of the inheritance of such property from father to son in the normal course, can be gathered from the inscriptions. The theory of the law books is equally clear on the subject.[8]

Communal ownership.

Individual property.

Agrarian labour.

Besides the land-owners, great and small, there were others dependent on agriculture. A fairly large class of landless labourers, an agrarian proletariat, some of whom were in a condition of serfdom, assisted in the operations and shared the proceeds of agricul-

ture. In almost all villages the distinction between persons paying the land-tax (*iṟai-kuḍigaḷ*) and those who did not was clearly established, and the former had usually a larger share in the tasks of local government. Each village had also a staff of hereditary menial servants of the lowest social class who were remunerated for their services to the community by shares in the common land of the village. The artisans of the village had shares also in the communal land; these shares were of the nature of retainers, inducements to them to stay in the village, ready to take up work whenever it came to them, the wage for each engagement forming the subject of separate negotiation between the parties.

Life of the poor.

Some idea of the life of the poorer classes in the villages, those in the lowest rung of the social scale, may be gained from the picture of Ādanūr with which Śēkkiḻār opens his account of the life of the Pariah saint Nandan. Though somewhat idealised in accordance with literary usage, it is clearly informed by an intimate acquaintance on the part of the author with the realities of country life at the time: 'Ādanūr was a wealthy city of ancient fame in Mēṟkā-nāḍu. The rich waters of the Koḷḷiḍam, (Coleroon) seemed to pour out on either side the gems of fertility with their waves (hands), and the land appeared to receive the gift with its flowery hands (gardens on either side)..... The town of Ādanūr owed its great prosperity to its fertile fields and gardens, and had many tall mansions and a teeming population. In the outskirts of that town was a small hamlet of Pulaiyas studded with small huts under old thatches overspread by *śurai* creepers and inhabited by agrarian labourers engaged in menial occupations. In the thresholds of the huts covered with strips of leather, little chickens were seen moving about in groups; dark children who wore bracelets of black iron were prancing about, carrying little puppies whose yelps were drowned by the tinkling bells which girdled their waists. In the shade of the *marudu* trees, a female labourer (*uḻatti*) sent her baby to sleep on a sheet of leather; there were mango trees from whose branches drums were hanging; and under the cocoanut palms, in little hollows on the ground, tiny-headed bitches lay quiet after pupping. The red-crested cocks crowed before dawn calling the brawny *pulaiyar* to their day's work; and by day,

under the wide shade of the *Kāñji* tree spread the voice of the wavy-haired Pulaiya women singing as they were husking paddy. By the side of tanks full of warbling birds, the music of many instruments accompanied the drinking *fetes* of Pulaiya women who wore on their heads fragrant flowers and ears of paddy-corn, and who staggered in their dance as the result of increasing intoxication. In this abode of the people of the lowest caste (*kaḍaiñar*), there arose a man with a feeling of true devotion to the feet of Śiva. He was the unrivalled Nandanār who inherited as his share communal service in the neighbouring township (*ūr-ppulamai*) ..... Depending for his livelihood on his share of the communal land (land set apart by the town for Pariahs in communal employ), and following the profession that was his by birth, he used to supply, to the temples of the Lord of the Trident, leather and leather straps for making drums, strings (guts) for lutes of various types and bezoar for the worship of the God of gods.' Workers of this class were indeed in a condition of serfdom, *adscripti glebae* with no freedom of movement.

Day labour.

From casual references in the inscriptions, we can dimly perceive the existence of a class of hired day-labourers who assisted in agricultural operations on the estates of other people and received a daily wage, usually in grain.[9] There was no clear line of division between the absolutely landless agrarian labourer and the small peasant hiring himself out in his spare time. Garden-labour was hired for service in flower-gardens attached to temples at the standard rate of one *marakkāl* and two *nāḻis* of paddy per diem, a rate mentioned in two inscriptions of the years A.D. 1019 and 1053;[10] and eight such labourers were regularly employed all the year round in a garden of the extent of seven *pāḍagams* in one case, and two for six *mā-s* in the other. In several instances a gift of land for some public purpose, to a temple or *maṭha*, is found to include some portion set apart for the residences of the families of labourers engaged in its cultivation. Such labourers were not peasant proprietors by any means, and were nearer the class of hired labourers than of tenants; they were entitled to the use of a house-site near enough to the place of their work and to get wages fixed in advance, the proceeds of their labour

on land being altogether the property of the institution that owned the soil on which they worked. Tenancy-cultivation was also quite common, both on private estates and on quasi-public land such as that of a temple; after paying the landlord a fixed *mēlvāram* determined in advance, the tenant usually retained as his share what remained after payment of the direct expenses of cultivation, and any minor dues assessed on the land held by him. The extensive class of service tenures may be taken to have invested their holders with a temporary partnership in the soil as remuneration for the particular services rendered by them to the community or the institutions concerned.

Tenancy.

The data to be gathered from the inscriptions are still too fragmentary and one-sided to allow of a detailed account of the entire agrarian system of the time. Almost all inscriptions record transactions of a religious or eleemosynary character, and one can never tell how far the conditions described in them can be treated as representative of the general features of private cultivation. Considering, however, that cultivation, like other industries, was undertaken mainly to supply local needs, and that there is no evidence whatever of its having attained the capitalistic form in pursuit of profit, it is possible that there was little or no difference in this respect between private lands and those of public or charitable institutions. If the correctness of this surmise may be assumed, much of what is said below on tenures, irrigation, land-values and so on may be accepted as characteristic of the whole system.

A caution.

Communal ownership of land by the villages as such has been noticed already; the residuary claim of the state as represented by the king to all unassigned land must have been tacitly assumed. For the rest, all cultivable land was held in one of three broad classes of tenure which may be distinguished as: peasant proprietorship called *veḷḷān-vagai* in the inscriptions; service-tenure, comprising all the holdings described variously as *jīvita, bhōga, kāṇi, vṛtti*, and so on; and eleemosynary tenure, such as *brahmadēya, dēvadāna* and *śālābhōga*, resulting from charitable gifts and governed by the special terms

Tenures.

laid down in each case in a separate document drawn up in set terms and engraved on copper plates or stone or both. Service-inams were also often recorded on stone, but these records were simpler and stated only the extent of land held, the name of the person holding it and the particular service for which it was the remuneration, the details of the rights of the parties to the arrangement being left to be regulated by local custom. The three classes of tenure so differentiated may now be considered in some detail.

Peasant proprietors.

The term *veḷḷān-vagai* comprises two words of which the first clearly means 'cultivator'. Of the second word *vagai*, the meanings suited to the present context are 'class' or 'manner.' That *vagai* is used in the epigraphs in the sense of classification according to tenure will become clear from our recalling the phrase *nāḍu-vagai-śeyyiṟa* applied to revenue officials employed in the settlement of land-revenue; the process of settlement (*vagai-śeydal*) involved the registration of titles and tenures including those of the ordinary cultivators (*veḷḷān*). It may be observed, in passing, that the classification of land in the order of fertility of the soil was called *taram-iḍudal*, grading. *Veḷḷān-vagai* is clearly contrasted with other forms of tenure in the inscriptions. Karuppūr was one of many villages appointed by Rājarāja to supply fixed quantities of grain to the Tanjore temple; only such of its cultivable land as was classed as *veḷḷān-vagai*, the *dēvadānas* and *śālābhōgas* being excluded, was taken into account to fix its quota of the supply to the Tanjore temple.[11] Again, in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates we are told in the most casual manner that the normal type of a tax-paying village was the *veḷḷān-vagai*. The village of Paḷaiyanūr, a *brahmadēya* in the possession of the *sabhā* of Śingaḷāntaka-caturvēdimangalam, was converted into a *veḷḷān-vagai* village, the *sabhā* getting other land in exchange (*talai-māṟu*). After this conversion to *veḷḷān-vagai*, Paḷaiyanur was made a *dēvadāna* of the Tiruvālangāḍu temple. The difference between this village and others of the *veḷḷān-vagai* is clearly stated in the following terms:[12] 'This *ūr* is to be exempted from paying *iṟai* like other villages (held) by *veḷḷān-vagai*; for every year from the sixth, it is to pay a permanent *iṟai* (*niṉṟiṟai*) of three thousand two hundred and eighty-eight *kalams*, seven *kuṟuṇis* and five

nāḻis of paddy and one hundred and ninety-three *kaḻañjus*, (one) *mañjāḍi*, and one *mā* of gold as paid before including *paḍi* and *paḻḻi*;[13] it is to be assessed accordingly and (the assessment) entered in the accounts.' Now, these words of king's order provide a peep-hole into some important aspects of the land system under Cōḷa rule. The ordinary ryotwari village as we now call it was the *veḻḻān-vagai*, having direct relations with the government and paying a land-tax liable to revision from time to time. Whether the settlement was with the individual cultivator as at present, or, as seems more likely from the strength of communal organisations and life, with the village as a whole, is not certain. The statement that Paḷaiyanūr while it was a *brahmadēya* under the *sabhā* paid an *iṟai* of a large amount to the state is proof that a *brahmadēya* was usually subject to certain imposts payable in a lump sum of gold[14] to the central government. A *brahmadēya* could also be resumed on the holders being compensated by the grant of other land in exchange, and the land so resumed could be put to some other use, in this instance converted into a *dēvadāna*. Quite obviously, Paḷaiyanūr was granted to the temple not as an ordinary *dēvadāna*, but as a *veḻḻān-vagai* with a permanently settled assessment of taxes which it paid to the temple instead of to government. The reason underlying this roundabout arrangement is not stated; but one may guess that the intention was to leave the actual cultivators of the land in *status quo*. When the land was *brahmadēya* they were remitting in all 3288 *kalams*, 7 *kuṟuṇis* and 5 *nāḻis* of paddy and 193 *kaḻañjus*, 1 *mañjāḍi* and 1 *mā* of gold as the landlord's share, and they were required to continue making the same payment to the temple instead of to their former landlords.[15] Though in consideration of existing conditions a permanent settlement of the dues from the village to the temple was ordered, all that it meant was that the assessment was not to be altered as often as in the ordinary *veḻḻān-vagai* villages; for though almost every order or resolution was said to be perpetual at the time it was issued, there was no lack of readiness to reconsider it as fresh circumstances arose. And the language of this order which contrasts the payment by the ordinary *veḻḻān-vagai* villages with the fixed annual assessment of Paḷaiyanūr also suggests the possibility that in *veḻḻān-vagai* tenure the state's share was in some manner directly

dependent on the annual yield. But of this we cannot be sure. Another example of a similar conversion of *brahmadēya* to a *veḷḷān-vagai dēvadāna* is found in an inscription of the sixteenth year of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy Sundara by which five *vēlis* of land, originally *brahmadēya,* were made over to the Tiruvālīśvaram temple as *veḷḷān-vagai* with an annual assessment of 642 *kalams,* 6 *kuṟuṇis,* 2 *nāḻis,* 3 *uḻakkus,* and 2½ *śeviḍus* by the *nārāyam* measuring five *nāḻis,* and 40 *kaḻañjus* and 3 *kāṇis* of gold, of which five *kāśus* represented *kāṭci-erudu-kāśu* and the rest *uruvukōl-nilan-kāśu.*[16] These instances make it clear that the *veḷḷān-vagai* villages fell, in the reign of Rājēndra I, into at least two broad classes—one directly remitting a variable annual revenue to the state and the other paying dues of a more or less fixed and standardised character to the public institutions like temples to which they were assigned. Which of these benefited the cultivator more, if at all, we lack the means of determining.

Another conspicuous instance of the conversion of a *brahmadēya* into *veḷḷān-vagai* is recorded in the eleventh year of Kulōttunga I (1081).[16a] The record bears close resemblance in its formalistic style to the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, and like them contains many revenue and administrative terms which call for study. The formalities connected with the change in tenure take many years—the transaction starting in the eleventh year of Rājēndra II and coming to an end only under Kulōttunga. The substantive order was addressed by Vīrarājendra to the *nāṭṭār, brahmadēyakkiḻavar,* the *ūrgaḻilār* of *dēvadāna, paḷḷiccanda, śālābhōga* and other such charity villages, and the *nagarangaḻilār.* The lands so converted were constituted into a new village under the name Rājēndra-nallūr, and it was required to pay a fixed tax (*ninṟiṟai*) of 2000 *kalam* of paddy every year to the temple of Tiruttāṭakai-Īśvaram, built by Nakkan Taraṇi or Panandāḷ. The new arrangement took effect from the eleventh year of Kulōttunga I. In the third regnal year of Kulōttunga II the village of Aviyanur in S. Arcot was converted from *nāṭṭu-brahmadēya* into a tax free *tirunāmattukkāṇi.*[16b]

An inscription from Nīḍūr (Tanjore district) dated A.D. 1232,[17] records that after the village became free from the tyrannical rule of Kōpperuñjinga, the cultivators went up

to the village *sabhā* with complaints regarding their economic condition, and that the *sabhā* fixed a new settlement regarding the dues in cash and kind to be paid by the actual cultivators to landlords, *perunguḍigaḷ*, who were forbidden to use force in making these collections. The rate of *kuḍimai* was fixed at 22 *kāśus* for each *mundirigai* (1|320 of a *vēli*) for a single crop, while *veṭṭik-kāśu* and *viniyōgam* amounted to five *kāśus* and one *kāśu* respectively; one labourer was to be supplied free for each *kāṇi* held and all extra labour availed of was to be paid for at the usual rates. Any extra dues imposed on the lands were to be paid by the *perunguḍigaḷ*.

Service tenure.

Service-tenures were of various types. The assignments in favour of public servants as remuneration for their official work under government have already been noticed; these assignments were, however, only of certain rights to taxes and dues from land, and as such must be distinguished from direct assignments of land in lieu of particular services rendered. Land was endowed for instance in 1088 as *kūttāṭṭuk-kāṇi* by the *nagarattār* and temple authorities of Mānambāḍi (Tanjore dt.) for the performance of five *Tamiḻakkūttus* during the festival in the month of Cittirai in the temple of Mahādeva at Vīranārāyaṇapuram.[17a] Such assignments of revenues from the land and of the land itself formed a normal method of remunerating military service, at least in later Cōḷa times. Two inscriptions from Tiruvāḍuturai dated A.D. 1117 and 1121 mention the grant of a considerable area of arable land, constituted into a separate unit under the name Kulōttungaśōḻanallūr, as *vīrabhōga* for the enjoyment of the Kaikkōḷas, from Mēṛkā-nāḍu, who were of *śiṛudanam* rank and served in the palace of Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḻapuram.[18] An inscription of A.D. 1125 from Śivapuri, Ramnad,[19] states that Śuṇḍan Gangaikoṇḍān, a vassal of the king, promised to give as *udirap-paṭṭi* five *mā-s* of good land and three *mās* of poor land to the dependants of each of his swordsmen (*vāḷilār*) who fell in battle. He further promised that in case any of the servants of the *vāḷilār* died in war or on account of disease, he would not recover anything as his dues from their relatives which they were not prepared to give with a good grace. Yet another inscription, from Tanjore district (Kōvilkāḍu), dated A.D. 1256, records an undertaking by Śōḻa-

Military grants.

gangan of Paiyūr in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam not to collect any dues over and above 600 *kāśus* and two *kalams* of paddy on every *mā* from all the lands held by him as *paḍaipparṟu*.[20] This is obviously an instance in which a feudal chieftain was allowed to enjoy the proceeds of taxes from lands assigned to him in return for his maintaining a stated number of soldiers ready for service when required by the king.

Very good examples of service tenure proper come from temples and villages, which generally remunerated their servants in this manner. The temples often parcelled out their lands and assigned them as *jīvita, bhōga,* or *kāṇi,* all these terms are used indifferently, for persons who fetched water for bathing the deity,[21] kept watch over the temple premises,[22] sounded the conch (*śangu*),[23] performed the *arcanā* and aided at the *śrī bali,*[24] sang in the temple or trained songsters[25] and so on. The *Śabhā* of Jananātha-caturvēdimangalam met once in the ninth year of Rājēndra I to regulate the occupation of the lands of the local temple of Mahāśāstā by its servants and fix the nature and extent of the services for which the occupants were liable in each case, such as conducting worship (*arcanā*), supplying oil for lamps, and keeping watch over the temple.[26] Individual donors often ear-marked their gifts of land to temples for particular services; slightly different in its origin, this type did not differ in any other way from the foregoing. The endowment of a *nṛtyabhōga* (*śākkaikāṇi*) for the performance of *āriyak-kūttu* at the annual festivals in Tiruvāḍuturai from the ninth year of Rājarāja I (A. D. 994),[27] and that of a *taṭṭārakkāṇi,* goldsmith's holding, by queen Dantiśakti Viṭanki attached to the temple of Tiruvārūr from the fourth year of Rājēndra I,[28] furnish instances of one of the common methods by which service-tenure on temple lands was created from time to time. Many items of service, high and low, to the village community were also remunerated in a like manner. Here again there was a double process at work; sometimes the village assembly took the initiative and set apart a portion of the common land as *bhōga* for the performance of specified services; there were also rich and generous persons ready to meet some pressing local need from their purse, buy land from the village community itself to create the necessary endowment, and leave it to be administered by the local authority. Of the first process there are several examples of

bhaṭṭavṛttis being created by village assemblies for the maintenance of teachers in schools, or of persons who popularised culture by expounding the Purāṇas or philosophies in temples, and the *kāṇis* for artisans like goldsmiths,[29] for the village physician,[30] or dancing-master.[31] A very common form that private benefaction assumed was the gift of land for the maintenance of dredging-boats and of men who kept the village tanks in good repair by removing silt, repairing the tank bund and in other specified ways.[32] Such land was called *ēri-paṭṭi*. Another was the *ambalappuṟam*, for the maintenance of rest houses and public places for the supply of drinking water.[33] In view of a gift of two *mā-s* of land to each, three carpenters of Sōmanātha-caturvēdimangalam agreed to serve in the several hamlets of the village, accepting a reasonable remuneration for each job.[34] In fact, the universal prevalence of service tenure created for all conceivable purposes is most clearly established by the inscriptions. Its place in the tax-system gave rise to disputes which were settled by the general order of Rājarāja issued in his twenty-fourth year.[35] From this order, we may conclude that, unless there were reasons to the contrary, all lands held under service tenure were subject to the usual imposts, central and local, that were levied on land. The numerous instances of land being set apart for the maintenance of lamps in temples are also best regarded as examples of service tenures.

Charity lands.

The main types of eleemosynary tenure were three: the *brahmadēya*, the *dēvadāna* and the *śālā-bhōga*. The two former were sometimes combined in the same village, a *dēvadāna brahmadēya* village.[36] The *dēvadāna* differs from *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*[37] and *tirunāmattuk-kāṇi*, the two latter terms being applied evidently to lands held in absolute ownership by the temple, like any other land-owner.[38] These tenures were created generally by purchase of land from previous owners and occupants, followed by a ceremonial gift in set form, the gift formula often giving detailed expression to the rights and privileges, and the obligations, if any, conveyed with the grant; more rarely, it was found possible especially for the king and the village assembly to utilise unassigned common land for such gifts. When land already owned and cultivated formed the subject of gift after purchase, the question

was how to deal with the occupancy rights of the actual cultivators (*kuḍi*) of the soil. Closely allied was the question of the rights of *kārāṇmai* and *mīykāṭci* (or *miyāṭci*) terms clearly corresponding to cultivator's and landlord's rights respectively. As the landlord might himself be the actual cultivator, the class of occupant cultivators was sometimes distinguished by the name *kīḻ-kārāṇmai-uḍaiya-kuḍigaḷ*, i.e. the occupants with subordinate cultivation rights.[39] Several inscriptions recording these gifts contain statements of the manner in which these questions were dealt with, such as *kuḍi-nīkkik-kārāṇmai-mīykāṭci*[40] or *kuḍi-nīngāk-kāraṇmai*.[41] It is curious to note that this conception of occupancy rights was sometimes applied even to movable property; an inscription of A.D. 1006 from Tiruvaiyāṟu records that a herd of sheep was taken charge of by a person who undertook to maintain two lamps in the temple on condition that the sheep were treated as *kuḍi-nīkkā-ccāvā-mūvā-ppērāḍu*,[42] full-grown ewes that neither die nor grow old and are held in fixed tenancy. One other subject for specific consideration on the occasion of such gifts of land to Brahmins, temples and feeding houses, was that of taxes and dues to be paid on the land after the date of the gift. Often these lands were made *iṟaiyili* either by total remission by the taxing authorities, central or local or both, or by the *iṟai* being secured by a lump sum payment made in advance as *iṟai-kāval*. In the absence of a clear statement to some such effect, the lands were liable to the usual taxes.

Ēkabhōga.

The Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa record the gift as an *ēkabhōga-brahmadēya* of ten *vēlis* of land by the king. The adjective *ēkabhōga* implies that, unlike the usual *brahmadēya* shared by a number of donees, this gift was meant altogether to benefit the one individual named, in this case Aniruddha Brahmādhirāja. The land given away was marked off in the traditional manner by a public ceremony in which a female elephant was made to beat the bounds. The Tamil part of the grant records in detail the rights and privileges conveyed by the gift which are more summarily mentioned in the Sanskrit part: 'we marked (the boundaries of) the land thus defined by erecting mounds of earth (*karu*) and planting cactus. The several objects included in this land—such as fruit-yielding trees, water, lands, gardens, all upgrowing trees and down-

going wells, open spaces,[43] wastes in which calves graze, the village-site, ant-hills, platforms (built round trees), canals,[44] hollows; rivers and their alluvial deposits, tanks, granaries (*kōṭṭagāram*), fish-ponds, clefts with beehives, deep ponds (*kōṭṭagam*) included; and everything else on which the iguana runs and the tortoise crawls; and taxes such as the income from places of justice (*manṟu pāḍu*), the *kūlam* on (betel) leaves, the cloths from looms, the *kāṇam* (of gold) on carriages, the *pāṭṭam* on shops, *kārāṇmai* and *mīyāṭci* included, the old tenants being evicted (*kuḍinīkki*); everything that the king could take and enjoy—all these shall be made over to this man. He shall be at liberty to erect halls and upper storeys with burnt bricks; to dig wells, big and small; to plant southernwood and cuscus; to dig channels in accordance with watering requirements; not to waste *śennīr*,[45] but to dam such water for irrigation; no one shall employ small piccotahs or baskets[46] (for lifting such water). In this wise, was the old order changed, and the old name and old taxes removed, and an *ēkabhōga-brahmadēya* under the name of Karuṇākaramangalam constituted'.

A similar charter of privileges with a few variations is found in other *brahmadēya* grants, as well as in *dēvadānas*. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates, for instance, convey these privileges in almost identical terms,[47] and some others like the prohibition of Iḷavas climbing up cocoanut and palm trees (for tapping them) within the area and the right to raise the bund of the village tank to its maximum height and to store in it the maximum quantity of water that it could hold. Sometimes restrictions were placed by the terms of the gift on the rights of the donee and his successors to sell or mortgage the land.[48]

Exclusiveness.

A deliberate attempt seems to have been made in the reigns of Rājarāja and Rājēndra I to maintain the homogeneity of the *brahmadēya* villages by excluding all other classes from owning land in them. This policy was dictated, not so much by reasons like pride of caste and social exclusiveness, which readily suggest themselves to a modern student, as by the real difficulty of fitting into the constitutional arrangements suited to a *sabhā* other persons whose aims, needs and attain-

ments were not the same as those of the Bhaṭṭas and Kramavittas. It has been pointed out elsewhere[49] that in large villages where such homogeneity could not be attained, the device was adopted of running two types of village assemblies side by side, the *sabhā* and *ūr*. But in places where Brahmins formed the bulk of the residents, and landholders of other classes were too few to be constituted into a separate *ūr*, these landholders had either to be received as members of a *sabhā* which laid down high educational qualifications for taking part in debates and for service on the executive committees, qualifications not easily attained by the common people, or they had to go without exercising any of the privileges normally associated with ownership of land in those days and without an opportunity of giving adequate expression or gaining proper attention to their needs. The only other course was for them to betake themselves to more congenial surroundings. Possibly difficulties of the character above mentioned were not foreseen at first, and no restrictions were imposed on ownership of land in *brahmadēya* villages; as in actual practice this policy gave rise in some place or other to the sort of inconvenience that was quite natural in the circumstance, the king's attention was drawn to it, when no satisfactory solution was reached by local agreement. There was issued by Rājarāja, in the seventeenth year of his reign, A.D. 1002, a general order[50] that in Brahmin villages, the estates (*kāṇi*) of all persons of castes other than Brahmin be sold out, exception being made of servants holding land under some service tenure. The Brahmins were apparently expected to buy up the land and pay down cash, and a special officer was deputed to Rājakēsari-caturvēdimangalam to get the *sabhā* to conform to the order and make early payment; some of the land sold on the occasion was bought by the king's sister Kundavai, who gave it to the local temple. A similar order of Rājēndra I is recorded in an inscription[51] of the sixth year of his reign from Veḷiccēri, a *brahmadēya* in Puliyūrkōṭṭam.

A case of erosion by the Koḷḷiḍam (Coleroon) river resulting in an unsettlement of the boundaries between the lands held by the two temples of Śrīrangam and Tiruvānaikkāval on the island of Śrīrangam is recorded in the twentieth year of Kulōttunga III.[51a] New boundaries were fixed by royal officers *puravuvarik-kūṟu śeyvār* and *puravuvari-nāyakam-śey-*

vār, in consultation with representatives of both the temples, of the *sabhā*, the accountants of the two villages where the lands lay, and the superintendents of both the temples; they took into account the holdings of the temples as they were before the 19th year of the king (i.e. before the erosion occurred) and suggested suitable exchange of lands where necessary. The award satisfied the parties and new boundary stones with the mark of *cakra* (Viṣṇu) and *śūla* (Śiva) were set up. In passing we may note the terms *kuṇḍigaikkal* and *mukkuḍaikkal* for Jaina boundary stones.[51b]

From the reign of Rājarāja III, we have an instance of the original land registers of a *brahmadēya* village, Talaiccangāḍu, being lost in a commotion, and the steps taken by the village authorities, with the sanction of the central government, to prepare a fresh register of rights based on prescription (*anubōgap-parrolugu*). The *sabhā* record their sense of gratitude to the prime mover in this business of regulating titles and restoring order after the period of confusion.[52] The inscription is dated A.D. 1235.

Dēvadāna.

Dēvadāna lands were often marked off, as just noticed, by means of boundary stones bearing the emblems of the deity to whom they belonged.[53] The rights and exemptions enumerated in *dēvadānas* have a family likeness to those of the *brahmadēyas*, as already noticed. *Dēvadāna* lands were managed by the authorities of the temple subject to supervision and control of the village assembly on the one side and the central government on the other. It was open to the authorities of the temple acting in concert with the local assemblies to award *jīvitas* or *kāṇis* to the servants of the temple as remuneration for the performance of services or the supply of articles required for use in the temple. Such assignments are sometimes made by the assembly acting by itself; for instance, the *ūr* of Nerkuppai received as *dēvadāna* to Tīru-mudu-kunṛam-uḍaiyār some wet land and a house from Uttama Cōḷa; these they gave over as *kāṇi* in the third year of Rājarāja I to a person who was to supply to the temple half *palam* of sandal paste and quarter *palam* of bdellium, besides bathing materials on the days of the *ayana-saṅkrānti*.[54] The temple often came by land of low fertility or even waste land which was sometimes dumped on it by village

assemblies which found themselves under the necessity of raising money urgently for some public purpose. Such inferior land had a much better chance under temples of being improved and fertilised by persons who were ready to undertake the task as a labour of love; when improved in this manner the land usually yielded a better income to the temple than before.[55] In the reign of Rājarāja I the lands in a *dēvadāna* village belonging to the temple of Śucīndram were divided into two categories, on one of which the rental due from the tenants (*kāṇik-kaḍan*) was raised from 3 *kalams* per *mā* to 3 *kalams* and a *tūṇi*, while the other which could not pay such a rental was to be directly managed by the officers of the temple (*dēvakanmigaḷ*).[56] On the other hand, in some instances the tenants occupying temple lands seem to have held them on more favourable terms than others, or, at any rate, to have had better opportunities of getting the terms of their lease revised when necessary. Thus the *kāṇik-kaḍan* due from Mānābharaṇa-caturvēdimangalam to the Viṣṇu temple called after Rājēndracōḷa in Mannārkōyil was fixed at 3840 *kalams* and odd; this was found to be too high, and in consequence the Cēra Rājarāja-dēva added ten *vēlis* of land to the original extent, and fixed 2600 *kalams* as the annual rental on the whole village so extended.[57] Instances like this show clearly that a number of extra-economic considerations entered into the management of temple lands. The desire of the donor to secure the maximum benefit to the temple or its tenants from his gift, the readiness of tenants to squeeze themselves to help in the attainment of this object, or, what was at least quite as common, their readiness to make an honest penny at the expense of a public institution if it could be done without a scandal, such were some of the forces that exerted a real influence on the terms of the lease. At any rate there was little chance that the relative economic conditions of the tenants holding of the temples exhibited any tendency to equality, such as custom and the methods of production and sharing were apt to produce among other classes of tenants. A curious inscription of the reign of Āditya II shows the value of the periodical audit of temple accounts by the officers of the central government; this is a record which details the detection of what looks very much like a deliberate fraud by

which the temple of Tiruviḍaimarudil was despoiled of 96 *kalams* of paddy every year by its tenants, who remitted only 160 *kalams* as *pañcavāram* where 256 *kalams* were due by agreement; the defence set up in the course of the enquiry was that the tenure was *kuḍinīkkā-dēvadānam,* i.e. one in which occupancy rights still held good; but this turned out to be a false statement on a reference to the original deed recording the *dēvadāna,* and the tenants were thereupon ordered to remit the higher rate of *pañcavāram.*[58]

An inscription from Tirumāḷam,[59] Tanjore district, dated A.D. 1112, records that Kulōttunga I approved and sanctioned the proposal to remove some of the tenants in occupation of the *dēvadāna* lands of the local temple and lease out the lands to other tenants, because the former had allowed arrears of *mēlvāram* to accumulate and could not command the means to grow fresh crops without a break; the sanction of the king was obtained beforehand either because tenants could not be changed on *dēvadāna* lands without such sanction, or possibly with a view to forestalling future litigation by the displaced tenants.

A record of 1215 from Nārttāmalai, Pudukkottah,[60] relates to a *kuḍi-nīngā-dēvar dānam,* created by the *nagaram,* who sold some land to two merchants. The terms of this sale show how complex, and yet, how equitable to all parties concerned, the regulation of land rights could be. For all the dues to be paid to the king on account of this land, *ulaguḍai nāyanar tiruvāśalāl vanda iṟai kuḍimaiyum maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭanavum,* the *nagaram* held themselves responsible even after the sale. The two persons to whom the land was sold in equal shares had to give to the temple 30 *kalams* of paddy each in any year in which the yield of the whole land was normal; in lean years, they had to remit 2½ *kalams* on each *mā* of land actually cropped (*viḷaiñja nilattukku*). The land was declared to be in the last grade (*taram*), and was assessed as such for all time. Clearly here the rights of the temple were confined to the *mēlvāram* at a rate fixed beforehand, the tenants keeping the balance of the yield and not having to pay the taxes due to the central government, as these were paid by the *nagaram.*

Irrigation.

The prosperity of an agricultural country depends to a large extent on the facilities provided for irrigation, and the importance of securing an adequate water supply was recognised in South India from very early times. Natural streams and dependable channels leading off from them were the first source of supply: but for the passing mention, in an inscription at Tiruvāḍuturai,[61] of a Parakēsari Karikālacōḷa who raised the banks of the Kāvēri, we hear little, in inscriptions, of the methods adopted to turn natural streams to account. Much literary evidence can be cited to show that the prosperity of the Cōḷa country proper was a gift of the Kāvēri, and particularly all the names now known of the many branches of this great stream in the delta country are traceable in the Cōḷa inscriptions. In the absence of natural streams, recourse was had to tanks, and the bulk of the evidence on irrigation from the inscriptions relates to the care bestowed on the proper maintenance of the tanks. The Cōḷa-vāridhi of Sholingur, the Kaliyanēri near Ānaimalai in Madura, the Kaḷḷinangaikuḷam at Śōḷapuram, the Vairamēgha-taṭāka of Uttaramērūr dating from Pallava times, the 'big tank' of Bāhūr, and the Rājēndra-śōḷap-periya-ēri at Punganūr are only the leading examples of a very large number of irrigation tanks mentioned in the inscriptions. The primary care of the village assemblies was to get the silt removed (every year before the rains set in) from the tanks under their control in time for them to secure the proper depth needed to store the full supply for the next year. Often special endowments were created in relation to each tank to safeguard this important work from the neglect or the penury of village authorities. Even where, as in Bāhūr or Tribhuvani,[62] the annual repairs were not provided for by specific endowments, a special cess, the *ēri-āyam*, ear-marked for this purpose was collected from the ryots in the village, the rate in the instances mentioned being one *padakku* of grain per *mā* of cultivated land. The water-rights attaching to particular plots of land were often enumerated on the occasion when they changed hands by sale or gift. Where natural levels were not favourable for the flow of water, and it had to be lifted, piccotahs and baskets were commonly employed for the purpose. The water lift worked by bulls may have been known, but finds no place in the inscriptions. About

A.D. 1010, the *sabhā* of Nemali (S. Arcot) which was then called Caḷukki-kula-kāla-caturvēdimangalam set apart certain incomes as *ēri-āyam* for the maintenance of a local tank; one of these was a small charge of ¼ *pon* levied on men and women of the Brahmin community at death.[62a] In A.D. 1110 there is recorded a breach of the tank of Tirukkāñji in a storm and the repairs effected to it by a local Araiyan; the repairs included the construction of a stone revetment to the banks (*karpaḍai*).[63]A tank near Tirukkāccūr was extended, and a fresh sluice erected at the cost of a temple, in order that the lands of the temple may be properly irrigated; the tank originally belonged to the people of Śengunṟam, and their consent was obtained before the extension of the tank was undertaken. The water in the tank was to be distributed between the villagers and the temple in the ratio of their holdings.[64] In the 12th year of Vikramacōḷa owing to the silting of an irrigation channel, the assembly of Nerkunṟam had to divert water from a spring in a neighbouring village after giving compensation to it.[64a] Again, in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja II the *mūla-pariṣat* of Tiruvāyppāḍi (Tanjore Dt.) sold away some fallow common land of the village to be able to make a bund and dig a channel for the irrigation of some of the cultivable land of the village.[64b] Such examples, which may be easily multiplied, furnish clear evidence of the vivid realisation by the people of the importance of irrigation and of their readiness to meet and solve irrigation problems in a reasonable spirit.

Reclamation.

Another aspect of agriculture that deserves special mention is the steady progress of reclamation of forest and waste land that was being brought under the plough. Popular tradition ascribes to the Pallava kings (*kāḍu-veṭṭis*) or to Karikāla, the early Cōḷa monarch, the credit of having disafforested large tracts of South India and made them fit for agriculture and human habitation. Whatever the historical value of such traditions, epigraphy gives unmistakable proof of the deliberate efforts made from time to time and by easy stages, to increase the area under the plough and the inducements offered to encourage such efforts on the part of the people, by way of concessions in taxes, favourable terms of lease in

the initial years, and so on. It is needless to reproduce here details which may be easily gathered from the inscriptions.[65]

Yield of land.

The evidence on the yield of land and land values is by no means clear or copious. The number of crops raised each year on paddy lands was two, sometimes three.[66] No direct statement on the gross yield of land can ordinarily be traced in the inscriptions and the landlord's share called *mēlvāram, bhōgam* or even *iṟai* at times, is expressed in different ways. One of the very few instances where the gross yield is set down is the Cidambaram inscription of Rājakēsari Rājēndra[67] which says 44 *vēlis* of land yielded in all 4500 *kalams* of paddy, and that the *mēlvāram* on this was fifty per cent of the yield. A Mysore inscription of the time of Rājādhirāja gives the *mēlvāram* rate as two-fifths for wet land and one-fourth for areas under dry cultivation.[68] The inscriptions of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr show clearly that waste land newly brought under cultivation could not yield more than was enough to justify the rather low *mēlvāram* of 30 *kalams* per *vēli* in one instance, and 28 *kalams* and 19 *kalams* for two different classes of land in another.[69] An inscription of the sixth year of Rājēndra I from Nattam (Chingleput) states that the landlord's share per *kuḷi* of cultivated land was a *kuṟuṇi* and five *nāḻis*.[69a] In 1124, land (ninety *vēlis*) was given as *dēvadāna* and *maḍappuṟa iṟaiyili* at Vṟddhācalam, on the basis of an *iṟai*, tax payable to government, of forty *kalams* of paddy per *vēli* by *Rājakēsari* measure (*marakkāl*).[70] From an inscription at Erumūr, South Arcot district, dated 1152, it is seen that some *dēvadāna* land, apparently of very good quality, was assessed at 26¼ *kalams* per *mā*, equal to 525 *kalams* per *vēli* or *nilam*, inclusive of *kaḍamai, pādi-kāval, śilvari* and any other taxes and cesses due therefrom.[71] Lastly, a record from Periya-korukkai (Trichinopoly district) of the reign of Rājarāja III shows that some *dēvadāna* lands there paid an all inclusive tax of 20 *kalams* of paddy on wet land (*nanśey*) and 10 *kalams* on dry land (*puñjai*).[72]

Land value.

Figures bearing on the value of land reveal equally disparate conditions. The prices stated differ so widely from place to place and among different transactions that it is impossible to attempt a detailed explanation of such differences without an

accurate knowledge of the quality of the land concerned, or to institute comparisons with present conditions in respect of land-values. A rough idea may be gathered from a few examples chosen at random which will show not merely the difference in values, but wide divergences in the rates at which future dues on land were capitalised for the advance payment of the *iṟai-kāval*, the 'tax-fund' as it may be called. At Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tanjore Dt.), in A.D. 1006, one *vēli* of land was sold for 100 *kaḷañjus* of gold.[73] At Kuttālam in Tinnevelly, 8 *mās* of land including the tax-dues on it were valued at 43 *kāśus* in the fourth year of Rājēndra I.[74] Two years later, in the Tanjore district, 2 *vēlis* and 8 *mās* of wet land including a tank together with dry land of the same extent were sold for the low amount of 10 *kāśus*, though the *iṟai-kāval* on it was 190 *kāśus*.[75] The low sale price in this instance was perhaps due to the sale being that of common land (*sabhiap-podu*) and to the temple. In the same year and place, another sale records the price of 40 *kāśus* and *iṟai-kāval* of 90 for just one *veli* of land, which looks more normal.[76] One Madhurāntakanmāḍai fetched two hundred and fifty *kuḻis* of land or one-eighth of a *vēli* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the thirtieth year of Rājēndra I.[77] Land of the extent of three and a half *vēlis* and two *mās* was sold for 50 *kāśus* and an equal amount provided for bringing it under the plough at Tiruvārūr in the eighth year of Rājēndra II.[78] One *vēli* of land was sold at 20 *kāśus* at Kāñcīpuram in 1073, and for a little less at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.[79] In 1126, dry land of the extent of 4250 *kuḻis* was sold for twenty *kāśus* at Tiruvōttūr, North Arcot.[80] In 1133, four *vēlis* of land fetched a price of 90 *kāśus* at Ūṭṭattūr, Trichinopoly district, each *kāśu* being equal to three-fourths of a *kaḷañju* of gold.[81] Land yielding a *mēlvāram* of 120 *kalams* per *vēli* was valued at 40 *kāśus* and 45 *kāśus* at Tiruvārūr, Tanjore district, in the tenth regnal year of Kulōttunga II, A.D. 1143.[81a]

In the fourth regnal year, Rājarāja II issued an order to several villages in the Tanjore district, a *smudāya tirumugam* as it was called, regulating the prices of land sales in the whole of Virudarājabhayankara-vaḷanāḍu; the settlement resulting from this order was to supersede the tenancy conditions that had obtained till the fifteenth year of his predecessor. The new terms which were fixed by a number of high officials acting together applied to different categories of tenure such as

dēvadāna, brahmadēya, paḷḷiccandam, rājakulavar-kāṇipparru etc.[81b]

The *kāśu*, as pointed out elsewhere, underwent a rather steeply progressive debasement, or more probably the term came to be applied in later inscriptions to a new coin of much lower denomination. The price of land as stated in terms of this new coin will not bear any direct comparison with the prices mentioned above. Thus at Tiruppaḷanam, one *mā* of land was valued at 2000 *kāśus*, working to 40,000 *kāśus* per *vēli*, in A.D. 1214,[82] and the price of one *vēli*, at Kumbakonam in 1220 is said to have been 25,747 *kāśus*.[83] About the same time, one *mā* of land which stood in need of reclamation was valued in Tiruveṇkāḍu at 1334 *kāśus*, the cost of reclamation being estimated at 500 *kāśus*.[84] Again land of the extent of 2 *vēlis* and 19 *mās* was sold at Kumbakonam in A.D. 1221 for a sum of 450,000 *kāśus*.[85] About the same time, house-site was valued at 40 *kāśus* per *kuḷi* at Nallūr and 16 *kāśus* at Tiruvālangāḍu (Tanjore).[86] It would seem that the *kāśu* became a coin of somewhat higher value after the close of the reign of Rājarāja III; for the inscriptions of Rājēndra III record prices of landed property that suggest such a conclusion. Two house-sites of the total extent of twelve *manaik-kōl* were sold for 700 *kāśus* at Kuttālam (Tanjore) in A.D. 1261;[87] one *vēli* and 16 *mās* of agricultural land were exchanged five years later, at Tirukkaṇṇapuram, for 5350 *kāśus*, which, we learn, was the equivalent of thirteen *kaḻañjus* of gold;[88] lastly, at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, nineteen *mās* of land found a sale for 1000 *kāśus* and a house-site of 10 *kuḻis* for 300 *kāśus*, in 1267.[89] Rājēndra III made a great effort to resuscitate the Cōḻa empire, and a reform of currency must have been part of his plan. It will be noted also that most of the records of the later Cōḻa period come from the Tanjore district, proof of the waning and disappearance of the direct influence of the central government in the outlying parts.

In comparing the figures cited above with one another, it should be borne in mind that neither the unit of measurement nor the unit of currency was constant, and that owing to local variations in the length of the measuring rod and the number of *kuḻis* that went to the *mā*, and owing to the currency of various types of old and new money of varying weights and

fineness, any attempt to make a detailed comparison is rendered altogether fruitless.

Cattle.

Closely allied to agriculture was cattle-raising and dairy-farming, an industry pursued generally by the *manṟāḍis* or shepherds. Here again, we depend much on the temple records for our information. The *manṟāḍis* seem to have been organised in a professional caste group (*kalanai*), and generally taken charge of the cattle donated to the temples for the maintenance of lamps under stated conditions. Though the *paśu* (cow) and *āḍu* (ewe) are sometimes used only as units of reckoning, still in the majority of instances there is no doubt that live animals are meant, and often enough, breeding bulls and rams form part of the gifts. The importance of cattle-farming may also be inferred from the names of several imposts the exact nature of which is not fully known, such as *nallā*, *nallerudu*, *aḷagerudu-kāśu* and so on.

1. See *SII.* i. 40. An inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga I from Lālguḍi (142 of 1929) mentions the fact of the annual redistribution of village-lands (*nammūrk-karaik-kāṇi-ṟāndu toṟum kuṟittu varugai-yālē*) and the disadvantages to agriculture resulting from the practice. Also 441 of 1912—lands held by Śāliya nagarattār of Tiruppāṭṭuṟai.

2. *SII.* iii, 156, 181. Is *sabhāmadhyama* of *SII.* iii, 7 the same word?

3. 4 of 1890; 266 of 1901.

4. 42 of 1903.

5. *SII.* iii, 162.

6. 220 of 1901.

7. 396 of 1922. See also 157 of 1922.

8. Moreland's doubts on this subject (*The Agrarian Systems of Moslem India*, p. 4) are altogether misplaced.

9. 114 of 1928 from Ayyampēṭṭai records that, early in the thirteenth century, there was unusual need for employing hired labour as the Veḷḷālas had dwindled in numbers owing to various causes, and that the daily wages (in paddy) of hired labour were mounting up.

10. 172 of 1915; 45 of 1925.

11. *SII.* ii, 5, paragraph 2. In the next succeeding paragraph the same term occurs among other phrases which are not easily understood. A careful study of the text shows, however, that on any interpretation of it, the term *veḷḷān-vagai* has to be understood in the sense of peasant-proprietorship. Its translation into 'the portion of the cultivators'

(Hultzsch) does not quite bring out the technical character that undoubtedly attaches to it.

12. *SII.* iii, 205, Part III, Tamil, ll. 19-25.

13. The words: *'Ivvūr mun iṟutta paḍiyum paḷḷiyum uṭ-paḍa'* are rendered by Krishna Sastri into: 'as paid before by this village inclusive of *paḷḷi*'. In other words, he takes *iṟuttapaḍiyum* to mean 'in the manner in which payment was made', and the words in l. 71: *'ivvūr paḷḷi uṭ paḍa iṟai kāṭṭina nellu'* may be quoted in support of this view. But the *'um'* in *'paḍiyum'* is a real difficulty in its way, and I have preferred to take *'paḍi'* like *'paḷḷi'* to be some kind of tax or due, of which the nature is not clear. Seeing that it is omitted in l. 71, one may think that it is either negligible or closely analogous to *'paḷḷi.'*

14. How much of the 598 *kaḻañjus* and 1 *kunṟi*, the total assessment on Śingaḷāntaka-catm. was due from Paḻaiyanūr is not certain; possibly it was the amount of 193 *kaḻañjus* and odd mentioned further. on. If that was so, the paddy mentioned along with this sum was the net share of the Brahmin donees who had rights in Paḻaiyanūr. A *nagaram* sometimes paid its dues in gold (*SII.* ii. 4, paragraph 13).

15. Krishna Sastri, however, suggests that this was the tax paid before the village became a *brahmadēya*. *SII.* iii, p. 390, n. 1.

16. 327 of 1916.

16a. 74 of 1931-2, text in *ARE.* II 14.

16b. 260 of 1939-40.

17. 536 of 1921; *ARE.* 1922 II 25 has 1|32 by mistake.

17a. 90 of 1931-2; nos. 93 and 94 of the same collection are similar gifts to the same temple for other services including a *kūttu*, in the same festival.

18. 72 of 1926; 69 of 1926.

19. 47 of 1929.

20. 194 of 1926. *Paḍaip-paṟṟu* is also mentioned with *jīvitap-paṟṟu* and *vanniyap-paṟṟu* in 556 of 1919.

21. 276 of 1923.

22. 112 of 1914.

23. 58 of 1895.

24. 384 of 1913.

25. 141 of 1895.

26. 386 of 1922.

27. 120 of 1925.

28. 216 of 1894.

29. 210 of 1919.

30. 36 of 1898.

31. 361 of 1924.

32. 27 of 1893; 252 of 1921.

33. 170 of 1894.

34. 405 of 1925; also 205 of 1919.

35. *SII.* iii. 9.

36. 127 of 1925; 388 of 1913.

37. 126 of 1896. An inscription from Ūṭṭattūr (525 of 1912) gives the following classes of *iṟaiyili paṟṟu* in the village viz., *dēvadāna, tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam, paḷḷiccandam, aiyan pātti, maḍappuṟam, agarapparṟu, bhaṭṭa-vṛtti.*

38. In 1222, a tenant in occupation of some *dēvadāna* land in Talaiccangāḍu, having fallen into arrears with his annual *kaḍamai*, agreed to the land being made *tirunāmattukkāni* and leased out to new tenants, in lieu of his clearing the arrears: *en pēral añjāvadin ediṟāmāṇḍu kār-varai śigaiyāna kāśum veḷḷaip-pūri nellum kaṟṟai vaikkōl tiraiyum ennāl pōkkaṟukkap-pōgādeṉṟum innilam vēliyum paśān mudal viṭṭu viḍu-tīṭṭu tandu innilattukku munbu kōyil puṟappaṭṭa mūlaśādanangaḷum tarukkiṟēn enṟu nān viṇṇappañjeyya.* (209 of 1925).

39. 75 of 1896; *EI.* v. p. 45.

40. *SII.* ii, 92. l. 1.

41. 111 of 1905. Also *ARE.* 1929, II, 16.

42. 218 of 1894.

43. *Maṇṟu*, which Gopinatha Rao translates into 'halls'.

44. '*ōḍaiyūm uḍaippum*', G. Rao has 'ponds, breaches in rivers.'

45. Rain-water?

46. I have adopted *kūḍai-nīr*. See *EI.* xv, p. 72, n. 3. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates (ll. 445-6) confine this restriction to persons other than the grantees (*anniyar*). See also 103 of 1921.

47. ll. 426-58 far more elaborate in details than the Anbil plates. Also 103 of 1921 and others.

48. 118 of 1902.

49. *Studies*, p. 78; ante pp. 492 ff.

50. 46 of 1897.

51. 311 of 1911.

51a. 113 of 1938-9, *ARE.* II, 23.

51b. *ARE.* 1939-40—1942-3, II. 36 (end).

52. 213 of 1925.

53. *SII.* i, 59; ii, 6, 61. 5 of 1909. Instances are not unknown of cash and the right to collect some dues being made *dēvadāna iṟaiyili* —363 of 1899.

54. 57 of 1918. For other instances, see 'service tenure', ante.

55. 495 of 1918.

56. *TAS.* iv, p. 129. *Kaḍan paṟṟāda nilam* (l. 21) does not mean lands exempt from taxes as understood by the editor of the inscription.

57. 111 of 1905.

58. *SII.* iii, 203. The fact that 160 *kalams* were *pañcavāram* and 800 *kalams* the tenant's share of the produce (l. 2), suggests that *pañcavāram* was a one-fifth part surrendered by the tenants of *dēvadāna* lands on their share of the produce. But we cannot be sure of this, as 256 *kalam* rate has no relation to any figure in the record. But there are important gaps in the inscription. I have used the words occupant and occupancy wherever the term *kuḍi* is used in the original as it implies the actual cultivator of the soil, and not merely a lessee.

Krishna Sastri, however, uses the words tenant and tenancy in the same context, as e.g. in the passage cited at p. 577-8.

59. 93 of 1910.
60. Pd. 170.
61. 110 of 1925.
62. 178 of 1902; 192 of 1909.
62a. 156 of 1942-3.
63. 215 of 1919.
64. 295 of 1909.
64a. 152 of 1934-5.
64b. 88 of 1931-2.
65. 357 of 1924, 287 of 1911, 385 of 1903, 485 of 1902, 506 of 1902, etc.
66. 271 of 1915.

67. 118 of 1888. This record, though faulty in many ways, may, nevertheless, be accepted as genuine in this part.

68. 505 of 1911.
69. 103 of 1912. *ARE.* 1912, II, 22. Also 228 of 1912.
69a. 263 of 1912.
70. 63 of 1918.
71. 397 of 1913.

72. 266 of 1926; *ARE.* 1926, II. 29. 31 of 1891 gives the rate five *kalams* on *puñjai* lands at Jambukēśvaram, A.D. 1117.

73. 219 of 1894.
74. 104 of 1926.
75. 102 of 1925.
76. 109 of 1925.
77. 156 of 1912.
78. 677 of 1919.
79. 522 of 1919; 133 of 1912.
80. 88 of 1900.
81. 509 of 1912.
81a. 553 of 1904.
81b. 103 of 1931-2, *ARE.* II, 16.

82. 180 of 1928. cf. 6 *mā* at 13,000 *kāśus* (Tiruvāḍuturai), 156 of 1925—A.D. 1238.

83. 298 of 1927.
84. 504 of 1918.

85. 229 of 1927—*nālu nūṟāyirattu aimbadināyiramum. cf. munnūṟāyirattaṟupadināyiram* of 626 of 1920. The lakh was evidently unknown.

86. 58 of 1911; 96 of 1926.
87. 495 of 1907.
88. 522 of 1922.
89. 399 of 1908.

Chapter XXII

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Conditions of Production and Trade.

In most of the common industries the rule was production for the local market. The existence of a brisk internal trade in several articles is indicated by the evidence of the movements of individual merchants and the highly organised state of the mercantile corporations in various parts of the country. A merchant from the *malai-nāḍu* (Malabar) is seen trading in Tiruvaḍandai in the Chingleput district,[1] and one from Mylapore is found in Tanjore;[2] and a man from Ceylon endows a lamp in the temple at Śucindram (South Travancore).[3] These are not isolated instances, but representative of a large class of similar facts recorded in the inscriptions which show that there was a free and active business intercourse between the different parts of the empire. The expansion of Cōḷa rule was followed by the organisation of a strong centralised administration under a single political power. Except for a few local risings leading to punitive expeditions from time to time, peace was maintained for successive generations over a wide area, which had been cut up till then into a number of independent warring states. In the more settled conditions of the new era, the industrial arts obtained greater encouragement and the opportunities for trade increased.

Metal work.

The metal industries and the jewellers' art had reached a high state of perfection. Household utensils made of metal were apparently confined to the rich, earthenware being often mentioned in connection with cooking and eating in *śālas*, charitable feeding halls. The detailed descriptions of the images and utensils of the Tanjore temple recorded in the inscriptions, and the bronzes of the period that have survived to this day give proof of the mastery attained by the braziers of the time in the art of manipulating alloys of metals and casting them into the most elaborate and graceful forms. Copper, bronze and

brass were employed in such work, besides gold and silver.

Jewellery.

The variety of jewels and ornaments of gold and precious stones, and the careful record of the numbers and classes of the stones and pearls mounted on each of these would be enough to enable a modern jeweller to reproduce most of them if only he knew their general formation; many of the ornaments mentioned have long since gone out of use, and no really old ornament has survived the ravages of invasion and war; the Tanjore inscriptions however enable one to see that the jeweller's art reached its high-water mark under the Cōḷas, and that the Tanjore jewellers produced the most pleasing results by studying the dispositions of precious stones and pearls with a view to their colour effects. If it is remembered that temples were only glorified palaces, that gods received all the honours due to kings (*rājōpacāra*), that kings were the models for their subjects to follow, and if, further, it is realised that the Tanjore temple differs from the hundreds of other temples only in its greater size and in the accuracy and completeness of its surviving inscriptions, it will be seen that it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of the amount of wealth held in the form of jewels or of the flourishing state of the goldsmith's trade. Neither the depredation of invading hosts nor the security of established government has succeeded in weaning the people from the hoarding habit. *Pax Britannica* was hardly more potent in this respect than Malik Kafur and Hyder Ali.

Salt.

The inscriptions contain only a limited number of references to the daily occupations and arts of the population, and we have to eke out this scanty information from literature and sculpture. The manufacture of sea-salt was carried on under government supervision and control, and subject to considerable imposts in kind and money, local and central. The salt-pans of Markāṇam, Kanyākumāri, Variyūr, and Āyuṟai were among the more important centres of salt manufacture, which was a widespread industry all along the sea coast.[4] Some of the salt pans at Bāpatla were lost in 1112[5] owing to encroachment by the sea.

A conspicuous example of particular industries obtaining special recognition in court or in a big temple is furnished by the weavers of Kāñcīpuram. There were four wards (*pāḍis*) of the city inhabited by the class of weavers known as Paṭṭaśālins; they had the distinction of being appointed weavers of royal garments, and Uttama Cōḷa appointed them to the management of the financial affairs of the temple of Ūragam in Kāñcīpuram. The poor residents of Śōḷāniyamam were exempt from the payment of all royal dues in return for their undertaking to maintain the temple accounts properly and submit them to monthly audit by the weavers who had the management of the temple, an arrangement ratified by the *nagaram* of Kāñcīpuram as well.[6]

Relation of industry to court and temple.

Of the conditions of transport in internal trade it is not possible to give a detailed account. In South India there was very little scope for the use of natural water-ways for the carriage of merchandise in the interior, and there is no evidence that canals were made for any purpose other than the irrigation of agricultural lands. Roads are mentioned in several inscriptions from all parts of the country, when the boundaries of lands and villages are described. To maintain these roads, great and small, in good repair was part of the duty of local authorities and the villagers were often expected to give freely the labour (*veṭṭi, amañji*) required for it. Two classes of roads may be distinguished; the *vadis* were only slightly better than foot-paths and apparently not suited to wheeled traffic. One such *vadi* in Uttaramērūr was washed away by the floods and the path became unfit for use even by cattle; in remaking the path, the *sabhā* decided to widen it and purchased the adjoining lands from the ryots to whom they belonged.[7] The better class of roads is called *peru-vaḻi*, the great road, in the inscriptions. These were the trunk roads leading from one large division of the country to another, as is seen from their names like the Āndhra road, *Vaḍugapperuvaḻi* or *Āndhrāpatha*,[8] the great road to Kongu (*Kongapperuvaḻi*),[9] the big road to Peṇṇāḍam,[10] the *Tañjavūrp-peruvaḻi* mentioned in an inscription from Āḍuturai,[11] and, most significant of all, the great road leading to Kalyāṇapuram mentioned in an in-

Transport.

scription from the Tanjore district.[12] The breadth of one of these roads is stated to have been two rods (*kōl*), about twenty-four feet.[13]

Merchant Guilds.

Trade was carried on by merchants banded together in powerful guilds and corporations. The *maṇigrāmam* of Koḍumbāḷūr endowing a charitable trust in Salem,[14] the Vaḷañjīyar of Tiruppuṟambiyam,[15] are examples of such associations. There were also the Teliki of Bezwada mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja II;[16] the *satyavācakas* (truth-tellers), also called *dhanmavāṇiyar* (the just merchants) who maintained a *maṭha* called after themselves and supplied the *tiruk-koḍi* (the holy flag) at the three annual festivals at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai;[17] the *sūcakar karuṇākara vīrar* or the *vaḷañjīyar* of Tennilangai who paid contributions from 1189 for the maintenance of a Vaiṣṇava *maṭha* at Tirukaṇṇapuram;[18] and the *vaḷañjīyar* of Tinnevelly who had the *kārāṇmai* of the lands of the local temple, on condition that they provided for certain specified requirements for the services in the temple.[19] About A.D. 1207 the merchant communities of Nellūr, Nārāyaṇapuram, Ārkāḍu, Mayilāppūr, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Pūndamali, Neḍumpiṟai, Damanakaccēri, Perungalūr and Tirunīṟu co-operated together in acquiring a whole village and giving it as *dēvadāna* to the temple of Tiruppāśūr, for constructing a *madil*, an enclosing wall; the village was left by the merchants in charge of Tammu Siddhi.[20] Again, an inscription of 1235 from Anbil mentions an assemblage of the *Cittira-mēḷipperiya nāṭṭār*, the *tiśai-āyirattu aiññūṟṟuvar*, the *Śeṭṭis* of the *nāḍus* in many *maṇḍalas*, *davanac-ceṭṭis*, *Jayapālas*, *munai-vīra-koḍiyar*, the excellent *śilpis*, and the *mudaṟ-paḍai-kalanaiyār;* the assembly described themselves by the phrase *Rājarājap-perunīrāviyōm;* the object of the meeting is unfortunately not clear, for the inscription is damaged.[21] Lastly, the *vaḷañjīyar* and the *nānādēśiyat-tiśai-āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* built a part of the temple at Tiruviḷakkuḍi.[22]

Nānādēśis.

Nānādēśa-Tiśaiyāyirattu Aiññūṟṟuvar formed the most celebrated of these guilds. This long name is susceptible of two interpretations; the Five Hundred of the thousand directions in all countries, or the One Thousand and Five Hundred from all countries and

directions. Seeing, however, that the guild is described sometimes by the terms *nānādēśis* or *aiññūṟṟuvar*, the first interpretation seems to be the correct one. This guild had a long and notable record of achievement. Its importance may be taken to antedate the rise of the Imperial Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line; for two short inscriptions from Muniśandai in the Pudukkōṭṭah state, most probably of the time of Vijayālaya and Parāntaka I, show that this corporation was already well established, the tank at Muniśandai being called after it; the inscriptions record endowments for the periodical repair of the tank.[22a] Members of this corporation obtained some houses assigned to them about A.D. 1015 by the *sabhā* of Nigarili-śōḷa-caturvēdimangalam for being used as residences or warehouses.[23] In A.D. 1033 is recorded a gift of land for a service in a Śiva temple at Ambāsamudram for the benefit (*śiṟappu*) of the same guild.[24]

The fragmentary Tamil inscription from Loboe Toewa, in Sumatra, mentions this body of merchants and bears the date Śaka 1010 (A.D. 1088), clear proof of the active share of the guild in the extensive over-seas trade of the time. Some inscriptions from the Mysore area[25] furnish important and interesting details of the myths relating to the origin and organisation of the guild, the articles of merchandise in which its members carried on trade, the countries with which they traded, and the means of transport employed by them. Born of the race of Vāsudēva, Kandaḷi and Mūlabhadra, they were favoured by the goddess Bhagavati, and comprised many sub-divisions, born to wanderers over many countries. They visited 'the Cēra, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurāṣṭra, Dhānuṣṭra, Kurumba, Kāmbhoja, Lāḷa, Baruvara, Nēpāḷa, Ēkapada, Lambakarṇa, Strī-Rājya, Ghōḷa-mukha, and many other countries,' and by land routes and water routes they penetrated into the regions of the six continents. Their trade was in superior elephants, well-bred horses, precious stones of all sorts, spices, perfumes and drugs. They sold them wholesale or hawked them about on their shoulders. They often carried their merchandise on the backs of asses and buffaloes 'adorned with red trappings.' They were famous for their 'five Hundred *vīra-śāsanas*.' One such *vīra-śāsana* is found recorded in an inscription[26] of the reign of Rājādhirāja I, dated in his thirty-second year c. A.D. 1050. By a reso-

lution of their body, the *nānādēśis* and their followers resolved to convert the village of Śirāvaḷḷi into a *nānādēśīya-daśamaḍi-eṛivīrappaṭṭina* and to confer certain privileges on its residents. The record also describes the merchant guild as a *samaya* and states that it was served by (*samayattu tiruvaḍikkup-paṇi-śeyyum*) regiments of foot-soldiers and swordsmen. There was another meeting at Mylapore of the same body of merchants which decided to convert Kāṭṭūr, originally an Ayyapuḷal, into a *vīrapaṭṭina*, a status which implied a privileged position in the country's trade.[27] Again in 1199 a meeting of the *nāḍu* and *nagaram* of Ūṭṭattūr (Trichinopoly district) granted the village of Veṇmaṇip-pāḍi, converting it into a mercantile town called Tāyilu-nalla-puram.[28]

The *nānādēśis* then were a powerful autonomous corporation of merchants whose activities apparently took little or no account of political boundaries. They visited all countries in the course of their trade, and everywhere they enjoyed a respected and privileged position. In the Cōḷa kingdom they received recognition alike from the central government and from local agencies like the village *sabhās*. They had their own mercenary army, doubtless for the protection of the merchandise in their warehouses and in transit. They also concerned themselves in the details of local administration in the places where they were settled. In Maḷūrpaṭṇa they undertook to cooperate with the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in enforcing the regular collection of the interest due to the temple on a perpetual loan from the members of the *sabhā* of Vaṇḍūr, also called Śōḷa-mādēvi-caturvēdimangalam. This was early in the reign of Rājēndra I.[29] Their success and prosperity were to some extent independent of the vicissitudes of war and peace among the states in which they carried on trade. In the thirteenth century, there was at Pagan in Burma a Viṣṇu temple built by the *nānādēśis* and gifts were made to it by a merchant from one of the port towns on the Malabar coast.[30]

Merchant guilds in relation to State.

A recent writer has pointed out the differences between mercantile organisations in Europe and in the East.[31] Speaking of European trade with China, he contrasts the radical weakness of the Chinese commercial class as compared with the European. 'The great chartered companies of Europe

had monopoly rights and state backing; they sinned against the light of free trade no less than the Chinese guilds, but they stood for the self-organisation and autonomy of the merchant class, not the mere rapacity of government officials. In China the merchant was powerless against officialdom; politically he was nothing; there was no tradition of city-state commercialism to teach him his potential strength. In Europe the *bourgeois* was rising to be master of the state; in China he was but the servile agent of the mandarins.' In South India, the merchants had certainly more freedom and scope for initiative, and a better capacity for voluntary organisation than in China; they were less at the mercy of government officials, and exercised a great deal of autonomy in the regulation of their own affairs. The state was not eager to interfere in their transactions, and would not do so except on invitation. On the other hand, the state did not, it could not, give the strong backing to its merchants engaged in foreign trade that the European state provided. Neither the merchants nor the state in South India had any idea of the possibilities of economic imperialism. Trade to them was an end in itself; they were willing to carry on trade if conditions were favourable; it never occurred to them that foreign lands may be compelled to buy and sell at the point of the bayonet.

Nagaram.

There were also local organisations of merchants called *nagaram* in big centres of trade like Kāñcīpuram and Māmallapuram.[32] What the relation was between these local bodies of traders and the more general groups like the Maṇigrāmam and the Nānādēśis or Vaḷañjīyar cannot be determined with precision. That Brahmins also occasionally engaged in trade becomes clear from a direct mention of the Brahmins who engaged in trade along with the Vaḷañjīyar in the South bazaar of Eṇṇāyiram,[33] a large centre of Vaiṣṇavism and education in South Arcot. The *nagarams* used to raise voluntary contributions from their members for specific purposes. To give just one example: in A.D. 1037, the *nagaram* of the town of Vāḷaiyūr[34] resolved that the lamps to be maintained by them in the local temple and the interest due from them on moneys borrowed from the temple were to be met from the proceeds of a regular payment in future of certain dues laid on their commercial transactions in accordance with a schedule,—the buyer and seller

each giving a *kāl-aḷavupāṭṭam* of one *nāḷi* per *kalam* (on grains), a *kōl-kūli* (weighment-cess) of one *palam* per *niṟai*, ten betel-nuts for every thousand exchanged and so on. Many other instances can be traced in the inscriptions of a similar exercise of the privileges of autonomy in the regulation of the internal affairs of the groups.

Śungam.

On customs and octroi duties in this period we have little direct evidence. Kulōttunga I is celebrated in contemporary literature and epigraphy for abolishing the *śungam*. We seem to have no detailed account of this most important transaction of the reign, and there is no means of knowing how this was managed, and what steps, if any, were taken to fill the gap in the revenues of the government caused by the remission. The word *śungam* is explained generally as including all the imposts on articles of merchandise imported in ships and carts, that is to say, from across the seas or the interior.[35]

Pro-note.

The 'I.O.U.' as an instrument of borrowing was apparently in common use. It is mentioned quite casually in an inscription from Tiruvāḍuturai of the reign of Rājarāja I.[36] The *sabhā* of that place owed some money to a Kaikkōḷa which they had borrowed from him on a promissory note (*kaiyeḻuttōlai*). For some reasons not recorded, the entire property of the Kaikkōḷan became *rājasvam*, that is, it was confiscated by the king who naturally sought thereupon to realise the money due from the *sabhā*. These facts are recorded in explanation of the assignment to the temple of some of the village lands in lieu of the money then borrowed by the *sabhā* for paying off the king. Another instance of borrowing on a promissory note is the loan of 100 *kāśus* from a temple in Puñjai to the *mūla-paruḍai* of Talaiccangāḍu mentioned in an inscription of the reign of Rājēndra I.[37]

Interest rate.

Wide divergences are traceable in the rate of interest on loans, and also in the manner in which the rate is expressed and calculated. The rate of 12½% per annum, of ⅛ *kaḻañju* per *kaḻañju* of gold, was for long the standard rate on the investment of religious endowments,[38] though 15 per cent or 3 *mañjāḍis* per *kaḻañju*[39] also obtained in many instances. The lowest rate met with

is 5 per cent or one *mañjāḍi* per *kaḷañju*, though this rate is coupled with the reign of Vijaya Kamapavarman, and not a Cōḷa king.[40] Higher rates of money interest are also found though not so frequently as the normal 12½ or 15 per cent. Thus we have rates like 12½ per cent per half-year (*pū*) working to 25 per cent per annum;[41] four hundred *kaḷañjus* yielding one hundred and fifty per annum, 37½ per cent;[42] or even a 50 per cent rate expressed as half *kāśu* per annum per *kāśu*.[43] These rates cannot be explained easily at present; it is certain, however, that they are not due to differences either in the purpose of the loan or investment or in the political conditions affecting social security. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion made little difference in the prevailing rate of interest as can be seen from inscriptions quoting Kṛṣṇa's regnal years;[44] the higher and the lower rates of interest alike prevail in the reign of Rājēndra I, when there was little or no disturbance to internal security. Very often the rate of interest is expressed in terms of commodities and sometimes even the principal of the loan is also a given quantity of some commodity, usually grain. The divergences in the commodity-rates are quite as wide and as unaccountable as in money-rates. The lowest grain-rate of interest per *kaḷañju* of gold is one *kalam* per annum;[45] the highest rate goes up to 3 *kalams*,[46] and even four;[47] the more common rate is in the neighbourhood of a *kalam*, or a *kalam* and third. In one and the same region and at the same time, two village assemblies are seen borrowing from one creditor, a temple, at the different rates of ⅔ *kalam* and one *kalam* per *kaḷañju* per annum.[48] Generally high rates of interest, seldom less than 25 per cent, are quoted when the principal is expressed in terms of grain,[49] and in one case there occurs the impossibly high rate of 75 per cent per annum.[50] Another way in which different rates of interest find expression is by means of the adoption of different rates of capitalisation for purposes of endowments of the same service; thus the supply of a quarter measure of oil every day is provided for by the endowment of 18 *kaḷañjus* 3 *mañjāḍis* and 1 *kunri* of gold in one instance, and by that of just 10 *kaḷañjus* in another.[51]

That there must have been a great amount of borrowing and lending among traders and merchants in the normal course of their business we may take for granted; but of such

transactions no record seems to have survived. Almost all the investments recorded in the inscriptions are of charitable funds generally ear-marked for specific purposes, and sometimes a certain stability is imparted to these purposes by the investments and the terms governing them being made irrevocable. Thus a merchant from Malai-nāḍu invested 16⅓ *kaḷañjus* of gold in a *vāḍākkaḍan*, permanent loan, from the interest whereof twelve Brahmins were to be fed for one month (*Kumbha*) every year in the temple of Varāhadēva at Tiruvaḍandai (Chingleput).[52] Again the *ūr* of Kōnēri accepted a loan of five *kaḷañjus* from a temple in Kañcīpuram subject to the conditions that they should pay interest at 1⅔ *kalam per kaḷañju* per annum and that they should at no time offer to return the principal of the loan.[53] An inscription from Maḷūrpaṭna (Bangalore) of the reign of Rājēndra I provides another example which is of great interest for the sanctions it lays down to enforce conformity to the terms of the loan.[54] The grain-principal (*nellu-mudal*) of the perpetual loan was 320 *kalams* and the rate of interest 3¾ *kuṟuṇis* per *kalam* per annum yielding in all 100 *kalams* in a year, to be remitted in two instalments, 50 *kalams* at each of the two harvests. The borrowers were the members of the *sabhā* of Vaṇḍūr who agreed to give two meals a day to the persons delegated to collect this grain-interest; these persons might resort, if necessary, to processes of distraint such as stopping the supply of water and fire, surrounding the habitation, and impounding cattle. Nothing is stated in explanation of these rather drastic sanctions and we cannot say if they ever were actually enforced. The problem of modern finance is to fund public debts in order to secure stable interest charges; the problem that the temples of South India had to face once was that of securing a fixed income as interest on their investments, of funding their loans as it were.

Transfer of property.

The transfer of immovable property by sale or gift was generally attended with more formalities than that of movables. The ordinary transactions among individual owners are seldom represented in the records before us. Only those of public interest are found recorded in inscriptions, and an analysis of the sales of land so recorded reveals that at least four types were distinguished among them. They are: (1) *āj̃ñākrayam*, (2) the *peruvilai*

(great sale) of some king (named), (3) the *peruvilai* of Caṇḍēśvara and, (4) *sabhaivilai* or *ūr-vilai*. The first of these was sale by *āj̃ñā* or royal order of the properties of persons found guilty of treason against the king or his family. The leading example of this class is the sale recorded in the Uḍaiyārguḍi inscription[55] of the properties of persons involved in the murder of Āditya II. The *peruvilai* of the kings was the sale of the lands of cultivators in the processes of revenue-collection when other means of collection had failed. The Caṇḍēśvara-peruvilai was the sale of land by Śiva temples, Caṇḍēśvara representing Śiva as his *ādi-dāsa*, first devotee, in such transactions. The corresponding term, if any, for describing sales by Viṣṇu temples was *sēnāpati-vilai*.[55a] The *sabhai-* or *ūr-vilai* was, as the name implies, the sale of land from the common land of the commune effected by the local assembly of the village. A careful study of the prices mentioned in these different classes of sales points to the conclusion that they were often governed by extra-economic considerations, and this may be the reason why the nature of the sale was specifically mentioned in each such case. The rates specified had apparently little or no relation to the market value of land in the neighbourhood. It is probable that in the *peruvilai* (lit. great sale) something like a public auction was the method of sale followed, the usual procedure being to cry out the upset price in a public place at a time fixed in advance, and await the response of those present at the sale. It is doubtful if it was a real auction where bidding against one another on the part of the buyers was allowed; the formula in the inscriptions suggests only the announcement of a fixed price together with the other terms, if any, on which the property was offered, and the acceptance by the buyer.[56]

The main features of the formulae adopted in documents, sale or gift deeds, conveying property in land may be briefly noted. The minute care with which the boundaries were described in each case may be seen from the copper-plate grants like those of Anbil, Ānaimangalam, Tiruvālangāḍu and Karandai (Tanjore). The same feature marks the stone inscriptions as well, though the description is often more summary in form and therefore much shorter than in the copper-plates. Then the phrase '*mikudik-kuṟai-uḷḷaḍanga*,' 'including excess or shortage,' is invariably employed, and this implies

that the boundaries rather than the measurements stated formed the decisive factors. Then there occurred phrases which excluded other properties like old *dēvadānas,* canals, roads etc., which were not meant to be conveyed. Like gift-deeds, sale-deeds also often contained details of the rights inherent in the property conveyed. These included the ownership of the subsoil, trees, hills, wells etc., irrigation-rights, easement rights and so on. The document usually concluded with a declaration that the price agreed upon had been fully paid and the land duly conveyed, and that the document concerned was to serve as the acquittance for the sale price[57] and that no other receipt or acquittance was to be demanded in the future. One sale deed from Ārpākkam[58] dated A.D. 1232 contains the following provisions: a declaration that the land sold was subject to no encumbrance and that if, in future, the existence of any encumbrance was discovered, the vendor would release the land from it; the usual clause about acquittance for the sale price; a declaration that the purchaser acquired all the rights over the land including the rights to sell, mortgage and give away; that the vendor was not to raise objections at a later stage and plead that the document was void on the score of imperfect wording, illegibility of letters and so on. An inscription from Tiruvaṇṇamalai (1204)[59] records a resolution of the *māhēśvaras* that houses built on sites in the *Tirumaḍai-viḷāgam* (temple area) were to be sold at a price to be fixed by a superintendent (*kaṇkāṇi*) from the temple treasury, and that half the sale proceeds must be remitted to the temples, the owner of the house being entitled only to the balance. Very often a payment is made in addition to the price of land to cover the future taxes and dues on the land so that it may be conveyed tax-free; in these cases this further payment is also mentioned in the documents and the taxes intended to be remitted specified in detail. Sometimes the *iṟai-kāval* was a separate document, that is when the taxes were commuted some time after the purchase of the land.

From very early times Southern India carried on a flourishing commerce with the nations across the seas on either side of the peninsula. From the fourth century A.D. or thereafter, the Persians, rather than the Arabs, were the most venturesome mariners of the Indian Ocean. In the

Chinese annals of the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries, all the products of Ceylon and India, with others from Arabia and Africa, are classed as 'products of Persia.'[60] The direct sea-route between China and India is, however, known to have come into common use by the close of the seventh century, and I-tsing mentions no fewer than thirty-seven Chinese pilgrims who took this route to India in his time.[61] At no time had Indian merchantmen ever ceased to frequent the shores of the Malay peninsula and the islands of the archipelago, even Indo-China and China. Mahābalipuram, Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam, Śāliyūr and Koṛkai on the east coast, and Quilon on the west were great emporiums frequented by the traders of other countries; Ceylon and the Nicobars in the East, the Laccadives and the Maldives in the West furnished good halting places for ships bound on long voyages.

Towards the ninth century A.D. the countries of Southern Asia had developed an extensive maritime and commercial activity, and attained a prosperity unequalled in history.[62] The Tang empire in China, Śrī Vijaya under the powerful line of the Śailēndras, and the Abbasid Khalifat at Baghdad were the chief states outside India that flourished on this trade. The political troubles in China in the latter part of the ninth century interrupted the established trade relations for a time. China became unsafe for the foreign traders who now retired to the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, whither the Chinese ships had to go for the purchase of foreign goods. This was the beginning of the Chinese navigation of the high seas. In the twelfth century, Cantonese sea-going junks went as far west as Quilon on the Malabar Coast.[63] Siraf on the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf[64] was the chief emporium in the West in the period. 'Here', says Ibn Hawqal, a contemporary Arab writer, 'there is not any husbandry or cultivation of the ground; and they bring water from a distance. There are not any trees immediately about Siraf; and the inhabitants devote their whole time to commerce and merchandise.'[65] Such was the importance of the trade of Siraf, that, despite the disadvantages of its situation and climate, the town was covered with very fine edifices and was very populous. The sailors and merchants of the entire Indian Ocean, Chinese,

The Persian Gulf.

Javanese, Malay and Indian, came frequently to Siraf for exchanging their products. Siraf then was a cosmopolitan city, and its chief merchants, when they received strangers as guests, took scrupulous care to conform to their manners and customs. After mentioning the existence in India of a caste of which the members never ate off the same plate or at the same table, Abu Zayd tells us: 'when these sectaries resort to Siraf and one of the principal merchants invites them to a repast in his house, at which about 100 persons assist, it is necessary that the host causes to be placed before each one of these sectaries a plate in which he eats and which is exclusively reserved for him.'[66] The use of separate plates for eating was, of course, not confined to any single caste or sect, as Abu Zayd thought, but was the universal rule in India. The statement is valuable as evidence of the trade and social relations maintained by Indians with the rest of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries.

China.

At the end of the tenth century, the political situation in China had become normal again, and the Sung government of the day evinced a great interest in the foreign trade of the country. The trade was made a government monopoly, and strenuous efforts were made to increase its volume. 'A mission was sent abroad by the emperor with credentials under the imperial seal and provisions of gold and piece-goods to induce "the foreign traders of the South Sea and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea to trade" to come to China. Special licenses to import goods were promised them.'[67] How eager the Cōḷas were to take advantage of the extended opportunities thus opened to them is evident from the missions sent to China by Rājarāja and Rājēndra. The great distance between the Cōḷa country and China, and the novelty of the direct connection now started, prevented the proud Chinese government from giving adequate recognition to the position and importance attained by the Cōḷas. Their envoys took with them very valuable presents, but they were only ranked with those of a vassal state in Eastern Turkestan.[68] The Cōḷa embassy which reached China in 1015 after spending over three years on the way must have left the Cōḷa country towards the close of the rule of Rājarāja, Lo-tsa-lo-tsa of the Chinese chronicles. Chau Ju-Kua says of this embassy:[69] 'In former times they did

not send tribute to our court, but "in the eighth year of the *ta-chung* and *siang-fu* periods (A.D. 1015), its (of Chu-lien) sovereign sent a mission with pearls and like articles as tribute. The interpreters, in translating their speech, said they wished to evince the respect of a distant nation for (Chinese) civilisation." They were ordered by Imperial Decree to remain in waiting at the side gate of the Palace, and to be entertained at a banquet by the Associates in the College of Court Annalists. By Imperial favour they were ranked with the envoys of K'iu-tz'i. It happened to be the Emperor's birthday, and the envoys had a fine opportunity to witness the congratulations in the Sacred Enclosure.' Fewer details have survived of the other embassy from Shi-(lo)-lo-cha yin-to-lo chu-lo (Śrī rāja Indra Cōḷa) which reached China in A.D. 1033. The trade thus started with China appears to have been carried on without interruption in the eleventh century, and in the language of the Annalists of the Celestial court, the Cōḷa kings continued to send 'tribute' to that court. The naval expedition of Rājēndra against Śrī Vijaya and the success achieved by that expedition rendered communication with the 'Southern seas' and the empire of China more easy and regular than it was ever before. The appeal to Vīrarājēndra for help in the settlement of the political affairs of Kaḍāram confirms our view of the relations between the Cōḷas and the kingdoms of the east. Another Cōḷa embassy to China of the year 1077 is also mentioned and the name of the contemporary Cōḷa king, Kulōttunga I, is given in a corrupt form in the Sung annals.[70]

Articles of Trade.

The chief articles of merchandise that entered into this long distance trade were necessarily goods that carried great value for small bulk. Of Siraf, the Arab writer, Istakhri (tenth century) says[71]: 'The imports are aloes wood (for burning), amber, camphor, precious gems, bamboos, ivory, ebony, paper, sandalwood, and all kinds of Indian perfumes, drugs and condiments. In the town itself excellent napkins are made, also linen veils, and it was a great market for pearls.' From the middle of the eleventh century Siraf began to decline in importance, and the island of Qais or Kish began to take its place as the entrepot of Indian trade. The Jewish traveller from Spain, Benjamin of Tudela, relates that about the middle of the

twelfth century A.D., the island of Kish marked the limit of the voyages of Indian merchants trading with Persia and the West. 'Kish,' he says,[72] 'is a considerable market, being the point to which Indian merchants and those of the islands bring their commodities; while the traders of Mesopotamia, Yemen and Persia import all sorts of silk and purple cloths, flax, cotton, hemp, mash (a kind of pea), wheat, barley, millet, rye and all other sorts of comestibles and pulse, which articles form objects of exchange; those from India import great quantities of spices, and the inhabitants of the island live by what they gain in their capacity of brokers of both parties. The island contains about five hundred Jews.'

Horse trade.

The rise into importance of the Arab trade in horses which flourished for many centuries on a large scale must be traced to the period of the growth and expansion of Cōḷa dominion in Southern India. The important role of cavalry in the Cōḷa army and the armies of other powers opposed to them is clearly brought out by the inscriptions. There are also frequent references in them to *kudiraic-ceṭṭis*,[73] dealers in horses, who no doubt imported horses from abroad, particularly Arabia and perhaps Pegu, and distributed them among the princes and nobles in the land. As these *Ceṭṭis* are often said to come from *malai-nāḍu*,[74] it is reasonable to infer that Arabia supplied the bulk of the horses imported into South India. The extensive trade described by Marco Polo and Wassaf in the beginning of the fourteenth century could not have sprung up suddenly, and its beginnings must be traced to Cōḷa times if not to an earlier period.

Chinese imports.

'The imports into China in this trade,' says Rockhill,[75] 'consisted of two distinct categories of goods, the one manufactured textile fabrics (mostly of cotton), spices and drugs, and the other, and by far the most valuable intrinsically, jewels and semi-precious substances, such as ivory, rhinoceros' horn, ebony, amber, coral and the like, and various aromatic products and perfumes, used either in the preparation of incense or for perfuming the body.' The high value of the second category of goods and the increasing demand for them led the Chinese government to declare their sale a govern-

ment monopoly. Trade in these articles was open only to licensed vendors who bought their supplies at government warehouses in quantities and at prices fixed by government. Trade in cotton fabrics, spices and drugs was under no restrictions, and subject only to an import duty payable in kind and varying from one-tenth to two-tenths of the goods imported. Besides this import duty collected at the time of their entering the port, these goods had also to bear a fixed tonnage tax on the ship. This trade was felt on the whole to be beneficial to China and caused no anxiety to the government. In course of time, however, grave abuses developed in connection with the trade in luxuries, and the drain of currency and precious metals resulting from its expansion was such as to cause the government very serious concern. These evils came to light in the twelfth century, and the Chinese government had to embark on legislation calculated to prohibit the exportation of precious metals and coined money and to restrict the volume of trade with Ma'bar and Kulum (i.e., the Coromandel coast and Quilon).

In the face of strong discouragement from the Chinese government, the commercial relations between China and South India appear to have been sustained, with more or less regularity, to the end of the thirteenth century. The Loboe Toewa (Sumatra) Tamil fragment of Ś. 1010 (A.D. 1088) which mentions the Tiśai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar shows that the merchants of South India had settlements outside India, and it is quite possible that small settlements of these traders were found in all important entrepots of the Persian Gulf and the China Sea. Hindu sculptures of decidedly South Indian origin have been discovered in a Chinese temple in the port-town of Ch'üan-Chou, opposite to Formosa; these sculptures represent Purāṇic themes like the Gajēndra-mōkṣa and Kṛṣṇa tied to a mortar between trees and so on, and are best placed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. It seems possible therefore that a colony of South Indian merchants had settled in the port-town of Ch'üan-chou, which has been identified with the Zayton of the mediaeval travellers.[75a]

The list of the products of the Cōḷa country given by Chau Ju-Kua shows that the list of articles imported by China from there remained practically unchanged at the beginning

of the thirteenth century. He says:[76] 'The native products comprise pearls, elephants' tusks, coral, transparent glass, betelnuts, cardamoms, opaque glass, cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads, and cotton stuffs.' The same author notes also that the taxes and imposts of the Cōḷa kingdom were numerous and heavy and that consequently traders rarely went there; the criticism is obviously based on a general comparison with Chinese customs duties and should not be pressed far; for we have much other evidence on the flourishing condition of the foreign trade of South India and on the presence of small settlements of foreign merchants in port-towns. There are in existence accounts of several exchanges of missions between South India and the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan, all of which followed the sea-route and were partly commercial and partly diplomatic in character, but as these relate almost exclusively to the period of Pāṇḍyan ascendancy and have little direct connection with the Cōḷa kingdom, they need not be detailed here. For the same reason, the account of Ma'bar given by Marco Polo, very interesting and important in itself, deserves only a passing mention in a study of Cōḷa history.

Benjamin of Tudela states that Chulam was seventeen days by sea from Kish; Chulam may therefore be Quilon or some other port more to the north on the west coast of India and probably subject to Cōḷa rule. Of the people of this place, their government and country, Benjamin observes:[77] 'They are descendants of Khush, are addicted to astrology and are all black. This nation is very trustworthy in matters of trade, and whenever foreign merchants enter their port, three secretaries of the king immediately repair on board the vessels, write down their names and report them to him; the king thereupon grants them security for their property, which they may even leave in the open fields, without any guard. One of the king's officers sits in the market, and receives goods that may have been found anywhere, and which he returns to those applicants who can minutely describe them. This custom is observed in the whole empire of the king.' Regarding the hours of business, Benjamin also says: 'From Easter to new year (from April to October), during the whole of the summer the heat is extreme. From the third hour of the day (nine o'clock in the morning) people

shut themselves up in their houses until the evening at which time everybody goes out. The streets and markets are lighted up and the inhabitants employ all the night upon their business which they are prevented from doing in the day time, in consequence of excessive heat.'

There is perhaps no better evidence of the partial nature of our Indian sources than our being thrown almost exclusively on Arab and Chinese sources for our knowledge of this most important aspect of national life, viz. the foreign trade of the Cōḷa empire.

1. 263 of 1910.
2. 147 of 1895.
3. 71 of 1896.
4. 23, 24 of 1919; *TAS*, i, pp. 162-4, 247-8; 239 of 1925.
5. 207 of 1897.
6. Museum plates of Uttama Cōḷa.
7. 9 of 1898.
8. *SII.* iii, 64.
9. 281 of 1911.
10. 233 of 1915.
11. 363 of 1907.
12. 203 of 1908.
13. *SII.* iii, 15, l. 2.
14. 47 of 1888.
15. 71 of 1897.
16. 189, 192 of 1897.
17. 547 of 1902; 550 of 1902.
18. 505 of 1922.
19. 28 of 1927.
20. 120 of 1930.
21. 601 of 1902.
22. 131 of 1926.

22a. *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal—, Land— en Volkenkunde*. Deel; lxxiv, 1934, pp. 614-8.

23. 651 of 1916.
24. 82 of 1907.
25. *EC.* iv, Hg. 17; vii, Sk. 118.
26. 342 of 1912. Another *eṛi-vira-pattina* was Muttukura in the same neighbourhood (321 of 1912).
27. 256 of 1912. The part of the inscription recording these privileges is very obscure in its language.
28. 521 of 1912.
29. 512 of 1911.

30. *EI.* vii, pp. 197-8.
31. Hudson—*Europe and China,* p. 265.
32. *SII.* iii, Museum plates of Uttama Cōḷa and 171 of 1894.
33. 343 of 1917.
34. 82 of 1906.
35. Parimēlaḻagar on *Kuṟaḷ,* 756.
36. 105 of 1925.
37. 187 of 1925.
38. *SII.* ii, Intr. p. 17, 255 of 1921; 8 of 1897—grain rate. 147 of 1906 gives the rate ⅛ *kāśu* per *kāśu;* 1 of 1893 gives ⅛ *tiramam* per *kāśu* per month.
39. 75 of 1893; 164, 169, 172, 179 of 1912; 176 of 1915; 216 of 1921. 19 of 1907 calls the rate *dharmap-polišai.*
40. *SII.* iii, 128—ll. 36-7.
41. 16 of 1899. 57 of 1928 gives the rate 10 *kāśus* on 40; also 518 of 1920.
42. 203 of 1925.
43. 193 of 1925. 281 of 1910 also gives a 50% rate.
44. 179 of 1912.
45. 316 of 1903.
46. 58 of 1897.
47. 90 of 1928.
48. Museum Plates, ll. 28-34.
49. 30 *kalams* per 100 called *dharmap-polišai* in 506 of 1920.
50. 232 of 1923.
51. *SII.* I, 84, and 67 of 1895.
52. 273 of 1910.
53. 54 of 1893.
54. 512 of 1911, (*EC.* ix, Cp. 129).
55. 577 of 1920; also 379 of 1922.
55a. *SII.* iv. No. 504; v. No. 885; vi. Nos. 59, 63, etc. (references supplied by S. Deśikavināyakam Piḷḷai).
56. 458 of 1905.
57. 219 of 1894; 305 of 1911, 522 of 1922 etc.
58. 137 of 1923.
59. 486 of 1902.
60. Chau Ju-kua, pp. 7-8.
61. *ibid.,* p. 9, n. 1.
62. Ferrand—*Voyage,* pp. 14-15.
63. Chau Ju-kua, p. 18.
64. The modern Tahiri, 27° 38′. N., 52° 20′ E.
65. Wilson—*The Persian Gulf,* p. 94.
66. Ferrand—*Voyage,* p. 138.
67. Chau Ju-kua, p. 19.
68. Chau Ju-kua, p. 101, *n.* 11.
69. p. 96.
70. Chau Ju-kua, p. 100.
71. Wilson—*The Persian Gulf,* p. 94.

72. R. H. Major: *India in the Fifteenth Century,* Intrn. pp. xlv—l. Also Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 98-9.

73. 556 of 1904. The import of war-horses may have begun earlier under the Kadambas and the Pallavas. The reference in *Pallavāśva-samsthena kalahena* of the Tālgunda inscription of Kākusthavarman (*EI.* viii, p. 32 l. 4) and some ancient sculptures may be recalled in this connection. Also *Paṭṭinappālai,* l. 185.

74. 196 of 1928; 182 of 1926.

75. *T'oung Pao,* xv, p. 419.

75a. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (1933), pp. 5-11.

76. p. 96.

77. R. H. Major, *ibid.*

Chapter XXIII

COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The absence of prominent land-marks in the numismatic history of Southern India, and the small proportion of inscribed specimens of coins discovered so far have stood in the way of a scientific treatment of the coinage of the South. At the same time the relative richness of epigraphical material has contributed to make the study of South Indian history largely independent of the always difficult and none too certain conclusions of numismatics.

Two weight standards.

Two weight systems are traceable from the ancient coins of the South. 'The gold *gadyāṇa* coin of the Deccan averages 58 grains, the heaviest reaching 60·1 grains'; this was the standard unit called *gadyāṇa* or *kaḻañju* in the Tamil country.[1] If the weight of the lost gold coin of Uttama Cōḻan figured by Elliot[2] is correctly recorded as 50 to 60 grains, this coin must have followed the old *gadyāṇa* standard and must have remained in circulation late in the tenth century. The survival to late times of a small cess called *Kumārakaccāṇam*[3] may be accepted as confirmation of the same fact. But in the Cōḻa period the more usual standard was the *kaḻañju* of twenty *mañjāḍis* equal in theory to 72 grains, but sometimes going up to 80.[4] It is apparently this unit of bullion weight that is employed in an inscription of the thirtieth year of Parāntaka I which equates the *kaḻañju* with the *niṣka* (Sanskrit).[5] When exactly the Cōḻa currency was brought into line with this weight standard does not admit of precise determination.

Pon; māḍai.

By the side of several inscriptions which seem to employ the *kaḻañju* in recording payments by weight, there are some which mention the *pon* and equate it to the *kaḻañju*, implying thereby that the *pon* was coined gold of the full weight of one *kaḻañju*.[6] This coin was also called *madhurāntakadēvan-māḍai*, served as the standard of fineness for testing gold,[7] and yielded the same interest as one *kaḻañju* of fine gold. This coin is men-

tioned in the thirty-first year of Rājarājadēva,[8] and if this king was Rājarāja I, as seems likely, its issue must have been commenced under his predecessor Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa.

Kāśu.

Exactly half of this *māḍai* was the Rājarājan *kāśu*,[9] issued apparently by Rājarāja I. But the *kāśu* of this weight and fineness was certainly in use earlier than the time of Rājarāja I. A record[10] of the fourth year of Āditya II mentions that twenty *kāśus* were equal to ten *kaḷañjus*. It was in vogue after Rājarāja also, as the same relation between the *kāśu* and *kaḷañju* reappears in some of the later inscriptions.[11] In fact both the *māḍai* and the *kāśu*, the standard gold coins of the realm, were issued by each one of the Cōḷa kings of the period before 1070 —the different issues being distinguished in epigraphy by the names of the kings being prefixed to those of the coins in question: thus we have expressions like the *māḍai* of Rājarāja,[12] the *māḍai* of Rājēndraśōḷan,[13] a phrase which by the way makes it more likely that the *madhurāntakadēvan-māḍai* was issued by Rājarāja's predecessor, *anṟāḍu-nāṟkāśu* meaning 'good current *kāśu*', and *paḷangāsu* ('old *kāśu*')[14] and sometimes even *anṟāḍu-(naṟ)-paḷangāśu*, current (good) old *kāśu*, in later inscriptions.[15]

The *madhurāntakan māḍai* was still current in the reign of Kulōttunga I;[16] and it is said to have been equivalent to the *kaḷañju* of the fineness of 9½ *māṟi* or two *kāśus*.[17] That this high standard was not maintained at all times in the actual currency goes without saying, and the inscriptions give valuable evidence on the extent of the departure from the standard at different times and places.

An accidental discovery in 1946 in the village of Dhavalēśvaram (E. Godavari Dt.) brought to light a fine hoard of which only 127 gold coins could be recovered. Here is a genuine collection of ancient gold coins which have elsewhere mostly disappeared in the goldsmith's crucible. The coins are all of fine gold—thin round discs bearing a *lāñchana* in the middle, and letters round the margin, all punched on one side of the disc, the other side being left blank. There are 49 coins of Rājarāja I, the Eastern Cāḷukya king (Nos. 5 and 6 on the plate) which

call for no remark; they bear the regnal years 33, 34 and 35 corresponding to A.D. 1055-57 as Rājarāja is known to have celebrated his coronation in 1022 with the aid of Rājēndra I Cōḷa. The remaining coins fall into two sets with different inscriptions in Tamil-grantha but one and the same *lāñchana* in the centre of the field which is clearly the Cōḷa mark. The inscriptions on one set (Nos. 1 and 2) read:

kaṁ-gai-ko-ṇḍa-cō-ḷan

and bear regnal years ranging from 28 to 33; these are obviously issues of Rājēndra I and the regnal years correspond to A.D. 1040-45. There are other figures above the regnal year such as 4000 and 11 of which the significance is not clear; so also there are some letters with the *lāñchana* in the centre which await explanation. The second set of 46 coins bears the inscription:

ma-la (i) -nā-ḍu-ko-ṇḍa-cō-ḷan

and bears regnal years ranging from 34 to 36. From their association these coins are easily attributed to Rājakēsari Rājādhirāja I who was recognised as heir apparent by his father Rājēndra I in 1018 and who continued to rule jointly with his father till about 1044 and then for ten years more in his own right till he fell on the battle-field of Koppam. It will be recalled that Rājarāja I Cāḷukya had a troubled reign and had to appeal for Cōḷa aid on many occasions against the aggressions of the Western Cāḷukyas and Vijayāditya VII. Rājādhirāja must have taken the title *malai-nāḍu-koṇḍa* by virtue of the wars he waged for his father in Kēraḷa, and the title must have been chosen for being put on his coins to distinguish them from Rājēndra's issue. It is not known if these coins which closely follow the fabric of Eastern Cāḷukya coins were minted for circulation in the Vēṅgī country only or went into more general use.

Local issues.

From the reign of Kulōttunga I, several other types of *māḍais* make their appearance in the inscriptions, and these were undoubtedly issued by local rulers who were feudatories of the Cōḷa empire. Examples of such issues are: the *jayamāḍa* mentioned in a record from Cebrōlu dated Ś. 998;[18] the *uttama-gaṇḍa-māḍa* of a Bāpatla inscription;[19] the *cāmara-māḍa* and the *biruda-*

māḍa in somewhat later records from the same place;[20] the *nakki-māḍa* mentioned in an inscription from Kāñcīpuram, dated in the fourteenth year of Rājādhirāja II,[21] and recording a gift from a chieftain from Ganga-maṇḍalam, who had the title Bhujabalavīran; the *Bhujabala-māḍai*, first mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Kulōttunga, perhaps the third of that name, from Nandalūr;[22] and in later records from Kāñcīpuram and Tiruppālaivanam;[23] the *paḷam-puḷḷi-māḍai* of a record from Tirumullaivāyil dated 1232;[24] and the *gaṇḍa-gōpālan-māḍai* obviously issued by the Telugu-Cōḍa chieftains of Nellore who were contemporary with Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III.[25]

By a dexterous use of two inscriptions of the same time and locality, Codrington seeks to establish that the fineness of the *madhurāntakan-māḍai* was roughly about 8⅜ *māttu;*[26] but this contradicts the express statement of the inscription of Kulōttunga's reign cited above, and it is not improbable that two different *kāśus* are meant by the two records though they stand so close to each other, and that the standard of fineness adopted in both cases was the same, in other words, that *śembon* of one of these records was of the same fineness as the *madhurāntakan māḍai* of 9½ *māttu*. Codrington adds: 'Now none of the Cōḷa coins even approach this standard, and it seems possible that this *māḍai* was a unit of account equal to a *kaḷañju* of gold of the touch mentioned, and had ceased to have any connection with the progressively debased coinage.' This conclusion can hardly be accepted as correct, if it implies that the *kāśu* of proper fineness was not actually issued from the royal mints for circulation. Considering that as late as the thirty-fifth year of Rājādhirāja I[27], A.D. 1053, the standard *kāśu* was still current and that a heavier *kāśu*, equal to ¾ *kaḷañju* and 3 *mañjāḍis*, is sometimes mentioned in the records,[28] while a lighter *kāśu* of seven *mañjāḍis* was also known,[29] the real explanation for the prevalence of different units of currency must be sought elsewhere. As Codrington has himself observed 'it seems probable that each province of the empire retained its local currency' and its relation to the standard currency was a matter for calculation on each separate occasion. That few coins of the high standard of fineness of the *māḍai* have reached us is perhaps due to no other reason than this, that no old coins that were at all fit for the

gold-smith's brazier had any chance of survival through many centuries; it is probable that a good part of the Dhavalēśvaram hoard mentioned above has also disappeared in this manner.

The standard *kāśu*, moreover, derived ultimately from Ceylon which had a more ancient and continuous currency tradition than the Cōḷa kingdom which came up in the ninth and tenth centuries. The *īḻak-kāśu*, Ceylon *kāśu*, which was also half-a-*kaḻañju* of the fineness of the *māḍai*[30], was current in the island as early as the seventh and eighth centuries; it is also mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions from about A.D. 937 in the reign of Parāntaka I.[31] There was close contact between Ceylon and the Madura country for centuries before Parāntaka's conquest of Madura, and the introduction of this coin into Cōḷa currency must have been the result of Parāntaka's invasion of Madura and the island of Ceylon.[32] From the actual specimens of coins known, the Ceylon type 'with a rude human figure standing on the obverse, and seated on the reverse' and the traditional Cōḷa type with the seated tiger, fish and bow emblems, both may be seen to have existed side by side almost from the beginning, the Ceylon type being specially suited for circulation in the Pāṇḍyan country where it may have been long known before. However that may be, the main thing was the adoption of the Ceylon standard, and this took place apparently much earlier than the time of Rājarāja.[33]

Karungāśu.

Besides the gold coins *māḍai* and *kāśu* and others of local provenance and uncertain standard, the inscriptions mention *'Karungāśu'* or *'Īḻakkarungāśu'*, the black *kāśu* of Ceylon.[34] This coin is also apparently traceable to Ceylon, where the *'nīla kahāpaṇa'*, a silver coin of the *gadyāṇa* standard in weight, is known to have been in circulation from very early times.[35] Some of the impure silver coins of the Cōḷas now known may be assigned to this series, full-weight or half, as the case may be.[36] Copper coins issued by the Cōḷas conforming more to the standard of the *gadyāṇa* than of the *kaḻañju* are figured by Elliot and other writers.

In an inscription of the thirty-third year of Parāntaka I from the Madura district,[37] we are told that the *Īḻak-kāśu*

was the equivalent of 7½ new *akkams*. What sort of a coin the *akkam* was is not easily decided. It is again mentioned in a record[38] of Āditya II, but without any relation to other units. In the days of Rājarāja, however, the *akkam* was definitely a twelfth of the *kāśu*,[39] and therefore a twenty-fourth of the *Kaḷañju*. It is obvious that the term *akkam* is applied to coins of different value in the Madura and the Tanjore inscriptions of Parāntaka and Rājarāja; for there is much support, as we have seen, from epigraphy for holding that the *Īḷak-kāśu* of Parāntaka's time and Rājarāja's *kāśu* were of the same value and fineness.[40]

Spread of Cōḷa currency.

With the growth of the Cōḷa empire as a result of the conquests of Rājarāja I, the currency system of the Cōḷas was extended over the whole empire, including its feudatory provinces. The new standard was adopted for instance in the Vēṅgī country about A.D. 1000;[41] 'the weight of Rājarāja's coin is found also beyond the limits of his empire, for example, in the gold pieces of the Western Cāḷukya Jagadēkamalla and of the Kadambas of Goa.[42] The *āḍavalam gadyāṇa* of the Kongāḷvas[43] in the eleventh century as opposed to *gadyāṇa* perhaps refers to the Cōḷa reformed gold coin.'[44] On the other hand, the local varieties of other areas are found intruding on occasions into the heart of the Cōḷa empire; about A.D. 1049, an Eastern Cāḷukya prince presented to the temple at Tiruvaiyāṟū a sum of 300 Rājarājamāḍas equal to 337½ *kaḷañjus* by the *kuḍiñaikal*.[45]

Ratio between gold and silver.

An inscription of the tenth year of Kulōttunga I from the Chingleput district gives the ratio between the standard *kāśu* and silver bullion by stating that 433 *kaḷañjus* of silver formed the equivalent of 100 *kāśus*, so that 1 *kaḷañju* of gold, probably of the standard fineness of 9½ *māttu*, was equal to 8·66 *kaḷañjus* of silver.[46]

Examples of various types of the gold *kāśu* deviating more or less from the standard have been given already. The gold content of the *kāśu* is clearly stated in several inscriptions, and it seems probable that in such statements, the standard of fineness adopted was that of the *māḍai;* this is, however, expressly mentioned only in some cases. About

A.D. 1063, inscriptions from the North Arcot district seem to mention two varieties of *kāśu* containing 8·356 and 7 *mañjāḍis* respectively of standard gold;[47] a *kāśu* of a little over 6 *mañjāḍis* occurs in an inscription of 1077 from Tiruvorṟiyūr,[48] of 6·813 *mañjāḍis* in a record 1111 from Tiruvāḍuturai;[49] and of exactly 6½ *mañjāḍis* in 1122 at Tiruvārūr.[50] Another inscription from the Tanjore district, A.D. 1133, mentions a *kāśu* of the weight of three-fourths of a *kaḷañju*,[51] a coin which seems to have still kept up the weight of the old *māḍai* of the *gadyāṇa* standard. Even so late as 1152 a *kāśu* of the gold content of a third of a *kaḷañju* is mentioned in an inscription from Ālanguḍi.[51a]

Debasement.

These coins with a substantial gold content are, however, exceptional instances of the survival of old issues or very limited new issues minted from time to time; for the general history of Cōḷa currency seems to have been marked by a progressive deterioration. While the 'Ceylon type' issues of Rājarāja I are usually of fairly good gold, all the available specimens of later monarchs beginning from Rājādhirāja I are of very base gold, 'or rather silver washed with gold.'[52]

The new *kāśu*.

From the time of Kulōttunga III, the term *kāśu* comes to be applied to a copper coin of rather low value and its content must have varied greatly from place to place, or, what seems equally likely, with each issue. While two to three *paḷangāśus* were quite enough to endow a lamp in this period,[53] 1100 current *kāśus* were needed for a lamp being maintained during services in a temple, and 9000 for a perpetual lamp.[54] In another case, 200 new *kāśus* sufficed for a lamp.[55] An inscription of the twentieth year of Rājēndra III states that the *kaḷañju* of gold was then equal to 411 7|13 *kāśus*.[56] And a Pāṇḍya inscription of the thirteenth century from the Salem district (Āragaḷūr) states that one hundred *Śōḷiya kāśus* went to the *faṇam*.[57] Coppers of various sizes usually with the legend Rājarāja on them can still be picked up easily in the bazaars of South Indian cities, and they, no doubt, are the *kāśus* of these later Cōḷa inscriptions. Of the copper issues of the later monarchs, Codrington says[58] that they are 'of the same design as the coins of Rājarāja I, but the human figure is more degraded and the legend roughly executed, the *Ja* sometimes being

reversed. In the degradation of the type various stages are visible, and it is probable that the coins were issued by various later kings following the old model without alteration of name. The better executed and presumably older specimens with a flat blank about ·76 inch in width, and a weight of some 63 grains, may be the new *kāśu* or rather its double.'

Tiramam.

The *tiramam* is occasionally found mentioned in inscriptions; it is not clear if it was a coin or only a smaller unit of reckoning. At Kāñcīpuram, in A.D. 1076, six *tiramams* went to the *kāśu*.[59] while more than forty years later, the *kāśu* was the equal of seven *tiramams*[60] in the Ramnad district.

Multiplicity of weight systems,

Though the weight and fineness of the standard gold coin of the realm were fairly determinate, there still existed a large variety of systems of weighing and assaying. Without stopping to give an exhaustive account of these systems, a few examples may be given to illustrate the general conditions that prevailed. The mention of *Viḍēlviḍugu-kal* used for weighing gold at Kumaravayalur in the Trichinopoly area[60a] in an inscription of Āditya I may be some indication that continuity in the system of weights and measures was ordinarily sought to be maintained irrespective of dynastic changes. In the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja, two different weight units are found used, the *āḍavallān* for weighing gold and the *dakṣiṇamēruviṭankan* for jewels. Outside Tanjore may be noticed the 'stone used for weighing Rājarājan-kāśu' at Tiruvārūr,[61] the *vaiyagattār-kal* at Tirumalavāḍi,[62] the *viḍēlviḍugu-kal* at Tiruccenduṟai[63] and Paḷuvūr[64] and the *kempōnāgarasu-niṟai* at Taḍi-maḷingi,[65] or simply the stone used in this village of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdi-mangalam (Tiruveṟumbūṟ).[66] The absolute weights of these different units are not easily determined, but they all used the same denominations of *kaḷañju* divided into 20 *mañjāḍis*, each *mañjāḍi* being the equivalent of two *kunṟis*. The fineness of gold is likewise expressed in different ways. The fineness of the *māḍai* and that of *śembon* (red-gold) have already been mentioned. Of these, the term 'red gold' was applied to gold purified and tested according to certain prescribed methods;[67] apparently it was the same as *tuḷai-pon* or *tuḷai-niṟai-pon*. Some-

and standards of fineness of gold.

times, the fineness is explained in terms of touch—as nine *māttu* by the *kāśu-niṟai-kal*.[68] 'Of the fineness of *paḷangāśu*' and 'of the fineness prescribed by the (royal) treasury' (*tālaccemmai*)[69] are other expressions that are employed in the early inscriptions of the period. There was thus no uniformity either in the actual units of gold currency in circulation or in the standard of weight and fineness adopted in different areas for the regulation of local transactions. The need for 'gold committees' which were set up by different village-assemblies for testing gold is thus clear.

Other measures.

The same diversity of usage marks the systems of land, liquid and grain measures adopted in different areas. The *nilam* or *vēli*, called *vāṭikā* in Sanskrit in the Anbil plates, was the unit measure of land.[70] It was divided into $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, 1|20, 1|80, and 1|320, a secondary series (the first *kīḻ*) of 1|320 of this primary series, and a tertiary $(1|320)^2$ (the second *kīḻ*) of the same;[71] even a third *kīḻ* series $(1|320)^3$ seems to be occasionally employed.[72]

How exactly the measurement of land was carried out to such minute accuracy is not known. But the system of measurement by *vēli* which was an ancient one in the Cōḷa country spread over the other parts of Southern India with the Cōḷa empire and apparently disappeared with it. Cōḷa inscriptions in the Pāṇḍya country for instance used this system, which is not found there either before or after the Cōḷas. For all the minute care bestowed in the inscriptions from Tanjore and elsewhere on the fractional sub-divisions of the *vēli*, the extent of the *vēli* seems itself to have been somewhat indeterminate. The length of the rod (*kōl*) used is gathered from expressions like the 16-span-*kōl*,[73] the *kaḍigaik-kaḷattu-kōl*,[74] *śrī-pāda-kōl*,[75] the *māḷigai-kōl*,[76] and so on. Not only did the extent of the *kuḻi* differ with the length of the measuring rod used, but the number of *kuḻis* that made up a *mā* or *śeru*,[77] the twentieth of the *vēli*, also varied considerably. In Kīḻūr in South Arcot, the *mā* contained 256 *kuḻis* by the 16 span rod in the sixth year of Rājēndra I;[78] in the same year in the Tanjore district (Tiruvāḍuturai) one hundred *kuḻis* by the *māḷigaikōl* made up the *mā*.[79] About twelve years later, in Tiruvāmāttūr not far from Kīḻūr, 200 *kuḻis* by the 16 span rod were reckoned to the *mā*.[80] In land-measures, as

in currency, therefore, the same tendency to standardisation on the part of the central government can be traced by the side of the persistence of local usage. The *māḷigai-kōl* (the rod of the palace), and the 100-kuḷi-mā as well as the spread of the *vēli*-unit outside the Cōḷa country proper may be taken as evidence of the attempt to impose a uniform system on the provinces. In the temple at Tiruvālangāḍu in the Tanjore district the length of the standard *kōl* (rod) is marked on the stone wall and on the *gōpuram*, to conform to the *kōl* found engraved on the wall of the Tanjore temple.[81]

How little these efforts at standardisation succeeded is clear from the chaos of measuring standards revealed by the later Cōḷa inscriptions. At Tiruvorṟiyūr, in A.D. 1072, the *vēli* comprised 2000 *kuḷis* by the sixteen-span rod;[82] while in 1204 it is equated to 6⅛ *pāḍagams* in Uttaramērūr.[83] The *mā* was made up of 138 *kuḷis* in 1097 at Tirukkaḍaiyūr,[84] and of 128 *kuḷis* by the standard of the *sabhā* of Tiruvāḍuturai in 1110,[85] the same *sabhā* employing in the very next year another measure by which the *mā* was 100 *kuḷis*.[86] Again, in the South Arcot district, the *mā* was reckoned at 512 *kuḷis* by the fourteen span rod in 1138;[87] and the same number of *kuḷis* to the *mā* is found in a record from Muniyūr (Tanjore district) in 1220, the length of the rod, however, not being specified in this case.[88] And a *mā* of 513 *kuḷis* is found in Vaḷuvūr in the same district in the reign of Rājādhirāja II.[89] This list is by no means exhaustive; it is seldom that we have the data for converting one unit into another as is found in some records of the *sabhā* of Tiruvāḍuturai which equate 4½ *mās* of their measure to six *mās* of the survey, and six *mās* and a *kāṇi* to eight *mās* according to the general survey which took 100 *mās* to the *kuḷi*.[90]

The same characteristic marks the liquid and grain measures used in different places, and numerous kinds of *nāḷi* and *marakkāl* find mention in the inscriptions. From the Tanjore inscriptions it becomes clear that the *Āḍavallān* equal to *Rājakēsari* was adopted as the standard in the accounts of the capital city and perhaps of the empire in the time of Rājarāja I. Possibly, the same measure is referred to as *Arumoḷidēvan* in the reigns of Rājēndra and Rājādhirāja.[91] though the name *Rājakēsari* also continued in use.[92] The distinction between this standard measure *Rājakēsari* and an-

other called *Vīdiviḍangan* is clearly brought out in a record of the twenty-sixth year of Rājarāja I from Tiruvāmāttūr stating that a surplus was left as a result of measuring paddy by the *Vīdiviḍangan* instead of by the *Rājakēsari*.[93] *Kōmaḷam* (Covelong) and *Kacci-ppēḍu-ninṟān* were other measures used in Chingleput.[94] It would seem, however, that better success attended the effort to standardise liquid and grain measures than in other directions; at any rate, after the reign of Rājarāja I the inscriptions seem to mention fewer varieties of these measures than of land measures or gold weights.

The *āḍu*.

Another standardised unit of value was, strangely enough, the *āḍu* (lit. sheep) which was the equivalent of a sum enough to yield one measure of *ghī* per annum as interest; in the sixteenth year of Rājēndra I, 25 *kāśus* were equal to 22½ such *āḍus*,[95] giving as many measures of *ghī* in the year. The fractional *āḍus* (sheep) mentioned in inscriptions[96] can be understood only if they are taken to be fractions of a monetary unit, and not of the live animal.

The year.

The year is reckoned generally at 360 days, but instances also occur where calculations are based on a year of 365 days.[97] It is well known that Hindu astronomical works like the *Sūryasiddhānta* and the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi* mention, among others, both these reckonings and prescribe the particular purposes for which each may be used. In the Cōḷa inscriptions, however, we find both reckonings used for the same purpose, *e.g.*, for calculating the quantity of *ghī* necessary for the maintenance of lamps.

TABLES OF MAIN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

1. Liquid and grain measure :—

2 śeviḍu	=	1 piḍi
5 śeviḍu	=	1 āḷākku
2 āḷākku	=	1 uḷakku
2 uḷakku	=	1 uri
2 uri	=	1 nāḷi
8 nāḷi	=	1 kuṟuṇi
2 kuṟuṇi	=	1 padakku
2 padakku	=	1 tūṇi or kāḍi[98]
3 tūṇi	=	1 kalam

2. Weight of gold :—

One mañjāḍi = 2 kunṟi = 10 mā = 40 kāṇi.

Twenty mañjāḍi = one kaḷañju (about 68 to 72 grains).

Note.—The *mā* and *kāṇi* are usually 1|20 and 1|80 when applied to a *vēli* of land. Hultzsch conjectures (*SII.* ii, p. 65 n.) very plausibly that originally the *mā* and *kāṇi* had the same fractional value even here, and were subdivisions of a unit of 2 *mañjāḍis* or a tenth of the *kaḷañju;* coins called *faṇams* were usually a tenth of the standard *kaḷañju* in weight; and the *paṇa-tūkkam* (paṇam-weight) has always been a tenth of the *kaḷañju.* In 273 of 1927 (Vik. 3, Śivapuram) the *mā* is really 1|20 *kāśu.*

3. Linear measure used in measuring icons: —

8 tōrai (rice-corn)	=	one viral (finger).
12 viral	=	one śāṇ (span).
2 śāṇ	=	one muḻam (cubit).

1. Codrington—*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pp. 6-7.
2. *CSI.* No. 151.
3. *TAS.* i, p. 165; 182 of 1915.
4. Codrington, pp. 3 and 7.
5. *SII.* iii, 104; also 181 of 1912.
6. 49 of 1888, 54 of 1893, etc. *contra* Codrington:—'The early mediaeval *pon* seems to be a *kaḷañju* of gold, and not necessarily a coin'. (p. 52).
7. 140 of 1912; *ARE.* 1913, II, 22.
8. 252 of 1915.
9. 141 of 1912. Mentioned also in 484 of 1925, A.D. 1054.
10. 241 of 1923.
11. 203 of 1925; 228 of 1923.
12. 104 of 1925. This *māḍai* is used as the standard of fineness in 671 of 1919.
13. 203 of 1925.
14. 629 of 1916; 484 of 1925.
15. 71 of 1926; 217 of 1901; 329 of 1929.
16. 17 of 1893; 180 of 1911. *ARE.* 1936-7 II. 27.
17. 90 of 1928.
18. 151 of 1897.
19. 236 of 1897.
20. 210 of 1897; 176 of 1897.
21. 48 of 1893.
22. 586 of 1907.
23. 360 of 1919, 311 of 1929. *ARE.* 1929, II, 38.
24. 674 of 1904.
25. 266 of 1921, and several others.
26. *op. cit.* p. 86.
27. 228 of 1923.
28. 105 of 1925; also 571 of 1904 for a *kāśu* of slightly less value. Both of Rājarāja I.
29. 5 of 1890.
30. 25 and 156 of 1895; also 252 of 1915. The word *Īḻam* came to mean 'gold' in Tamil; and this sense is known to the *Divākaram;* but I have not come across any early use of the word in this sense. Can it be that the meaning was derived from the fact that the *Īḻak-kāśu* was a gold coin?
31. 435 of 1904.
32. Codrington, p. 73.
33. *Contra* Codrington, p. 84. It is perhaps worth noting that the so-called Lankēśvara type of Rājarāja I (Desikachari, *South Indian Coins,* p. 183) is not a Cōḷa coin, but most probably belongs to the Ceylonese *Kahāvaṇu* series and that the legend on it is now read as 'Śrī Lanka Vibhu'. Codrington. *op. cit.* p. 54. Unfortunately, Desikachari does not give the weight of his specimen of this type. The copper '*Kōdaṇḍarāma*' coins (Desikachari, p. 66) are also clearly Pāṇḍyan, not Cōḷa.
34. *SII.* iii, 120; 242 of 1907; 238 and 266 of 1923.
35. Codrington, pp. 13-4.

36. Elliot, No. 152 is full weight; so also Nos. 26 and 27 described by Hultzsch at *IA.* 1896, p. 321 which from the title Cōḷa-nārāyaṇa may now be ascribed to Rājarāja who gets the same title in one of the Mysore inscriptions. One coin at p. 317 *IA.* 1896 is half weight, 30 gr. Another, in the same place, of 51½ grains, is near Elliot No. 153 which is 52·2 grains.

37. *SII.* iii, 106. This *kāśu* is also mentioned in 435 of 1904, year 30.

38. 275 of 1923. The *Aka* was again a fraction piece of the Ceylon *Kahāvaṇuva,* and, like the *kāśu,* may have been derived from there. Codrington, p. 58.

39. *SII.* ii, 7.

40. Codrington has demonstrated conclusively (pages 71-74) that the Cōḷas borrowed their standard from Ceylon where it had a long and continuous history before the Cōḷa occupation. The older view that 'its use was established in Ceylon, as a result of the Cōḷa occupation of the island' (Rapson) is therefore the exact reverse of the truth. See also Smith (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*) *IMC.* I, pp. 327-8.

A careful study of the epigraphical evidence, however, does not seem to support Codrington's theory of the reform of the coinage by Rājarāja I, (sect. 23, p. 7) which rests so far as I am able to see on two facts: (a) the mention of *paḻangāśu* in 629 of 1916 of the 27th year of the king and (b) the weight of the lost gold coin (Elliot No. 151) with the *grantha* legend Uttama-śōḻan (pages 7 and 74). These facts are susceptible of other explanations, and the fixed relation of the Cōḷa kāśu=Īḻakkāśu=½ kaḻañju is anterior to Rājarāja's time as is seen from 25 of 1895 of the 24th year of Parāntaka I, 156 of 1895 and 241 of 1923, of the time Parāntaka II (Sundara Cōḷa) and Āditya II respectively.

The *nāgari* legends on the Cōḷa coins seem to appear first under Rājarāja I replacing *grantha* legends of the earlier period, cf. the woodcut of the Uttama-Cōḷa gold coin in *CSI.* It is not possible to decide if this marks a further stage in the growth of Ceylonese influence on Cōḷa coinage, or, what is equally, if not more, probable, the result of North Indian Śaiva influences beginning to operate in the Cōḷa court. On the latter hypothesis, the *nāgari* script must have first been employed on the mainland, and thence spread to Ceylon.

41. *IA.* xxv, p. 321.

42. *IMC.* I, pp. 313-4.

43. *EC.* i, 49.

44. Codrington, p. 8.

45. 221 of 1894. The Cōḷa *māḍa* was just one *kaḻañju* by this *kal.* 144 of 1925.

46. 211 of 1922.

47. 157 of 1916; 5 of 1890.

48. 401 of 1896.

49. 150 of 1925.

50. 563 of 1904.

51. 509 of 1912; Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 85.

51a. 521 of 1920.

52. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 73.

53. 40 of 1900; 449 of 1902.

54. 264 of 1913; 63 of 1892.
55. 449 of 1902.
56. 522 of 1922.
57. 439 of 1913.
58. *op. cit.* p. 85.
59. 1 of 1893.
60. 284 of 1923.
60a. 141 of 1936-7, *ARE.* II. 20.
61. 680 of 1919.
62. 1 of 1920.
63. 316 of 1903.
64. 353 of 1918.
65. 491 of 1911.
66. 100 of 1892.
67. *SII.* iii, p. 229 n. 5.
68. *TAS.* iv, pp. 139-41.
69. 50 of 1925; 356 of 1924.
70. The Tanjore *vēli* today is 6·7 acres. Possibly the ancient unit was not different.
71. *SII.* ii, p. 48 *nn.*
72. *SII.* ii, p. 64, paragraph 15.
73. 261 of 1902; 344 of 1912; 18 of 1922; *SII.* iii. 64. Fourteen spans in 229 of 1910, twenty in 413 of 1922; twelve in 104 of 1928.
74. 160 and 172 of 1921.
75. 87 of 1900.
76. 99 of 1914; 102 of 1925.
77. 250 of 1902.
78. 261 of 1902.
79. 102 of 1925.
80. 18 of 1922.
81. 93, 97 of 1926.
82. *SII.* iii, 64.
83. 76 of 1898.
84. 243 of 1925.
85. 155 of 1925. This record says that 4½ *mās* of this measure were equal to six *mās* by the general survey; is this only an approximation?
86. 150 of 1925.
87. 179-81 of 1918.
88. 607 of 1902.
89. 428 of 1912.
90. 155 and 144 of 1925.
91. 401 of 1921; 262 of 1921.
92. 140 of 1912.
93. 21 of 1922.
94. *ARE.* 1911, II, 21.
95. 78 of 1895.
96. 40 of 1888.
97. 556 of 1904, 731 of 1909, 504 of 1918.
98. 219 of 1921 (Rājarāja I, 22).

Chapter XXIV

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

The old ideal.

Universal education is a modern ideal. Modern India does not appear yet to have quite accepted it. The ancient ideal of education in India was 'to each according to his capacity', capacity being measured by the teacher in accordance not only with the pupil's individual aptitudes but his birth and station in life. What is now known as industrial or technical education was largely carried on in the homes of the artisans under conditions governed by caste rules and custom.

Literacy.

Little evidence of a direct character is available on the spread of literacy or the extent to which it was generally valued. But one may hazard the conjecture that the percentage of literacy in the population was not lower, it was probably higher[1] than the extremely low level revealed by recent censuses. The village school assembling under the shade of a tree or in the verandahs of temples and *maṭhas* was a common institution, and its teacher (*vātti*)[2] was among the staff of employees remunerated from the common land held by the village. The free school at Panaiyavaram,[3] South Arcot, mentioned in an undated record, belonged, most probably, to this type. Stone masons and copper smiths were to be found everywhere to engrave inscriptions on stone and copper, and the work was often done with remarkable accuracy and art. The corrupt and colloquial forms of words and phrases in several of the inscriptions show that the work was generally entrusted to workmen who were just literate, but were no scholars. The maintenance of the complex records of the government, local and central, and the employment for this purpose of a considerable staff of officers and clerks may have stimulated then as now the resort to scholastic education as an avenue to public employment. There can be no doubt that the elaborate bureaucracy set up by the growing Cōḷa empire perceptibly increased the demand for the services of such men.

Popular education.

Popular education in a wide sense was amply provided for by the recitation and exposition in temples and other public places of the national epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and the Purāṇas. Sometimes the elements of philosophy from the stand-point of particular sects were also similarly expounded, for instance the Śivadharma,[4] Sōmasiddhānta, and Rāmānuja-bhāṣya.

Higher education.

Higher education was generally denominational in character and pursued in schools and colleges attached to *maṭhas* and temples. The *maṭha*, the *paḷḷi* and the *vihāra* were centres of learning which often owned large libraries and transmitted by successive copyings a vast mass of manuscript literature on a variety of topics which increased in volume and diversity from generation to generation. Besides numberless little endowments for the pursuit of particular branches of study, like the Mīmāmsā of Prabhākara,[5] and grammar (Vyākaraṇa),[6] under the guidance of individual teachers, there were in existence colleges for general higher education, which provided instruction in various branches of study and comprised a large number of teachers and pupils commanding all the facilities for intellectual intercourse provided by a common life in the same place, if not also under the same roof. Even these large institutions were fully endowed and all the places in these colleges were free places filled by the most deserving pupils chosen from a group of competitors for admission to each course of study. These mediaeval South Indian colleges have not had the advantage of a full description from the pen of a curious and observant foreigner like I-tsing, or of having been buried underground for centuries and then suddenly revealed by the spade of the excavator. But contemporary inscriptions bear eloquent testimony to the great work done in their day by some of these Hindu centres of higher learning and the extent to which they enlisted the sympathy and appreciation of a thoughtful and generous public. The existence of a Vedic school, Chandoga-*kiḍaippuṛam*, endowed by a member of the village executive (*āḷunganam*) of Kāmappullur (Kāppalur, N. Arcot) with land he bought from the *sabhā*, is attested by two inscriptions of the reigns of Parāntaka I and Sundara Cōḷa.[6a] About A.D. 999,

the Mahāsabhā of Āniyūr (now Ānūr, Chingleput Dt.) provided a *bhaṭṭavṛtti* for the teaching of Veda, grammar (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*) and other subjects. The *bhaṭṭa,* it was laid down, must be well-versed in the Vedas and should be able to teach Pāṇini-vyākarana, the Alankāra, and the twenty-chapters of the Mīmāmsā. He was not only to teach his pupils but also feed them. The mention of twenty chapters of Mīmāmsā is notable; we have now only sixteen, the rest are believed to have been lost, but were still current in the reign of Rājarāja I.[6b] In the reign of Rājēndra I, the *sabhā* of Rājarājacaturvēdimangalam (Eṇṇāyiram), in South Arcot, resolved in the presence of an officer of the king's government, to arrange for the feeding of the pupils and the remuneration of the teachers of a college in accordance with the terms of an order made by the king himself.[7] From the words of the inscription it is not easy to say whether the college was founded on this occasion, or had been in existence for some time before Rājēndra came forward to give it such splendid support. However that may be, the details recorded in the inscription give an accurate idea of the strength of the college, the popularity of the different courses, the relative esteem in which teachers of different subjects were held in so far as this may be judged from their respective salaries, and the average cost of maintaining pupils of different grades. The provision in this record contemplates 270 junior students and 70 senior students and a teaching staff of 14 persons. Among the junior students, Brahmacāris, forty studied the elements of grammar according to the *Rūpāvatāra,* and the rest were learning the Vedas by rote—75 devoting themselves to the Ṛg- and 75 to the Yajur-veda, twenty to each of the Vājasanēya-, and the Chandōgā- and Talavakāra- sāmas, ten to the Atharva-Vēda and the remaining ten to the Baudāyana-*gṛhya, -kalpa,* and *gaṇa.* Each of these junior pupils was allowed six *nāḻis* of paddy per diem. The seventy senior pupils (*chātras*) had an allowance of ten *nāḻis* each, and were studying three advanced subjects—Vyākaraṇa 25, Prābhākara Mīmāmsā 35 and the Vēdānta 10. It will be noticed that, in the courses of study, while all the four Vedas are represented, there is only one *sūtra* of Ṛgveda. The use of the *Rūpāvatāra* as an introduction to the elements

Eṇṇāyiram.

of Sanskrit grammar in Rājēndra's reign,[8] the popularity of the Mīmāmsā of Prabhākara almost to the exclusion of the Bhāṭṭa school,[8a] and, if the whole college was a Vaiṣṇava institution, as most probably it was, the mention of Vēdānta of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school as a subject of study long before the great Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja came into existence, should also be noted as of particular significance to the history of Sanskrit learning in South India. Among teachers, the largest daily allowance in grain of one *kalam* and a third went to the professor of Vēdānta; the *nambis* who taught the Mīmāmsā and Vyākaraṇa came next, getting one *kalam* each. All the others were on the same level receiving only three *kuṟuṇis* or a fourth of a *kalam* per *diem*. Besides these daily allowances of grain, all the teachers and *chātras* (senior pupils) except the professor of Vēdānta got other allowances in gold —at the rate of one *kaḻañju* per *adhyāya* taught in the case of Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāmsā teachers, entitling them to 8 *kaḻañjus* and 12 *kaḻañjus* respectively for a whole course, and a half *kaḻañju* per head per annum for all the rest. To make money by teaching Vēdānta was prohibited by law and custom, and this, apparently, was the reason why no payment in gold was offered to the teacher of Vēdānta. Another college, quite similar to that at Eṇṇāyiram, was maintained at Tribhuvani, near Pondicherry.[9] There were in it 260 students and 12 teachers. The subjects of study were generally those prescribed at Eṇṇāyiram; the Prābhākaram is not mentioned, but other new subjects come in, like the Satyāṣāḍha *sūtras*, Manu *śāstra* and Vaikhānasa *śāstra*, besides *Bhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, these last being expounded to popular audiences rather than taught as school subjects. The daily allowances to students and teachers were all in grain; the junior students were allowed six measures each and the senior eight; among teachers, the professor of Vēdānta got a *kalam* and a sixth, while the others received varying allowances ranging from one *kalam* to a fourth of it. The inscription of the thirtieth year of Rājādhirāja, A.D. 1048 which records these facts, also exempts the teachers and students of the college from active service on the committees of the village-assembly in accordance with a resolution of the *sabhā*.

Tribhuvani.

Tirumukkūḍal.

Next we have the celebrated Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Vīrarājēndra, A.D. 1067.[10] This inscription contains a very detailed account of the entire budget of receipts and expenses in the local temple of Mahāviṣṇu, and the schedule of expenses included provision for a college and a hospital. The college was a comparatively small institution and only two Vedas (Ṛg and Yajus) and Vyākaraṇa with *Rūpāvatāra* were taught in it. Provision was made for one teacher and ten pupils for the studying of each of the two Vedas, and for one teacher and twenty pupils in the Vyākaraṇa school. The Veda teachers were remunerated at the rate of one *padakku* of paddy per day and four gold *kāśus* per annum, while the teacher of Vyākaraṇa was paid a *tūṇi*—twice a *padakku*—per *diem* and ten *kāśus* per annum. It is clear that the Veda school was only what is now called an *adhyayana-pāṭha-śālā*, a school where pupils are trained to repeat the text by rote. The pupils were provided not only with food on the basis of 1½ *nāḻis* of rice per *diem* and suitable side dishes, but with mats for sleeping on, oil for their heads on Saturdays (fifty-one Saturdays being counted to the year), and a night light. There were also two women servants who looked after the menial service required by the schools and their pupils.

Medical School at Tiruvāḍuturai.

An inscription of the third year of Vikramacōḻa, A.D. 1121,[11] from Tiruvāḍuturai, mentions that among persons who were to be fed in a *maṭha* in that place were students of medicine and grammar, learners of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāngahṛdaya*, of *Carakasamhitā* and of the *Rūpāvatāra*. In the thirteenth regnal year of Kulōttunga II twelve *vēlis* of land were set apart for ten Bhaṭṭas versed in Veda and *śāstra*, one Śivācārya, and one *vaidya* (physician) at Peruvēḷūr in S. Arcot; they were all provided with houses to the north and west of the temple; the endowment was made by Rājēndraśōḻa Śambuvarāyan who also provided lands for the Veḷḷāḷa tenants of these Bhaṭṭas and remitted the *pāḍikāval* fees on the *dēvadāna* and *agaram* lands.[11a] Another inscription of A.D. 1213 from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr recapitulates the legend of Śiva expounding the fourteen Vyākaraṇa *sūtras* to Pāṇini, localises the legend in the Vyākaraṇa-dāna-maṇḍapa in the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, and records

Vyākaraṇa School, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.

an endowment of sixty-five *vēlis* of land towards the maintenance of a school of Vyākaraṇa in the *maṇḍapa* and of the *maṇḍapa* itself in proper repair.[11b] From Tiruviḍaikkaḷi in the Tanjore district, we have yet another inscription, dated A.D. 1229, which provides for the free feeding in the local *maṭha* of Brahmin students of the Vēdānta from the Malabar country.[12] An undated inscription which may be assigned to the latter half of the thirteenth century mentions the foundation of a library (*Sarasvatī-bhaṇḍāram*) in the Śrīrangam temple by Pālapaḷḷi Nīlakaṇṭha Nāyakar who also set up the image of Hayagrīva, Sarasvatī, and Veda-Vyāsa in the *maṇḍapa* housing the library and provided for their daily worship.[12a] There were, besides, several endowments for rewarding merit and distinction attained in these scholastic pursuits, like the one at Kāmarasavalli, dated A.D. 998, to those who recited portions of the Talavakāra-sāma.[13] There were also other organisations of a learned character like the *Ghaṭikā* of Vembaṟṟūr[14] of which only the names have come down to us.

Tamil Studies.

While we thus find much evidence on the nature and organisation of higher studies in Sanskrit, it is somewhat disappointing that we are left with practically no tangible evidence on the state of Tamil learning; yet there can be no doubt that the numerous *maṭhas*, the names of which are recorded in inscriptions all over the country, did serve as more or less important centres for the promotion of learning, religious and secular, in the Tamil language. We may be certain that then, as now, it was one of the principal tasks of the *maṭhas* to train the bands of choristers who sang the *Tiruppadiyam* in the temples.

1. Cf. Elphinstone—*History of India*,[5] p. 205.
2. 17 of 1920.
3. 323 of 1917.
4. 321 of 1917; 403 of 1896; 493 of 1919.
5. 233 of 1911; 333 of 1923.
6. 18 of 1898; 202 of 1912.

6a. 268 and 270 of 1938-39, *ARE.* II, 12.

6b. 76 of 1932-3, *ARE.* II, 22. N. L. Rao refers me to *Mīmāmsā-Darśana*, ed. Prājña Pāṭhaśālā-maṇḍala-granthamālā, about the twenty chapters.

7. 333 of 1917, *ARE.* 1918.

8. Dharmakīrti, the author of the *Rūpāvatāra*, must have lived much earlier than the 12th century, the date assigned to him by M. Rangacharya in his edition of the *Rūpāvatāra*, p. xv.

8a. This may have been due to the common epistemological standpoint of the Vaiṣṇava Viśiṣṭādvaita and Prābhākara mīmāmsā in holding that all knowledge is valid.

9. 176 of 1919.

10. 182 of 1915, *EI.* xxi, pp. 220 ff.

11. 159 of 1925.

11a. 512 of 1937-38, *ARE.* II, 38.

11b. 202 of 1912.

12. 276 of 1925.

12a. 139 of 1938-9, *ARE.* II, 70.

13. 76 of 1914. 343 of 1917 from Eṇṇāyiram provides for presents to reciters of all the Vēdas.

14. 293 of 1908.

Chapter XXV

RELIGION

Temple and *maṭha.*

The temple and the *maṭha* were the two great gifts of mediaeval Hinduism to Southern India. It was under the Cōḷas that these institutions entered on a process of gradual expansion and adaptation, which attracted the imagination of the populace and the benefactions of the rich; they thus reached a secure position of ascendancy over the Buddhist *vihāra* and Jain *paḷḷi*, and this position they retained almost unimpaired till our own time. In the stress of the conflict with heretical rivals who denied the sanctity of the Veda and questioned the existence of the Deity, there arose within Hinduism a tendency to close up its ranks, and foster a religious syncretism which found room within the fold of its orthodoxy for all forms of theistic belief. This syncretism was based on the conception of Trimūrti, the threefold manifestation of the same godhead.

The background.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, Southern India produced the two great Hindu champions Kumārila and Śankara who fought the battle of ancient Brahmanism against heresy, though there was 'little persecution in our sense of the word'.[1] The stories of persecution are late popular legends that were put into melodious verse by the pious credulity of the author of the *Periya Purāṇam*. Under the leadership of Śankara, Hinduism absorbed many of the distinctive features of the speculative system and the practical organisation of latter day Buddhism. This is the chief reason why, on the one hand, Buddhism was so completely banished from Southern India in later times, and on the other, the opponents of Śankara's system found it easy to stigmatise him as a Buddhist in disguise.

The battle against heresy had been joined, however, long before Śankara's day by the great Śaiva Nāyanārs and the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs. The 'emotional theism' of these masters of popular song, 'running in the parallel channels of Viṣṇuism and Śaivism' is in many ways the most characteristic product of Tamil religious experience. The great work done by these

holy men who traversed the whole of the Tamil land several times over, singing, preaching and organising, has ever since been treasured by a grateful posterity in beautiful legends which are significant even in their anachronisms. One such tale is that of a friendly meeting between Ñānasambandar and Tirumangai Āḻvār. The earliest narrative of this incident accessible to us is that of the *Divyasūricarita*.[2] Sambandar, the opponent of Jainism, is said to have gone forth from Shiyali in his eagerness to meet the great Vaiṣṇava antagonist of Buddhism and to invite him to Shiyali. Tirumangai would not set foot in a city which had no temple of Viṣṇu, and Sambandar overcame the objection by disclosing the existence of an ancient image of Viṣṇu that had once stood in a temple, since ruined, and was being regularly worshipped at the time by an *arcaka* in his private dwelling. Sambandar and Tirumangai then entered Shiyali together; there Tirumangai composed some hymns which Sambandar admired greatly, and before leaving for his own city of Ālinagar, he induced some rich persons engaged in embellishing the Śiva temple to undertake the renovation of that of Viṣṇu as well and to shed their hostility to the sister creed. Impossible as history,[3] this beautiful legend enshrines the belief in the common mission of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, entertained by the Tamil Vaiṣṇavas of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In stemming the strong current of anti-Vedic heresy, the *āḻvārs* and the *nāyanārs* had laboured together in the past, and what was more natural for their successors than to bring together the great Śaiva antagonist of Jainism and the equally great Vaiṣṇava opponent of Buddhism. Let it also be noted that the currency of such a story in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries implies that Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism had not yet developed the relentless sectarian hostility that usually characterised their relations in later times. The story of the Cōḻa persecution of Rāmānuja, however, may be said to mark the beginning of sectarian intolerance within the fold of Hinduism; and the legend of the meeting of Sambandar and Tirumangai was, perhaps, but the expression of the wistful memory of happier times.

A beautiful legend.

Under the Cōḻas of the line of Vijayālaya may be said to commence the Silver Age of South Indian Śaivism and

Vaiṣṇavism. Difficult as it is to propose precise dates in the present state of the evidence, we may still be certain that the sacred hymns of the *nāyanārs* and the *āḻvārs* were arranged in canonical form some time in the eleventh century.

The Śaiva Canon.

Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, the author who arranged the Śaiva Canon substantially in the form in which we now find it, was most probably a contemporary of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I. The account of his life and work given in a short Purāṇa attributed to Umāpati Śiva Ācārya of the early fourteenth century seems to conserve, in the midst of much legendary matter, a fairly correct account of the growth of the canon in the hands of Nambi himself and his successors. It has been said that the inclusion, in the canon, of Nambi's own poems and those of other writers like Karuvūr Dēvar, manifestly later than Rājarāja's reign, and the title Abhaya and Kulaśēkhara given by Umāpati to the Cōḻa king who was Nambi's contemporary, imply a later date for the redaction of the canon.[4] Even in Nambi's time, difficulty was experienced in making the collection of hymns complete—as may be seen from the hymn on Tiruviḍaivāyil by Ñānasambandar, unknown to the canon, and preserved in an inscription,[5] and from the legend of the destruction by white ants of the bulk of the palm leaves containing the hymns.

Tiruppadiyam.

The practice of reciting these hymns in temples had come into vogue long before the time of Rājarāja. At Lālguḍi and Allūr in the Trichinopoly district are found inscriptions of the reign of Parāntaka I, providing for Brahmins singing the Tiruppadiyam during the daily service in the temples.[6] Earlier than Parāntaka's reign, in the reign of the Pallava Vijaya-Nandi-Vikrama Varman, reciters of the Tiruppadiyam are enumerated in a list of persons employed in the service of a temple at Tiruvallam.[7] The inference is clear that the hymns had attained the status of divine literature long before Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi collected and edited them in the standard form in which they have reached us. From the reign of Parāntaka I there is a regular series of endownments[8] recorded in epigraphs of the Cōḻa and Toṇḍai countries for the recitation of these hymns in temples, to the accompaniment of musical

instruments. The mention of a *Dēvāranāyakam*, Superintendent of Dēvāram, in the reign of Rājēndra I, implies that there was a regular state department controlling this work and securing its proper performance; it is not clear if the sphere of its activity was limited to Tanjore or extended to other places.[8a] In Nallūr in South Arcot, provision was made in the reign of Kulōttunga III for the singing of *Tiruccāḷal* and *Tiruvembāvai* of Māṇikka-vāśagar and for *śākkai-kūttu* on special occasions in the temple of Nalla-nāyanār; *Tiruvembāvai* was divided into *mudal-*, *iraṇḍām-pāṭṭu*, and *kaḍaikkāppu*, and the right to sing each sold to different *dēvaraḍiyār*.[8b] In another temple, Ulaganātha of Ulaganallūr (S. Arcot), the assignment of dance and song to separate dancing girls on separate days of the festival is recorded in another inscription.[8c]

Vaiṣṇava Canon.

The history of Vaiṣṇava hymnology in the period was quite similar. Tradition confers upon Nāthamuni the honour of having done for Vaiṣṇava lyrics what Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi achieved for the Śaiva ones. If Śrīnātha who seems to be mentioned in the Anbil plates[9] may be taken to be the same as the Vaiṣṇava Saint Nāthamuni, his age would be the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries A.D., and this accords well with the other testimony we have, meagre as it is, on the subject. However that may be, the contents of the Anbil plates, the strong Vaiṣṇavism of the family of Aniruddha, the minister of Parāntaka II, the life of his father whose glory was his learning and the number of his disciples, the attachment of his mother and grand-father to God Ranganātha, the liberal support extended by his great grand-father Ananta to the poor and the indigent — these furnish a clear idea of the part played by Vaiṣṇavism in the social and religious life of the time. And the age of Nāthamuni's ministry cannot lie far from it, as he was the first of the great succession of Ācāryas who carried forward and completed the work started by the Āḻvārs of an earlier time.[10] The story is that Nāthamuni once heard some visitors to his place from Kurugūr recite a hymn of ten verses from the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, the 1000 hymns composed by Śāṭhakōpa, also called Nammāḻvār. Captivated by the melody of the hymn and noticing from its last verse that it comprised only ten out of a thousand verses

composed by Nammāḻvār, Nāthamuni undertook a journey to Kurugūr, the birth-place of Nammāḻvār, in the hope of discovering the whole collection there. At Kurugūr, after worshipping Viṣṇu, Nāthamuni resorted to the foot of the sacred tamarind tree in his desire to meet the Āḻvār; great was his grief and disappointment when he found his yogic powers unequal to the task of invoking a vision of Śaṭhakōpa. He then adopted the plan of reciting 12,000 times the hymn of Madhurakavi on Śaṭhakōpa, his *guru;* pleased by this, both Śaṭhakōpa and Madhurakavi appeared before Nāthamuni and imparted to him the knowledge of the four Prabandhas[11] with their full import. Thereafter Nāthamuni stayed in Kurugūr meditating upon the Prabandhas until he was summoned by Vīranārāyaṇa Kṛṣṇa, the god of his native place, to go back to Vīranārāyaṇapuram, where he collected a band of disciples round himself and made them sing these hymns to divine tunes.[12]

It were cruel and futile to dissect such fanciful tales with the weapons of historical criticism. In its integrity, this story is typical of the Indian way of keeping fresh the memory of great men and their deeds. It justifies the inference that the Vaiṣṇava canon was arranged and its musical modes settled by the first great Ācārya of the second great division in the history of Vaiṣṇavism in South India, the one that falls between the age of the hymns and that of the great commentators that followed long after Rāmānuja.[13] The mention of Tiru-Vāymoḻidēvar in an inscription at Ukkal in Rājarāja's reign, and of the recitation of Tiruppadiyam in Viṣṇu temples is enough to show the parallelism in practice between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in this respect. Two inscriptions of the reign of Rājēndra I from Uttaramērūr provide for the distribution of the food offered to the deity among Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas reciting Tiruppadiyam during worship,[14] and create an endowment of land for the maintenance of three persons who were to recite *Tiruvāymōḻi* regularly in the temple.[15] The recitation of *Tiruvāymoḻi* during *tiruppaḷḷi-yeḻucci* in the Śrīrangam temple is provided for in a record of A.D. 1085.[16] The fact that the hymn of Kulaśēkhara-āḻvār beginning *tēṭṭarundiṟal* was recited before the deity during three nights in the course of a festival in Śrīrangam is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1088[17]. The recitation of *Tiruvāymoḻi* during the festivals in the

months of Arpiśi (October-November) and Vaigāśi (May-June) at Tirukkōyilūr is provided for in an inscription of the eighth year of Rājādhirāja II, A.D. 1171[18] A choir of fifty-eight Brahmins reciting *Tirumoḷi* in Kāñcī is mentioned in A.D. 1242.[19] An inscription from Tirukkōyilūr, of uncertain date, records an endowment for the recitation of *Tiruneḍundāṇḍagam* in the local Viṣṇu temple.[20] Lastly, an inscription perhaps of Kulōttunga III, mentions the creation at Kāñcīpuram of a *bhāṣya-vṛtti* for the Rāmānuja-bhāṣya being regularly expounded by a competent person.[21] And these instances are by no means exhaustive.

One curious instance of a contemporary composition of a *tiruppadiyam* beginning *Kōlanār-kuḷal* in praise of Viṣṇu at Tirumālpuram is recorded in an inscription of A.D. 995;[22] such imitations of the canonical hymns seem however to have been quite rare, and unlike the later Śaiva compositions, have found no place in canonical literature.

Recital of Veda.

It may be noted that the recitation in the temples of the sacred hymns in Tamil emphasises the rank assigned to them by the side of the Sanskritic Vedas, both by the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. That the Vedas were chanted day by day in the temples at the time of worship by Brahmins specially appointed for the purpose becomes clear not only from the practice obtaining even now in the larger temples, but from a number of contemporary inscriptions of the Cōḷa period.[23] Of such records one or two may be noted as being of special interest. In the fourteenth year of a Rājakēsari,[24] an endowment was created in Paṇḍāravāḍai for awarding a prize once a year in a recitation contest to be held on the night of the Ārdrā festival, the competitors being required to recite a prescribed portion of *Jaiminīya Sāma Veda*. On the occasion of festivals, more men were employed to recite Vedas before the deity than on ordinary days, and such occasional services were also often endowed.[25] Other instances of recitations, more popular in character and intended for the instruction and edification of devotees are mentioned in the inscriptions; such are the *Śrīpurāṇa* of Āḷudaiyanambi and the *Śivadharma*,[26] and the *Sōma-siddhānta*. The nature of these works is by no means clear at present, though the last appears, from

and other works.

a reference to it in the *Prabōdhacandrōdaya*, to have propounded the doctrine of the Kāpālika school of Śaivism.[27]

Temples.

Besides the collection and conservation of sacred literature, the new life in religion manifested itself in the erection of stone temples, great and small, in all the holy places hallowed by association with the lives of the *āḻvārs* and *nāyanārs* of the earlier age. As a religious institution, the South Indian Temple reaches back to a remote antiquity, and the existence of numerous temples (*kōṭṭams*) of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain deities is fully attested by the Śangam literature. The early temples were structures of brick and mortar, or, under the Pallavas, carved out of solid blocks of granite, rock-cut 'cave temples.'[28] The art of erecting structural temples of stone was not unknown, and the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram and the shore temple at Mahābalipuram show the rapid advance in architectural achievement in the two centuries after Mahēndravarman, the *Vicitra-citta* who marvelled at his own feat in having brought into existence a temple without metal, timber or brick.[29] That stone temples were, however, still rare in the Cōḻa country in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that the kings of the Vijayālaya line led the way in multiplying their number is fully borne out by contemporary inscriptions. The Anbil plates state that the chief glory of the rule of Āditya I was that he covered the banks of the Kāvēri, along its whole course from the mountain to the sea, with a number of lofty and impregnable temples built of stone and dedicated to Śiva. The inscriptions of the reign of Parāntaka I show that Āditya's work was continued by his successor who is reputed to have covered with gold the roof of the Cidambaram temple. Besides the kings, some of their relatives and officials stand out prominent among the leaders in this widespread movement. Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan (Piccan of the sacred stone temple) of whom there is still a sculpture in Tiruvāḍuturai[30] was one of them and he was in the service of Parāntaka I. Even the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invader, Kṛṣṇa III, erected several temples in the land newly conquered by him, one of them being the Kālapriya at Kāvēripākkam.[31] Śembiyan-mahādēvi, the queen of Gaṇḍarāditya and mother of Uttama Cōḻa, was widowed early in life and lived on for many years thereafter. Hers was a life of religious devotion, and possibly the crime

by which her son cleared his way to the throne added poignancy to her piety. In any case, she used all her great influence and resources throughout her son's reign and far into that of his successor Rājarāja I for the construction and the very liberal endowment of an unusually large number of temples.[32] The village Śembiyan-mahādēvi was altogether her foundation and the stone temple dedicated to Candramauḷīśvara at Tiruvakkarai in South Arcot, built about A.D. 1001, was among the latest foundations of her life. Either as renovating old structures or founding new ones, or, more rarely, as commemorative monuments of a sepulchral character, the construction of stone temples continued throughout the Cōḷa period and, in fact, has gone on till our own times. The most conspicuous monuments of the early eleventh century, and in some ways the finest of all South Indian temples, were those of Tanjore and of Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷpuram.

State of Śaivism.

The Tanjore inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja furnish an unusually full view of the state of Śaivism at the time. The hagiology that, more than a century later, found its classic poet in Śēkkiḻār, was already quite popular; and some of it found representation in the iconography of the time, though with some differences in detail from the later version.[33]. And South Indian Śaivism appears to have had a live contact with Śaivism in the rest of India, as may be seen from Rājēndra I providing for the annual supply of a large quantity of grain as *ācāryabhōga* to Uḍaiyār Śarva Śiva Paṇḍita, who was performing the worship in the Tanjore temple, and his pupils, and their pupils, whether they lived in the Āryadēśa, Madhyadēśa or Gauḍadēśa.[34] Inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttunga III give evidence of the existence of this connection between Northern India and the South in late Cōḷa times as well. A certain Ōmkāradēva Irāvaḷar gave some money in 1214 as provision for *tiruppavitram* to the deity at Tiruppāśur (Chingleput district); the donor is described as a disciple of Jñānaśiva Irāvaḷar of the *Santāna* of Lakṣādhyāya Irāvaḷar of the Kollā-maṭha at Vārāṇasi (Benares).[35] Another Irāvaḷan of the Bhikṣāmaṭha of Vārāṇasi is mentioned in an inscription at Pāṇḍanallūr (Tanjore district) dated three years later.[36] A tradition is preserved in some stray verses quoted by Anantaśambhu (in his gloss on the *Siddhāntasārāvaḷi* of Tri-

lōcanaśiva),[37] that Rājēndra I imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges and established them in various places in the Cōḷa country; this tradition also points to the same fact that there was a live contact between Śaiva institutions in the different parts of India.

Toleration: the rule.

Speaking generally, the religious temper of the period, particularly in the first half of it, was by no means narrow or sectarian. Not only did the kings as a rule tolerate religions and sects other than their own, but they often patronised all persuasions in equal measure. A progressive king like Rājarāja even made it a point to give clear expression to his general attitude to religion by including in the decoration of the Great Śiva Temple of Tanjore themes from Vaiṣṇavism and even Buddhism. His sister Kundavai built three temples, one to Viṣṇu, another to Śiva and a third to Jina, all in the same place, Rājarājapuram, now called Dādāpuram, and her gifts to all these shrines are found recorded in the same inscription.[38] The list of jewels includes several *nāmams*, the Vaiṣṇava caste-mark, made of gold. There were several temples which contained shrines both of Śiva and of Viṣṇu side by side, the most conspicuous instance being that of Cidambaram. The position of the icons of Naṭarāja and Govindarāja in this temple is brought out with great precision in the verse in the *Tirukkōvaiyār* which depicts Viṣṇu as lying in front of Naṭarāja, absorbed in the contemplation of the foot lifted in his dance and supplicating him for a view of the other foot as well.[39] In the precincts of the temple of Candramauḷīśvara, at Tiruvakkarai, which was rebuilt of stone by Śembiyan-mahādēvi, was a shrine of Varadarāja-perumāḷ, originally built of bricks by Kōccōḷa and reconstructed in stone in the short reign of Adhirājēndra.[40] If this is a reference to Śenganān, the legendary Cōḷa king whom Tirumangai calls by that name,[41] nothing can be more significant than this epigraphical reference to his construction of a Viṣṇu temple by the side of Tirumangai celebrating him for the foundation of seventy beautiful palaces to the eight-armed Īśa. Hinduism was still an attitude to life as a whole, which had not lost itself in an arid desert of sectarian rivalries.

Some exceptions.

It should hardly cause any surprise that there were occasions in which intolerance of a rival sect got the upper hand. For even when the various creeds lived in mutual good-will and enjoyed equal patronage from the princes and nobles of the land, each sect lived its own separate and exclusive life, and nothing in the history of Indian society is more remarkable than its fatal capacity to combine intellectual tolerance with social exclusiveness. But social exclusiveness is bound, some time or other, to produce its natural result of indifference to the welfare of other groups than one's own, and when doctrinal differences become acute, this indifference very soon develops into active hostility. The leading instance of religious intolerance in the period of Cōḷa rule is that of the persecution of Rāmānuja and his followers by a Cōḷa monarch whose identity is not altogether free from doubt. We have seen reason to believe that this persecution led to a popular revolt in which Adhirājēndra, the last ruler in the male line descending from Vijayālaya, lost his life. If this is a correct view of the course of events, two inferences may be drawn. First, that far from being part of a definite policy of the Cōḷa monarchy to root out Vaiṣṇavism, the persecution of Rāmānuja was only the freak of an individual ruler. Secondly, that the general atmosphere was so unfavourable to a narrow religious policy, that the monarch who attempted it lost his life in a popular revolt and has ever since been universally abhorred as the *kṛmi kaṇṭha* (the putrid neck). No persecution has ever failed to turn out ultimately to the profit of the persecuted faith, and there is no doubt that the creed of Rāmānuja, already well established in the land by the ministrations of a long line of *āḻvārs* and *ācāryas*, drew fresh strength from the foolish and short-lived attempt to crush it out of existence. The fact remains, however, that from this period, the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas of South India became strangers to that friendly feeling which subsisted between them in an earlier age when they waged a common war against the Bauddhas and the Jainas.

Another spasmodic outburst of anti-Vaiṣṇava feeling is much better attested than the persecution of Rāmānuja, which is so overgrown with legend that the real course of events seems to be lost beyond recovery. We refer to the deeds of Kulōttunga II in Cidambaram which are, as we have

seen, clearly attested by contemporary inscriptions and literature. That Kulōttunga II was a fanatic Śaiva who wanted to upset the time-honoured disposition of the images of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the great temple of the holiest centre of South Indian Śaivism cannot be gainsaid. The balance of the two faiths, thus rudely upset by Kulōttunga, was redressed in later days by the Vijayanagar rulers, but once again, the old harmony has gone, and the attitude of the two groups of devotees that have to jostle in the premises of the temple is hardly as friendly as the relative positions of the deities they worship would seem to require.

A measure of the increasing social exclusiveness of the different sects is found in a casual decision, dated A.D. 1160, of the Mahāsabhā of Tirukkaḍaiyūr.[42] The *sabhā* resolved that any *māhēśvaras* who, contrary to their tenets as custodians of the Śiva temple and its observances, mixed freely with Vaiṣṇavas, would forfeit their property to the temple. This is almost the only recorded instance of this kind; even so, its significance is unmistakable. It is, no doubt, typical of the new religious atmosphere of steady deterioration that was setting in.

Kāñcī.

The unique position of Kāñcīpuram, one of the capital cities of the Cōḷa empire, is very instructive in regard to the mutual relations of the rival religious systems which were competing for royal patronage and popular favour. This city is seen to have comprised three principal sections, each consecrated to a particular faith and the institutions ministering to it. The biggest of them all is devoted to Śiva, then comes what is often called Little Kāñcīpuram sacred to Viṣṇu in the form of Hasti-giri-āḻvār or Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ, and lastly we have Jina-kāñcī, popularly known as Tirupparuttikkunṛu, undoubtedly larger and more prosperous and in more direct and frequent communication with Kāñcīpuram proper in the days of the Cōḷa empire than at the present day. Let us also recall that many vestiges of what must once have been a considerable Buddhist colony have been found at Kāñcīpuram. We see in the plan of the different parts of this great and ancient city and their mutual relations much that is suggestive of the history of religious beliefs and practices at their best in South India.

The pantheon.

The impression of the tolerance and eclecticism that generally characterised the religious outlook of the time is strengthened by a study of the pantheon which included an assortment of all conceivable deities to whom worship was offered throughout the country. Besides images of Śiva in his various aspects[43] like Kirātārjunīya, Bhikṣātana, Kalyāṇasundara, Pañcadēha, Lingapurāṇadēva, Umāsahita, Naṭarāja, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Śrī Kaṇṭha and so on, the icons presented to the great temple of Tanjore by its royal patrons included images of Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya, Mahā Viṣṇu and Sūrya.[44] There were also images of Śaiva saints receiving regular worship among them like Caṇḍēśvara, the three authors of the *Dēvāram*, Meypporuḷ-nāyanār, Śiṟuttoṇḍar, Śīrāḷar[45] and others. Among goddesses are mentioned Kāla-piḍāri, Durgā-Paramēśvari and Ēmaḷattu Durgaiyār Ōmkārasundari.[46] The Tanjore inscriptions mention incidentally other minor deities worshipped in several outlying villages; these village deities comprised many forms of Piḍāri, Śēṭṭaiyār (Jyēṣṭhā)[47] and others, whose shrines are called *tirumuṟṟam* as distinguished from the *Śrī Kōyil* of the higher pantheon. The seven Mothers[48] are mentioned in other inscriptions, as also Kṛṣṇa,[49] Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa,[50] and Hanumān.[51] Tiruvoṟṟiyūr offered worship to all the sixty-three Śaiva saints,[52] and Kāḷahasti kept the memory of a local legend fresh in the name of a garden called after Kaṇṇappar.[53] Eṇṇāyiram, a strong centre of Vaiṣṇavism, allotted shares from the lands of the village to the shrines of Śrī-Mūlasthānam-uḍaiyār, Sarasvati, Śrībhaṭāraki, Mahāmōḍi, Sūryadēva, Saptamātargaḷ, Mahāśāstā, Durgā, Jyēṣṭhā and the gods of the *Śēris*.[54] To complete the picture of practical popular religion it may be added that pilgrimages to specially sacred places were known and the charity of some took the form of providing amenities for the pilgrims *en route* to and from Tirumalai (Tirupati).[55] The regular sacrifice of a goat on every Tuesday to Muṇḍēśvari by the Kurava women of the *nāḍu* is recorded in a Mysore inscription of the time of Rājēndra I.[56]

Neo-Hinduism.

There is thus not a single element of popular Hinduism as we know it now that is not represented in the religious practice of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Foreign students of the religious history

of India have often been puzzled and sometimes irritated by the utter recklessness with which Hinduism appears to sanction and absorb within itself the basest superstitions and devil worship as well as the noblest and purest forms of worship and meditation.[57] But in religion, as in other matters, the aim was to attain, not equality, but harmony; to evolve a system in which each person and class would find a proper place, a foothold from which the next step might be taken. The doctrines of *karma* and rebirth were parts of the living faith of the whole people, and the inclusion, within the common fold, of the more primitive manifestations of the religious impulse was but the result of a metaphysic which saw in the lowliest human being, in fact, in any living creature, a spark of divinity enveloped in the accidents of its own past and working out its way back to its pristine purity. The honoured place held by many *nāyanārs* and *āḻvārs* who were not of the priestly class by birth, and the story of the pariah saint Nandan show that the standard of spiritual values was by no means lowered by the admission of primitive faiths into the ante-chamber of Hinduism. The aim was ever to purify and sublimate the religious impulse, though it is probable that, in the attempt to raise the lower forms, the higher ones did not themselves altogether escape damage.

Asceticism.

The life of the ascetic strongly appealed to the imagination of the people, and one of the common forms of religious charity was to provide for the feeding, regular or occasional, of ascetics in temples and *maṭhas*. Vaiṣṇavism was on the whole moderate in its devotion to the ascetic ideal, and did not give rise to the bizarre manifestations of it associated with Śaivism. The Vaiṣṇava endowments generally provided for the feeding of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas and *tādar* (*dāsas*),[58] or of Brahmins who had a perfect mastery of the Veda.[59] And the degenerate Vaiṣṇavism of the Rādhā cult was as yet unknown and had apparently no great vogue in the South at any time. Examples of Vaiṣṇava *maṭhas* like the Kundavai *maṭha* at Uttaramērūr[60] can be gathered from inscriptions. Śaivism was at this period in marked contrast with the Advaitism of Śankara, Smārta Hinduism as it may be called, and embraced a whole gamut of sectional groups ranging from the comparatively mild Śivayōgins to the extremely fanatical and repulsive groups

like the Pāśupatas, the Kāpālikas, and the Kālāmukhas. The Śivayōgin, as his name implies, spent his life meditating upon Śiva and seeking release from the bonds of mundane life by such meditation; at the approach of death, he is said to bathe his body in ashes, utter certain Śaiva mantras and worship the linga on his chest. Many are the inscriptions recording endowments for Śivayōgins being fed in temples and *maṭhas*.[61] The Kālāmukhas, also called Mahāvratins, were perhaps the most extreme sect among these, and do not seem to have been very different from the Kāpālikas. 'The Kālāmukhas hold that the following are the means for the attainment of desires concerning this world and the next:— (1) eating food in skull; (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body; (3) eating the ashes; (4) holding a club; (5) keeping a pot of wine; (6) worshipping the god as seated therein.'[62] From these practices, they were known as Mahāvratins, 'men with the great vows'; they roused the disgust of a humane reformer like Rāmānuja. They appear even to have practised human sacrifices.[63] The Kālāmukhas were widespread in South India in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. They did not lack support from the princes and the people. The Koḍumbāḷūr chieftain Vikramakēsari, the contemporary of Parāntaka II, constructed the three temples (*vimāna-trayam*) known as Mūvarkōvil, and then he presented a big *maṭha* (*bṛhan-maṭham*) to the glorious Mallikārjuna of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, a man from Madhurā, versed in the Veda and the *śiṣya* of Vidyārāśī and Tapōrāśi; to that chief ascetic of the Kālāmukhādāna, his *guru*, the Yādava (Vikramakēsari) also gave eleven *grāmas* attached to the *maṭha* for the regular feeding of fifty *Asita-vaktra* ascetics.[64] Earlier than the date of this record from Pudukkottah, is one from Veḍāḷ (North Arcot) which mentions the Kālāmukha Daśapuriyan of the Hārīta *gōtra* and the Āpastamba *sūtra*.[65] At Mēlpāḍi, in the same part of the country, there was a *maṭha* of the Kālāmukhas of which the head was called Lakuliśvara-Paṇḍita.[66] There was another at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr presided over by Caturānana Paṇḍita.[67] In the reign of Vīrarājēndra, an inscription from Jambai (South Arcot) mentions a Mahāvratin Lakuliśvara Paṇḍita among the authorities of the local temple. A Kālāmukha Gōmaḍattu Aruḷāḷa Bhaṭṭan sold some land to the temple at Kōyil Tēvarāyanpēṭṭai (Tanjore district) in A.D.

1123.[68] Other Kālāmukhas of the same spiritual lineage, bearing the names Śailarāśi and Jñānarāśi, are mentioned as endowing lamps or taking charge of such endowments in the temple of Tiruvānaikkōyil (Chingleput) in the years 1127, 1205 and 1231.[69] All these instances point to the extent and continuity of the influence of the Kālāmukhas on South Indian Śaivism under the Cōḷas. It may be doubted, however, if the members of the sects who were connected with the temples and perhaps conducted worship in them, actively practised the tenets attributed to them. In the absence of contemporary literary evidence on such questions, we lack the means of determining this satisfactorily.

A Caturānana Paṇḍita.

The career of one of the Caturānana Paṇḍitas[70] of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr *maṭha* is rather fully described in an inscription of the time of Kannaradēva, and deserves to be noticed in some detail as affording an interesting and authentic instance of the kind of motives that sent people into a life of ascetic renunciation. Born of a family of local chieftains in Kēraḷa, Vālabha who resembled Guha and was possessed of many great qualities, mastered all the arts and sciences in his boyhood and, in the prime of life, bent on service to the world, he reached the Cōḷa country and came to be closely associated with king Rājāditya as his *sāmanta* and affectionate friend.[71] As, owing to other pre-occupations he did not have the pleasure of fighting and dying along with his friend on the battle-field, he smarted that his life was not in keeping with his birth and connections, and became indifferent to the things of the world. Then he bathed in the Ganges, and turned ascetic at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, obtaining his *vratas* from Nirañjana guru and becoming a Mahāvratin, Caturānana by name, and head of the local *maṭha*. The inscription which gives this account is dated in the twentieth year of 'Kannaradēva who took Kacci and Tañjai' about A.D. 960, when he had made himself master of the northern districts of the Cōḷa kingdom as a result of his invasion.

The ascetics owned no property themselves; but their organisations, the monasteries (*maṭhas*), often owned vast estates devoted to their maintenance and the encouragement of learning and the arts. What proportion of the population

led such a life of pious, if not uneasy, poverty, and whether it was a larger one than at present, it is of course difficult to determine. The times were quite favourable to the ascetic ideal, and all religious systems in the country applauded it. Asceticism was twice blessed; he who turned ascetic and he who did not do so, but remained householder, alike gained by it. Both accumulated religious merit, for the householder was assured of a good berth in the other world as much for his gifts (*dāna*), as the ascetic for his renunciation and austerity. There was no doubt many a pious fraud masquerading under the garb of asceticism that often afforded the occasion for a good joke among the populace whose common sense was seldom slow in detecting such cases. But the modern attitude which, in the name of economics, counts each man a hand, and looks upon a mendicant as an idle hand, was altogether unknown. And in spite of its excesses and aberrations, the ascetic ideal has done great good to the people by stressing the higher values of the spirit, and by giving them a ready-made philosophy with which to face the hard realities of life. It is still cherished by the masses of the people, in the villages, though not so much in the cities.

Maṭhas and *guhais.*

The history of the *maṭhas* and *guhais*[72] of the period cannot be pursued in any detail here. Their origin is anterior to the reign of Rājarāja I[73] and their number and influence steadily increased during the period of Cōḷa rule in South India. Starting from important centres where one or more *maṭhas* were established in the first instance, the movement spread all over the land until almost every temple came to possess one or more *maṭhas* functioning in close proximity to it. They grouped themselves from the beginning round a few prominent centres and in course of time, a limited number of *santānas*, spiritual groups attached to particular successions of *gurus*, came to be distinguished; examples of such *santānas* are the *lakṣādhyāya santāna* of the *maṭha* of Patañjali-dēvar situated at Melaiccēri of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr (Cidambaram) which controlled an *ācāryasthāna* at Kīḻaikaṭṭu (Kīḻaiyūr, Negapatam tq., Tanjore dt.), besides the Kollāmaṭha at Vārāṇasī and Naḍuvil-maṭha at Tīruvānaikkāval;[73a] that of the *mudaliyārs* of Tiruccattimuṟṟam[74] and the *māḷigai-maḍattu mudaliyār santānam* of Tiruviḍaimarudil.[75] Many of these

groups were confined to the Tamil country in the range of their activity; these were the Tamil Śaiva *maṭhas* proper. Others, however, kept up wider contacts and prided themselves on their connection with Āryadēśam, Benares, or even Kashmir; the Gōḷakī *maṭha* had also a considerable following in the South. Epigraphy and tradition alike point to a fairly large immigration of Bhaṭṭas from Northern India to important religious centres in the South, particularly to Śrīrangam; immigrants from Kāśmīradeśam are specially mentioned in Śrīrangam besides other places in Chingleput and Ramnad districts.[75a] Generally, the *maṭhas* which maintained these external contacts belonged to the various schools of Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas and so on. There must have been monastic institutions of other types maintained by Śaiva Brahmins and Vaiṣṇavas, though of these we learn relatively little from the inscriptions.

One instance of a *maṭha* in which provision was made for the convenience of pilgrims deserves special mention. A record from Gōvindaputtūr dated A.D. 1248,[76] mentions that Subrahmaṇya Śiva of Cidambaram (Vyāghrapurī), a grandson of a certain well known Kandhābharaṇa, purchased land from several persons and created an endowment for certain specific services to be undertaken by the Tiruttoṇḍattogaiyān-tiru-maḍam situated in the temple of Tiruviśaiyamangai at Gōvindaputtūr. Among the services to be undertaken with the proceeds of the land were the supply of salt and castor oil to pilgrims, and medical help for those among the disciples who fell ill and had no one to look after them. It is also of interest to note that Subrahmaṇya Śiva, evidently also the head of the *maṭha*, laid it down that his successors duly appointed by him for the administration of the *maṭha* at the end of his life were to carry on this arrangement, and in case he died without choosing his successor, he was to be chosen by the head of another *maṭha* at Cidambaram (also called Tiruttoṇḍattogaiyān-tirumaḍam) and that the new head so chosen was to carry on the arrangements under that particular endowment. It is possible that similar provisions for general amenities, besides feeding and teaching, commonly undertaken by these institutions, obtained elsewhere; but we have no definite knowledge of them. It has been pointed out that sometimes even animals were attended to in similar in-

stitutions, and an instance from the Travancore country has been cited.[77]

A *kalaham*.

Before leaving the *maṭhas*, attention must be drawn to a popular riot described in a record of the second year of Rājarāja III[78] as *guhai-iḍi-kalaham*, a revolt in which monasteries were demolished. This occurred in the twenty-second regnal year of Kulōttunga III, A.D. 1200, and in it, the property belonging to a *guhai* in Tiruttuṟaipūṇḍi suffered badly. The causes of this demonstration are not stated and we cannot even say whether it was directed against this particular *guhai* or *guhais* in general; on the latter assumption, it is indeed very strange that we hear nothing more of it than this casual reference to it.[79]

The role of the temple.

In the long period of Cōḷa rule the Hindu temple attained the zenith of its influence on the social life of the country. It ceased to be a small structure of brick and mortar providing a centre of simple worship attended by the villagers. The new idea of the stone temple found room for the employment of much skill and taste in its planning and decoration. With its rise, there came up also a varied and complex routine in each temple sustained by the rich accumulations in land and gold, the result of pious gifts, offered with a generosity and administered with a care to which we have long become strangers. Each generation husbanded with caution what was handed down to it, and by means of fresh additions, managed to leave a richer heritage to its successor. The vast and growing wealth of the temples brought them into more and more intimate business relations with the neighbourhood. And in Tanjore, there rose under Rājarāja's eye, as under a magician's wand, the marvellous Great Temple which surpassed everything effected elsewhere by generations of effort. Not only did its stately plan ensure for it an abiding place as the masterpiece of South Indian Temple architecture, but the elaborate arrangements made for the management of the affairs of the temple and carefully recorded in the inscriptions on its walls, summed up the best practices of the time in this regard and set a model for the future. A deliberate desire to bring the temple into intimate touch with several aspects of the life of the people marks almost

every one of these arrangements. As the Great Temple adorned the capital city of the whole empire, and as it was the foundation of the greatest monarch of Southern India, the range of its contacts was naturally much wider than that of an average temple; but almost every temple, however small in size and restricted in influence, was a miniature of the Great Temple and had its counterpart of every feature of the larger institution.

The Great Temple.

The Great Temple of Tanjore was easily the richest temple of the time. The king alone had by the twenty-ninth year of his reign presented to it a vast amount of gold and treasure in the form of ornaments, jewels and vessels. Much of it was booty that fell to him as a result of his wars. The quantity of gold of which account has been preserved amounted to over 41,500 *kaḻañjus*, or, taking a *kaḻañju* to be about 70 grains, well over 500 lbs. troy. The value of jewels presented was about 10,200 *kāśus*, equal to half as many *kaḻañjus*, in gold.[80] Of silver he gave 50,650 *kaḻañjus*, over 600 lbs. troy. He set apart lands in several villages throughout his dominions, including Ceylon, yielding an annual income of 116,000 *kalams* of paddy, equal at the then prevailing prices[81] to 58,000 *kāśus*, besides a cash income of 1,100 *kāśus*. For the service of the temple, four hundred hetaerae were impressed from among those of the other temples in the country, and they were assigned each a *pangu* (share) comprising a house and one *vēli* of land yielding a net revenue of 100 *kalams* of paddy a year. About 180 such shares were set apart further for the maintenance of as many as 212 men servants comprising dancing masters, musicians, drummers, tailors, goldsmiths, accountants and so on. Among these were three persons to sing the *Āriyam* and four others the *Tamiḻ*, apparently the two systems of music called *ahamārgam* and *dēśi* elsewhere.[82] There was constituted also a choir of fifty persons for reciting the *Tiruppadiyam* to the accompaniment of musical instruments; the choir had the power to fill vacancies by co-optation in case any of them died or migrated elsewhere leaving behind no relative suitable to take his place; the daily remuneration for each of them was fixed at three *kuṟuṇis* of paddy-corn.[83] Rājarāja's elder sister Kundavai presented to the temple gold of the weight of nearly 10,000 *kaḻañjus* and utensils of the

value of 18,000 *kāśus*. Others, queens and high officials and regiments of soldiers, made other gifts recorded with equal care and precision on the temple walls and pillars. All the cash endowments amounting to several thousands of *kāśus* were loaned out to numerous village assemblies at rates of interest fixed in kind or money, and generally ranging about 12% per annum. Camphor, cardamom-seeds, campak-buds and cuscus-roots, for instance, were provided for in this manner by means of cash endowments.[83a]

In fact, the place of the Great Temple in the economy of the capital city and of the empire can hardly be exaggerated. Its construction must have extended over many years and furnished employment for the best architects and sculptors of the land during these years, besides a vast number of common labourers. The accurate and detailed descriptions of the numerous icons, some of them cast in the form of complex groups of figures in attitudes illustrating the favourite themes of legend, give the impression of a high state of efficiency attained in the art of casting metals and of a more or less constant and profitable employment for the skilled artisans. The account, equally minute and complete, of the ornaments and jewels with which the images were decked testifies to the superior excellence reached in the art of the goldsmith, and the extent to which it was promoted by a rich temple. And as a matter of course, every temple, great or small, held in relation to its neighbourhood exactly the same position that the Great Temple had in the capital. The difference was only one of degree. As landholder, employer, and consumer of goods and services, as bank, school and museum, as hospital and theatre, in short, as a nucleus which gathered round itself all that was best in the arts of civilised existence and regulated them with the humaneness born of the spirit of Dharma, the mediaeval Indian temple has few parallels in the annals of mankind. The examples of searching periodical inquests by the highest officers of the central government, sometimes by the king himself, into the management and affairs of the temples, that are recorded in the inscriptions, show that the Cōḷa government realised the increasing social importance of the role of the temple and the need for the exercise of a steady and vigilant control on the business side of its affairs.[84]

Jainism.

By the side of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism and the other forms taken by Hinduism to which attention has been drawn, Jainism had a fair following and enjoyed the patronage of the princes and people, though not to the same extent as the orthodox creeds. The *paḷḷic-candam*, the land of the *paḷḷi* (Jaina temple), was a recognised category of tax-free land known to the revenue accounts of the time. Tamil literature was greatly enriched by the writings of Jain authors, and legend avers that as late as the middle of the twelfth century Śēkkiḻār was goaded into the composition of his magnificent 'Lives of the Saints' (*Periya-purāṇam*) by king Kulōttunga II seeking literary enjoyment in the verses of the *Śīvaka-Śindāmaṇi*, a secular *kāvya* in Tamil by a Jain author. Vestiges of Jainism have been discovered in the Travancore country which, though undated, may with some confidence be assigned to the period extending from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.[85] And the Cōḷa inscriptions contain noteworthy references to Jain centres in the Tamil districts. The Udayēndiram plates of Hastimalla record that the Digambara Jains had an ancient *paḷḷic-candam* comprising two *paṭṭis* of land which were specially excluded from the gift of the village of Kaḍaikkōṭṭūr made in the reign of Parāntaka I.[86] There was at Veḍāl (N. Arcot) a large Jain monastery in which some dispute arose between one nun and her five hundred pupils on the one part and four hundred nuns on the other, and was put an end to only by the lay Jains of the place taking under their protection one of the parties to the dispute.[87] This was about A.D. 885. At Śīṟṟāmūr in South Arcot an inscription of the seventeenth year of a Rājakēsari records the provision of a lamp in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Pārśvanātha in which the scripture was expounded.[88] A certain Gangāśūrapperumbaḷḷi of Rājēndrapuram finds mention in a record from Tirukkōl (N. Arcot);[89] and a Kanakasēnabhaṭāra who had the *paḷḷi* is found at Śendalai in the twelfth year of a Parakēsari.[90] At Ānandamangalam in the Chingleput district, on a boulder which bears in a line the sculptures of three groups of Jaina figures, is found engraved a record which provides for the daily feeding of one *aḍigaḷ* in the Jinagirip-paḷḷi.[91] This record is dated A.D. 945 in the reign of Parāntaka I. In the same year, a pupil of Ariṣṭanēmibhaṭāra, of the big Jain settlement of

Tiruppānmalai, Pattinik-kuratti-aḍigal by name, caused a well to be dug at Viḷāppākkam, and the well and a house were constituted into a nunnery, under the supervision of 'the twenty-four' of the place.[92] In the seventeenth year of Rājarāja, two lamps were endowed by a land grant to the big monastery (*periya-paḷḷi*) in Tirunaṟungoṇḍai, a *paḷḷic-candam* in South Arcot.[93] Tirumalai near Pōḷūr in North Arcot, and Tirumalavāḍi in the Trichinopoly district where Kundavai built a Jain temple were other great Jain centres of the time.[94] At Tirupparuttikkunṟam, a suburb of Kāñcīpuram, there is a celebrated Jain shrine to this day. This place is often called Jina Kāñcī, and its *Ṛṣisamudāya*, congregation of monks, is said to have purchased some land about A.D. 1116,[95] and the same *samudāya* is just mentioned in another inscription of a slightly later date in the reign of Vikramacōḷa.[96] An undated inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga I records a gift of land to a *perumbaḷḷi* (big Jain temple), called after the king's name, at Kuhūr, in the Tanjore district.[97] Two other *paḷḷis* are mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1194 from Maruttuvakkuḍi, Tanjore district.[98] The settlement at Jina-Kāñcī is once more mentioned in A.D. 1199, when Kurukkaḷ Candrakīrtti and some others are said to have exerted themselves to secure the grant of a *paḷḷic-canda iṟaiyili* for this important shrine.[98a]

Facts like these raise a warning against a wholesale acceptance of the stories of the persecution and extirpation of Jainism and Buddhism, so freely retailed in the hagiology of the Hindu sects.

Buddhism.

Buddhism does not seem to figure as much in the epigraphy of the period as Jainism. The celebrated Leyden grant indeed records the gift of a whole village to the Bauddha *Vihāra* of Cūḍāmaṇi-Varmadēva in Negapatam, and this grant was supplemented by a fresh gift in the reign of Kulōttunga I, on a representation made by the king of Kaḍāram through his ambassadors. And the Vaiṣṇava legends have preserved a curious story of Tirumangai Āḻvār having despoiled the Bauddha *Vihāra* of Negapatam of a solid golden image of the Buddha in order to find the funds required for building the great Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam; possibly this legend only means that at the time the lives of the Āḻvārs were put together, in the twelfth

century A.D., Negapatam was still a strong centre of Buddhism which attracted popular attention by its wealth and influence. Some relics of Buddhism have been traced in Kāñcīpuram[99] and it is quite possible that Kāñcīpuram which was one of the great centres of Hinduism and Jainism also accommodated a Buddhist colony in these days. Śrī Mūlavāsam in Malabar, on almost the same latitude as Negapatam on the opposite coast, was another well known centre of Buddhism whose influence was felt from very early times in places as far from it as Gandhāra.[100] A more systematic search for Buddhist antiquities in Southern India than has yet been undertaken may reveal other centres of that religion not now known to us. Buddhist writers also contributed to the growth of Tamil Literature, though not to the same extent as Jains. All the same, epigraphy and literature alike produce the impression that in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era, Buddhism was less popular in the Tamil country than Jainism, and it seems probable that in the religious controversies of the preceding age, Buddhism suffered more damage and lost its hold on the people of the country more completely than Jainism.

General harmony.

The picture of religious life in the country is thus a complex one. There was a perpetual stirring and mixing together of various creeds each influencing the others and being influenced in turn. As a result of this long process of assimilation, the Buddhist *vihāra*, the Jain *palli*, and the Hindu temple presented many similarities in their worship, organisation and festivities in the midst of equally striking differences; and the ideals of asceticism and renunciation made a common appeal to all these religions alike. On the whole the religious differences of the time, such as they were, did not tend to produce social discord, and a general attitude of mutual tolerance, if not respect, seems to have been well sustained.

1. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. xl.
2. Canto xiv, 89-99.
3. For an unconvincing attempt to treat this as history, see S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 413-4. M. Raghava Aiyangar, on the other hand, suggests that the story is the result of a confusion between

Āḻudaiya Nambi, i.e., Sundaramūrti, the real contemporary of Tirumangai, and Āḻudaiya Piḷḷai (Sambandar). *Āḻvārgaḷ Kālanilai*, p. 137—a shrewd guess, but not more. More recently the same scholar has restated some of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's arguments and sought to establish the contemporaneity of the two hymnists; but his new argument rests on the unproven and improbable assumption that Nandivarman Pallavamalla had the title Vairamēgha. *Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, p. 210.

4. See K. S. Srinivasa Pillai—*Tamiḻ Varalāṟu*, Part II, pp. 179 ff. *Contra ARE.* 1918, II, 34 which, strangely enough, makes Śēkkiḻār, the author of Purāṇam on the Discovery of the Tirumuṟai.

5. 8 of 1918.

6. 373 of 1903 and 99 of 1929.

7. *SII.* iii, p. 93, ll. 32-3.

8. 129 of 1914; 349 of 1918; 358 of 1903; 199 of 1915, etc. The mention of *Tiruvembāvai* in 12 of 1905, of *Tiruccāḷai* in 165 of 1906, and of *Tiruvembāvai* and *Tiruvādavūrāḷi-nāyanār* in 421 of 1912 is noteworthy.

8a. 97 of 1932. See, however, *Tamil Lexicon*, s. v. Dēvāram.

8b. 143-4, 149, and 160-1 of 1940-1, *ARE*, 1939/40-42/3, II, 41.

8c. 176 of 1940-1.

9. v. 46; also *EI.* xv, p. 54.

10. Nāthamuni's birth place is called Vīranārāyaṇapuram; this recalls a surname of Parāntaka I.

11. i.e., the works of Śaṭhakōpa.

12. *Divyasūricaritra*, xvi, 13-21. The same story is repeated with some natural embellishments, in the Guruparamparas. The main differences introduced by the later account are: (a) the visitors to Vīranārāyaṇapuram, from whose recitation of a hymn Nāthamuni learned of the existence of the hymns, are stated to have come from the Western country, and not Kurugūr. (b) At Kurugūr, Nāthamuni is told definitely by Parānkuśadāsa, a pupil of Madhurakavi, that the *Tiruvāymoḻi* and other sacred literature had been lost for a long time. (c) All the 4,000 hymns, not only the one thousand and odd of Śaṭhakopa, are revealed to Nāthamuni.

13. R. G. Bhandarkar's date, twelfth century A.D., for Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār (*Vaiṣṇavism*, etc., pp. 49-50) is clearly wrong. A hymn of Kulaśēkhara is specifically mentioned by its first words—*tēṭṭarundiṟal*—in an inscription of the year A.D. 1088. (*SII.* iii, p. 148).

14. 181 of 1923.

15. 176 of 1923.

16. 61 of 1892.

17. 62 of 1892.

18. 343 of 1921.

19. 557 of 1919.

20. 126 of 1900, a record of Śōḻa-Kēraḷadēva.

21. 493 of 1919.

22. 333 of 1906.

23. 103 of 1926; 52 of 1928.

24. 266 of 1923.

25. *SII.* ii, 25 seems to me to record one such endowment. The phrase employed is *tirup-paṟai-aṟaiyavum;* Hultzsch has taken this to mean: 'to beat the sacred drum'. The fact that the act had to be performed by *apūrvis* of the *ghaṭikā* (See *SII.* iii, p. 233 n. 2) suggests the need for a better interpretation; *paṟai* means also 'word' and *'aṟai'*, 'speak' or 'recite'. I think it is the recitation of the Vedas, the Sacred Word, that is in question here.

26. 403 of 1896, 214 of 1911 and 321 of 1917.

27. *ARE.* 1912, II, 29. See also Tucci's citations in *JPASB.* xxvi (1930), pp. 130-2.

28. The Ānaimalai (Madura) 'Cave Temple' to Narasimha is one of the few early Pāṇḍya temples known. *EI.* viii pp. 317 ff.

29. *EI.* xvii, p. 14.

30. 132 of 1925.

31. *EI.* iv, p. 281, and 382 of 1905.

32. *ARE.* 1926, II, 22.

33. *SII.* ii, Introduction, pp. 39-40.

34. *SII.* ii, 20. See Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography,* ii, Intr.

35. 111 of 1930.

36. 72 of 1931.

37. *JOR.* vii, p. 200.

38. 8 of 1919. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil has stated that the *nāmam* is not seen earlier than fifteenth century. (*Archaeologie du sud de l' Inde.,* ii, p. 62). This inscription gives clear evidence of its use at least four centuries earlier.

39. Verse 86.

40. 205 of 1904.

41. *Periya-tiru-moḻi.* VI, 6, 4.

42. 257 of 1925.

43. *SII.* ii, Intr., pp. 29-41.

44. *Ibid.;* 606 of 1902; 177 of 1907; and 118 of 1914.

45. Also 56 and 57 of 1913.

46. 207 of 1919.

47. Also 10 of 1898.

48. 705 of 1909; 131 of 1892 (*SII.* iii, 66).

49. 93 of 1925; 289 of 1897.

50. 244 of 1910.

51. 335 of 1906.

52. 187 of 1912.

53. 125 of 1922.

54. 335 of 1917. Sūrya, seven mothers and Śāstā are mentioned together in 131 of 1892.

55. 430 of 1905; 255 of 1915.

56. 484 of 1911.

57. For an ingenious but perverse explanation of this feature, see Trevaskis—*The Land of the Five Rivers,* p. 57.

58. 333 of 1917.
59. *Vēdam aḷagidāga valla Brāhmaṇar*, 343 of 1917.
60. 184 of 1923.
61. 467 of 1908; 577 of 1920; 227 of 1911; 101 of 1914; 241 of 1894, etc.
62. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
63. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*
64. Pd. no. 14. See also *PK.* pp. 116-7.
65. 85 of 1908.
66. 85 of 1889.
67. 177, 181 of 1912, etc.
68. 247 of 1923.
69. 360, 357, 352 of 1911.
70. Names like Lakuliśvara and Caturānana are titles rather than personal names. Failure to grasp this fact firmly has led to some confused writing. Fleet made the mistake of supposing that the founder of Pāśupata was the same as Lakulīśa of the Mēlpāḍi inscriptions, (*EI.* v. p. 288; *contra* Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff), who is again identified with his namesake of Jāmbai (*ARE.* 1907, II, 39). The latter identification is not, like the former, a chronological impossibility; but it is improbable that the same man was in charge of important religious duties at Mēlpāḍi and Jambai about the same time. The Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscriptions leave no manner of doubt that Caturānana was the title of the head of the local *maṭha* borne by a succession of persons who held the office.

71. 181 of 1912. *ARE.* 1913, II, 17. *EI.* xxvii, p. 293. One wonders if this man was the same as Veḷḷangumaran, the Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya, who built the Śiva temple at Grāmam (735 of 1905), and was the most prominent among the numberless Kēraḷa servants of Rājāditya.

72. *'Guhai'* means, according to the old Tamil lexicon, the *Pingalam*, a place where ascetics reside (*munivar iruppiḍam*), a monastery. Vide *Tamil Lexicon* s. v. *Guhai*.

73. *Contra ARE.* 1909 II, 53. Tiruvāḍuturai (111 of 1925) and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (181 of 1912) are among the earliest places where *maṭhas* came up. See also *ARE.* 1911, II, 31 for a brief notice of some *maṭhas*.

73a. 88 of 1946-7, *ARE.* p. 3.
74. 392 of 1908.
75. 49 of 1911.
75a. 14 of 1936-7, *ARE.* II, 28.
76. 192 of 1929.
77. *ARE.* 1929, II, 39; *TAR.* 1920-21, p. 64.
78. 471 of 1912.
79. *Contra ARE.* 1913, II, 42.
80. *SII.* ii, 38, paragraph 48.
81. *SII.* ii, p. 68.
82. 360 of 1907; 211 of 1912.
83. *SII.* ii, 65.

83a. A lamp of ghee and camphor to be maintained in the temple of Śauripperumāḷ at Tirukkaṇṇapuram required, in A.D. 1129, an endowment of 20 *kaḻañjus* in gold. (509 of 1922).

84. Details of such instances are cited in my paper on 'The Economy of a South Indian Temple in the Cōḷa Period' in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume.*

85. *TAS.* ii, pp. 125 ff.
86. *SII.* ii, 76, vv. 27–8.
87. *SII.* iii, 92.
88. 201 of 1902.
89. 277 of 1916.
90. 7 of 1899.
91. 430 of 1922.

92. 53 of 1900. Possibly the 24 formed a local Jain assembly, the number being that of the Tirthankaras.

93. 385 of 1902.

94. *SII.* i, 67 and 68. Kundavai built another Jain temple at Dādāpuram. (ante p. 643).

95. 382 of 1929.
96. 381 of 1929.
97. 288 of 1917.
98. 392 of 1907.
98a. 43 of 1890.
99. *IA.*, 44, p. 127.
100. *TAS.* ii, p. 117.

Chapter XXVI

LITERATURE UNDER THE CŌḶAS

Introductory.

In literature, as in most other spheres, the age of the imperial Cōḷas constitutes the most creative epoch of South Indian History. After the brilliant achievement of the Śangam age, in which the princes of the Cōḷa lineage took a good part as patrons of poets and sometimes as authors, literature and arts pass under the protection of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas for a period of four or five centuries. During this period, Tamil and Sanskrit literatures were extensively cultivated; there was also some writing in Pāli undertaken principally by the Buddhist divines of the period. The *Dēvāram* and the *Tiruvāśagam*, and the bulk of the 'Four Thousand Sacred Hymns' of the Tamil Vaiṣṇava Canon belong undoubtedly to this period, as also the *Pāṇḍikkōvai*, *Śūḷāmaṇi*, the *Nandikkalambakam* and the *Bhāratavenbā* of Perundēvanār. In the domain of Sanskrit, the illustrious names of Kumārila and Śankara belong to the same age.

Effects of Cōḷa expansion.

With the rise of the Cōḷa power, there ensues a broadening of the channels of literature and a more copious flow of literary effort, the expression of a fresh energy released by the realisation, for the first time, of an imperial state in South India. The direct connection between the growth of the Cōḷa empire, a new political fact, and the birth of the new literature, becomes clear if we compare the highly ornate and poetic *praśastis* of the Cōḷa inscriptions with the meagre and arid prose of the inscriptions of an earlier time. The difference is more noticeable in Tamil, the language of the people, than in Sanskrit, the language of learning. All the *praśastis* of the Cōḷa kings from the time of Rājarāja I, with few exceptions, may be classed among the best specimens of the literature of the age; the stately diction, the easy flow of the verse, and the animated narration of historical incidents mark them out as a class by themselves in the literature of Tamil. Besides the

Literature in Inscriptions.

imperial *praśastis*, there are other instances of literature in inscriptions. The examples that suggest themselves most readily are the Cidambaram and Tiruvadi inscriptions which recount the career and achievements of Naralōkavīra, an official who served Kulōttunga I and Vikramacōḷa with great distinction; and the *praśastis* of the Kāḍavas in the inscriptions found at Atti, Vāyalūr (Vailūr) and Vṛddhāchalam. In these compositions the various metres are handled with great skill; the somewhat complex laws of Tamil prosody are observed with an easy grace which saves the author from the use of obscure words or the adoption of forced constructions; and as narrative poetry, these inscriptions share some of the best qualities of the imperial *praśastis*. There is not the slightest doubt therefore that these poems were the compositions of court-poets of a high order, and that the steady demand for their services furnished a great impetus to the cultivation of secular literature in this period.

Lost poems.

The names of some works have been preserved casually in the inscriptions; these works are altogether unknown otherwise; they were once considered worthy of public recognition, but having no access to the works themselves, we are not in a position to decide if the recognition was a homage to their literary excellence or was the result of other causes, local or personal. However that may be, the names of these works and the occasions for their being mentioned in inscriptions give us some idea of the extent of popular interest in literary productions and of the types of literature that commanded popularity. Rājarāja I, perhaps the greatest emperor of the line, was the subject of two works, a drama and a *Kāvya*. They are the *Rājarājēśvara-nāṭakam* and the *Rājarāja-vijayam*;[1] the former was to be enacted in the great Tanjore temple during festivals and the latter was to be read in the temple at Tiruppūndurutti, and endowments were created to provide for both. It is not certain if these works were in Tamil or Sanskrit; it seems probable that the *nāṭakam* was not a drama based on Rājarāja's life, but rather a dramatic representation of the construction of the great temple itself, if it was not merely an attempt to popularise some Śaiva legends. The *Rājarāja-vijayam* might have been a quasi-historical poem treating of Rājarāja's reign. In any case, both the works must

have contained several allusions, if not accurate descriptions, of some of the most striking episodes in Rājarāja's life, and the loss of these works is indeed much to be regretted. Kulōttunga I was the subject of another work, *Kulōttunga-Cōḷa-caritai*, by Tirunārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, also called Kavi-kumuda-candra, a pandit from Mānakulāśaniccēri in Tribhuvani, and the poet was given as reward (*saṛkāram*) land of the extent of half a *nilam* and two *mā-s* by the *sabhā* of the village, the land being always assessable only at the rate prevailing for the twelfth grade. The award was made by the *sabhā* in accordance with an order from the king requiring them to adjudge the *kāvya* and reward the author suitably.[2] Two inscriptions from Cuddalore, South Arcot, dated 1111 and 1119, record gifts of tax-free land in recognition of a *sthalapurāṇa* and a *nāṭaka* (based on local legends) composed by a certain Kamalālaya Bhaṭṭa; the works were called *Kannivana-purāṇam* and *Pūm-puliyūr-nāḍagam*, names which seem to imply that they were Tamil works of a popular character.[3] In endowing a lamp at Tiruvālangāḍu, North Arcot, in 1210 the donor, Araṇilaiviśākhan Trailōkyamallan Vatsarājan of Arumbākkam, describes himself as a person who rendered the Bhārata in elegant Tamil and discovered the path of Śiva.[4] In 1146 a certain Marudattūr-uḍaiyān states that he gave to the temple at Nāngupaṭṭi some land which he had received from Vedavanamuḍaiyān of Paiyyūr whom he had celebrated in verse.[5] Two other instances occur in inscriptions which, though doubtless of the Cōḷa period, cannot be more precisely dated as the names of the kings in whose reigns the records were engraved are not given. When the king was witnessing a dance by Pūngōyil-nāyakat-talaikkōli in one of the pavilions in the temple at Tiruvārūr, he was pleased to order the gift of some *iṛaiyili* land in the *brahmadēya* village Vāyāṛṛūr to Pūngōyiḷ Nambi who had celebrated a feudatory of the king (*nammakkaḷ*), Vīraśoḷa Aṇukkar, in a poem called *Vīraṇukkavijayam*;[6] evidently the Nambi and the *talaikkōli* were ministering in the same shrine. Lastly, the officers of the treasury of the temple of Tiruvallam gave away 100 *kuḷis* from the temple lands to Varadayap-pulavar of Kuṛaṭṭi who had composed the *Vallai-andādi*, a poem in praise of the local deity.[6a] These examples of forgotten poems

mentioned in the inscriptions, and nowhere else, attest the existence of a fairly widespread literary activity of a popular character. When we add to this, the list of poems and other works fragments of which are preserved in the older commentaries and glosses, we may safely conclude that much excellent work has been lost beyond recovery. This is true to some extent of the ancient literature of any country; but with regard to South India, the impression is hard to resist that this loss has been very considerable and that, with some remarkable exceptions, the survivals have been the result more of caprice and accident than of deliberate choice or of an active literary criticism.

Perungadai.

About the close of Pāṇḍya-Pallava period must be placed the important Tamil version of the *Bṛhat-kathā*, *Perungadai* or *Udayaṇan Kadai* by the poet who is known by the name Kongu-vēḷir, the *vēḷ* (chieftain) of Kongu. Very little is known of his life; a verse in a recent work *Kongu-maṇḍalaśatakam* states that he was a native of Mangai, which has been identified with Vijaya-mangalam in the Erode taluq of the Coimbatore district. Aḍiyārkku-nallār, the celebrated annotator of the *Śilappadi-kāram*, has said that *Udayaṇan Kadai* was based on a study of several works of the age of the second Śangam; from this the conclusion has been drawn that this work may date from the third century A.D. or earlier.[7] This is, however, by no means certain; all that we can say is that in the days of Aḍiyārkku-nallār in the twelfth century A.D., this belief was current about *Udayaṇan Kadai*.[8] On the other hand, it is the opinion of Svāmināṭha Aiyar, the great scholar to whom we owe a masterly edition of all that has survived of this work,[9] that it was indebted to the Sanskrit version known to have been made by the Ganga ruler Durvinīta in the sixth century A.D. The story of Udayana is very well known and need not be detailed here; of the adventures of his son, Naravāhana, the most original part of Guṇāḍhya's work, the *Perungadai* in its extant parts knows little. These comprise a hundred sections of varying length, the shortest being about fifty lines and the longest a little over two hundred. The metre is *ahaval*, a very flexible type, analogous to blank verse in English, and most suited for narrative poetry. The style of the author is very chaste and direct, and the poem rightly

takes a high rank among the literary classics of the Tamil world.

Śindāmaṇi.

The *Śīvaka-Śindāmaṇi* of the Jain poet Tiruttakkadēva is counted as the greatest among the *mahākāvyas* of Tamil literature. As it is seen to follow the *Kṣattracūḍāmaṇi* of Vādībhasimha, itself based on the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra composed in A.D. 898,[10] there can be little doubt that the *Śindāmaṇi* was composed sometime in the tenth century.[11] Naccinārkkiniyar states that the author was born of the race of the Cōḷas.[12] A later tradition cherished by Tamil Jains adds that after a full course of study in Tamil and Sanskrit, he turned an ascetic at a relatively early age and went to Madura to live there for some time in the company of the great poets of the Tamil Śangam. While admitting the distinction earned by Jain writers in the line of religious and holy literature, these poets challenged their capacity in general, and that of Tiruttakkadēvar in particular, to contribute to the literature of Love. The ascetic poet took up the challenge, and having satisfied his *guru* that he would not lose his spiritual balance if he was permitted to produce an erotic poem, he composed the big poem on the life of Jīvakan, the subject prescribed by his master. The result pleased the *guru;* but it did not give the quietus to the critics of the Śangam, who, unable to deny the merits of the poem, now raised a suspicion against the character of its author, saying that one who had no experience of sex-life could not have produced it; Tiruttakkadēvar then demonstrated the purity of his devotion to the ascetic ideal by means of an ordeal. We may not accept these tales as history, especially because there is nothing in the poem of Tiruttakkadēvar that cannot be explained on the simple supposition that the Jain poet wanted to set forth in Tamil one of the most romantic and edifying cycles of tales preserved in the Purāṇas of the Jainas.

The life story of Jīvaka is that of an ideal hero, equally distinguished in the arts of war and peace, the perfect saint no less than the charming lover. After a stormy youth marked by many adventures, Jīvaka finds himself in the prime of life the monarch of a splendid kingdom; for some years thereafter he lives a life of pleasure in the company of the eight splendid queens whom he had espoused at different times

earlier in life; in fact, the *Śindāmaṇi* is also called *Maṇa-nūl*, the Book of Marriages, on account of each of Jīvaka's adventures culminating in a happy marriage. Jīvaka is shaken from his complacency by an incident, trivial in itself, but full of deep significance to him. He sees in a moment's flash the hollowness of human life and the wisdom of seeking release from its bonds. He installs his son on the throne and seeks the peace of the forest, and attains salvation in the end.

In its present form the poem contains 3,145 stanzas, of four lines each. It is said that the author actually composed only 2,700 stanzas, the remaining 445 being later additions by his *guru*, with whose permission he wrote the poem, and by another hand.[13] The annotator has marked out two verses as those of the *guru*, but there is no means of identifying the additions of the other writer mentioned above, if there were such additions. The art of Tiruttakkadēvar is marked by all the qualities of great poetry and has, as is well-known, furnished the model for even the genius of Kamban. We shall see that it also inspired, though indirectly, the composition of the *Periya-Purāṇam*.

It seems probable that two other *mahākāvyas*, the *Valaiyāpati* and the *Kuṇḍalakēśi*, known so far only by fragments cited in other works, were both composed more or less about the same time as the *Śindāmaṇi*. The *Kuṇḍalakēśi*, it may be noted, is one of the few known Buddhist Tamil works besides the *Maṇimēkalai*.

Kallāḍam.

The *Kallāḍam* is a poem of Kallāḍanār, the work and the author alike taking the name of a place,[14] possibly the birth-place of the poet. He must have been different from the Śangam poet of the same name, five of whose songs figure in the *Puṟanānūṟu*,[15] and others in the *Ahanānūṟu* and *Kuṟundogai*. There is a tradition that the author of the *Kallāḍam* chose one hundred verses from the *Tiruccirṟambalak-kōvai* as the basis for his work, and this may well have been so. The work is written in a peculiar style, the result of the author's forced attempt to revive the poetic forms and diction of the Śangam age. The whole poem is thus a curious instance of extreme pedantry. It comprises a hundred pieces, each purporting to depict a particular mood of love (*Ahatturai*). The formalised sche-

matic and rather soulless treatment of love in the *Kōvai* type appears, to a modern mind, enough in itself to spoil the chances of real literature; our author has imposed further shackles on himself by tying himself up to a selection of verses from the *Tirukkōvai* and by his deliberate effort to write in an idiom unnatural in his age; and there is no evidence to suggest that the author meant it to be a mere burlesque or parody; in fact it is too serious for that, and the story is that the excellence of the *Tirukkōvai* was demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Śangam only by this effort of Kallāḍanār. The decay of taste and the failure to reach a proper standard of literary criticism and maintain it, is best seen in the admiration in which this stilted composition has been held by generations of scholars and poets in recent times.[16]

Kallāḍanār was fully acquainted with the cycle of Śaiva legends centring round Madura,[16a] and refers to the miracles wrought by Śiva on account of Māṇikkavāśagar, Darumi, Iḍaikkāḍar and others. It is probable that the *Tirukkaṇṇappadēvar Tirumaṛam* included in the eleventh section of the Śaiva canon was also his work. There is no definite evidence on the age of the *Kallāḍam;* it may be as early as the tenth century, or it may be much later. It is a safe assumption that in any case it belongs to the age of the Imperial Cōḷas.

Kalingattupparaṇi.

The *Kalingattupparaṇi* composed by the poet laureate Jayangoṇḍār towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I is the earliest and best of the *paraṇis* accessible to us. It is a splendid little masterpiece. The line between history and fictitious convention is very clearly seen throughout the poem; and the poet's mastery of a choice diction, and the sustained harmony between the metres employed and the incidents portrayed, are unique in the whole range of Tamil literature. The *paraṇi* is the war poem *par excellence* and depicts not only the pomp and circumstance of war, but all the gruesome details of the field. It may be noted in passing that the Kalinga war of Kulōttunga seems to have been the theme of several literary efforts; to judge from the stray verses on the subject preserved by the commentaries on the *Viraśōḻiyam* and the *Daṇḍiyalaṅgāram*, a good part of the results of these efforts has been lost irretrievably. The survival of the *Kalingattup-*

paraṇi in its entirety is perhaps due to its supreme merit; for there are several instances in the history of Indian literatures of one good book killing many inferior ones. Jayangoṇḍār had many imitators but no rival among the poets of later times.

Kūttan.

Kūttan or Oṭṭakkūttan came of the class of Śengundar who seem to have pursued the occupations of fighting in the army as privates and captains, and of weaving.[17] Born in a poor family in Malari, an obscure village in the Cōḷa country,[18] he sought service under Śankaran, the chieftain of Puduvai and father of Śaḍaiyan, the patron of the more celebrated Kamban. A certain Gāngēyan soon discovered that Kūttan was destined for a higher purpose than household service under Śankaran, and Kūttan expressed his gratitude by composing the *Nālāyirakkōvai* on his patron Gāngēya. Another patron of Kūttan was a certain Sōman of Puvanai, i.e. Tribhuvani near Pondicherry. When his fame rose, Kūttan was entertained in their court by three successive Cōḷa monarchs beginning with Vikramacōḷa; on each of them he composed an *ulā*, besides a *paraṇi* celebrating Vikramacōḷa's Kalinga war, and a *piḷḷaittamil* on Kulōttunga II. The last poem is easily the best among the known compositions of the poet on account of its copious diction, its melodious verse, and fine imagery. The stories of the circumstances leading to Kūttan's composition of the *Iṭṭi-yeḻupadu*, *Eḻuppeḻupadu* and the *Takkayāgapparaṇi* belong more to anthropology than history. When the poet's fame stood at its highest, the *śengundar* wanted Kūttan to celebrate the glories of their community, and when the poet sought to excuse himself saying that he could not be expected to employ his talents in praising his own community, the irate *śengundar* made up their minds to do away with the man who was so utterly devoid of caste-consciousness. The poet escaped with his life by a trick played by his friends on the foolish *śengundar*, but then he agreed to praise the *Iṭṭi* (spear), the chief weapon of the *śengundar* in war, if they would make an offering of 1008 heads severed from the shoulders of as many first-born *śengundar* youths for the goddess to inspire Kūttan to his enterprise. After some argument this was agreed to, and Kūttan sang the *Iṭṭiyeḻupadu*, seventy verses in praise of the spear, and the *Eḻuppeḻupadu*, seventy verses calculated to

bring back to life the 1008 youths whose lives had been sacrificed. Of the second poem only some fragments are left and these are by no means entitled to a high place as Tamil poetry. The *Iṭṭiyeḻupadu*, also poor poetry, contains a number of local allusions to apparently historical incidents in which *śengundar* soldiers and chieftains played a part; but there is no means yet of explaining these allusions, and the annotators, unwilling to confess ignorance, fabricate legends. Kūttan is said to have become Oṭṭakkūttan after he got the severed heads of the *śengundar* youths to attach themselves (*oṭṭa*) again to their respective bodies. A more plausible, if less romantic, story accounts for the name by saying that, at the request of the Cōḷa king, the poet attached (*oṭṭa*) a *kaṇṇi* of the *ulā* to another verse composed by him on the spot. The *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, obviously an imitation of the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, in its metres and diction, handles a Purāṇic theme with considerable force and power, and must rank high as literature, though well below its model. Other poems attributed to Kūttan are the *Sarasvatiyandādi* (said to be the very first of his compositions) in praise of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, by whose grace he became a poet; and the *Arumbait-toḷḷāyiram*. The village of Kūttanūr on the banks of the Ariśil river in the Tanjore district keeps alive the memory of the poet and the patronage of his talents by the Cōḷa rulers who gave him the village as a fief. A Sarasvati temple in it, and a pedestal inscribed in Tamil characters of the 12th century and recording that Kavipperumāḷ *alias* Ōvāda-kūttar, the grandson of the *Kavic-cakravarti* of Malari, set up an image of Sarasvati,[19] now lost, show that the stories which connect Kūttan with Sarasvati in a special manner are not altogether unfounded.[20]

Kamban.

A greater poet than Oṭṭakūttan was Kamban, the celebrated author of the *Rāmāyaṇam*. This poem is the greatest epic in Tamil literature, and though the author states that he follows in the wake of Vālmīki, still his work is no mere translation nor even an adaptation of the Sanskrit original. In the treatment of the incidents in the story, and in the portrayal of the chief characters in it, Kamban makes many wide departures and handles the subject matter with a mastery and originality and a depth of poetic experience seldom equalled in Tamil literature.

Like the other great poets who have enriched the literatures of the different languages of India and the East by their works on the Rāma story, Kamban imports into his narration the colour of his own time and place. Thus his description of Kōsala is an idealised account of the features of the Cōḷa country, and when he wants to emphasise the glory of moonlight, he brings it home to his readers by saying that it spread everywhere like the fame of his patron Śaḍaiyan of Veṇṇai.[21] Rāma himself was as much master of the Tamil idiom as of the Sanskrit.[22] Sometimes Kamban is influenced by the somewhat rigid canon of Tamil poetics, as when he enters on an elaborate analysis of the emotions of Rāma and Sītā after a chance meeting which takes place immediately on Rāma's entry into Mithilā. Elsewhere, as in the description of Sītā's behaviour when Hanumān handed over Rāma's ring to her, Kamban eleborates a brief hint of Sītā's emotions thrown out by Vālmīki who says that she rejoiced as if she had rejoined her husband. He compresses Vālmīki's account at other points, as in Daśaratha's *aśvamēdha*.

From amidst a mass of legend centring round the name of the great poet, some facts seem to stand out prominently. His father was Āditya a resident of Mūvalūr (Tanjore dt., Mayavaram tq.) in Tiruvaḷundūr-nāḍu, and he seems to have been an *uvaccan* by caste.[23] Early in life, he attracted the attention of Śaḍaiyappavaḷḷal *alias* Śararāman, the Trigarta chieftain of Puduvai; the Trigarta is mentioned in the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā*[24] and in some undated inscriptions from Mūvalūr and Tirukkōḍikāval in which he is also described as Cēdirāya of the Gangā race.[25] Kamban was also patronised by the contemporary Cōḷa king and was granted by him a fief called Kambanāḍu and the title *Kavic-cakravarti*. He undertook the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or rather *Rāmāvatāra* as he seems to have called it, out of an unbounded love for the theme, and he carried the story only up to the return of Rāma to Ayōdhyā and his coronation as king, the *uttara kāṇḍam* being reputed to be the work either of Oṭṭakkūttan or a lesser celebrity by name Vāṇidāsan or Vāṇiyan Tādan.

Perhaps less worthy of credence are some other details of a personal nature. He fell in love with a dancing girl Valli whom he met in the Śaiva *maṭha* presided over by Caturā-

nana Paṇḍita at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, and verses are preserved in the *Tamiḻ-nāvalar-caritai* which purport to record Kamban's great love and admiration of Valli and his dissatisfaction with another claimant to his affections. The story goes that Kamban commanded the regard of all the ruling sovereigns of his time, including the Pāṇḍya and the Kākatīya Rudra, and that the Cōḷa ruler, jealous of his fame and anxious to get rid of his over-mighty subject, plotted his murder and executed it in person; there is no means yet of deciding if this puerile account of the poet's end has any foundation.[26]

His date.

The date of Kamban has been much disputed, but there seems to be now little room left to doubt that he was a junior contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttan and of Śēkkiḻar or followed close upon them. The palaeography of the inscriptions of Śaḍaiyan mentioned above, and Kamban's description of the Cōḷa country as belonging to *Tyāgamāvinōdan*, a title which recalls the surname of Kulōttunga III,[27] are fairly conclusive on the point. The distinct echoes of the *Śīvaka-Śindāmaṇi* in Kamban's great work constitute, in the light of the date assigned to the former poem, another circumstance confirming the date thus suggested for Kamban.[27a]

Besides the *Rāmāyaṇam*, Kamban is said to have been the author of the *Ēreḻupadu*, and *Śaḍagōparandādi*, as also of a *Mummaṇik-kōvai* (not now extant) which gave rise to an attack on Kamban's verse by Vāṇiyan Tādan. The *Ēreḻupadu* together with the *Tirukkai vaḻakkam* is a eulogium on agriculture and the cultivator class, the Veḷḷāḷas. When the poem was being published in an assembly, Cēdirāyan, the son of Śaḍaiyan, was bitten by a poisonous snake and died; he was restored to life by a couple of *veṇbās* composed by the poet for the purpose. The *andādi* had to be composed by Kamban to please the god of Śrīrangam before whom approval was sought by the poet for his *Rāmāyaṇam* and who made it a condition that Kamban should praise his beloved devotee Śaṭhakōpa in a centum of verses. In view of the tendency, common in Indian literature, of fathering minor works of unknown origin upon celebrated authors, and in view of the mediocre and commonplace character of these two works, we have to receive with great suspicion the popular legends on their authorship and the occasions for their composition.

Pugaḷēndi.

Pugaḷēndi is held by a persistent tradition to have been a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttan; a native of Kaḷandai in the Toṇḍaināḍ, he sought a career in the Pāṇḍyan court; later, he went over to the Cōḷa court when the Cōḷa ruler espoused a Pāṇḍyan princess. There he roused the jealousy of Kūttan, and their intrigues against each other brought discord into the royal household. Finally, the differences between the poets were made up by the king's intercession and they began to live in peace and friendship. This pretty story has no apparent claim to our credence. Again the *Toṇḍaimaṇḍala-śatakam* states that Pugaḷēndi composed a *Kalambakam*, a eulogium in various metres, on Koṟṟandai, the chief of Jiñji (*Śeñjiyar kōn*); if we accept the tradition that Oṭṭakūttan and Pugaḷēndi were contemporaries, this chief of Jiñji may have been no other than the one mentioned in the *Vikramaśōḷanulā*,[28] but this is doubtful, and modern critics place him a century later than Kūttan.[28a] Pugaḷēndi is, however, best known by his *Naḷaveṇbā*, a poem narrating the story of Naḷa in about four hundred stanzas in the *veṇbā* metre. The *veṇbā* is to Tamil what the *anuṣṭhup* is to the Sanskrit language, a simple and flexible medium capable of producing great results in the hands of a great poet. And Pugaḷēndi's *veṇbās* are indeed of high quality; and the popularity of the theme he handled gained great currency for them. Other works with little or no claim to literary merit have often been fathered on Pugaḷēndi; the tendency is partly explained by the easy style of the *Naḷaveṇbā* which made Pugaḷēndi popular; but there is nothing in common between the fine poetry of the *Naḷaveṇbā* and the miserable doggerels attributed to him by an ignorant popular tradition. The age of Pugaḷēndi cannot be established by any tangible evidence, as his references to Candiran Suvarkki of Muraṇai-nagar in Maḻuvanāḍu cannot yet be related to the inscriptions; the echoes of the ideas and even phrases of Kamban in his poem are sufficiently striking to give plausibility to the view that Pugaḷēndi could not have preceded that great poet.

Two *kōvais*.

The *Kulōttungan-kōvai* and the *Tañjaivāṇan- kōvai* deserve to be mentioned as among the best known works of secular literature belonging to the late Cōḷa period. The first, as we have seen, is a

Kōvai on Kumāra Kulōttunga who may be tentatively identified with Kulōttunga III. Little is known of the author, and the poem has no conspicuous merit except that it centres round a great Cōḷa ruler and contains passing allusions to some of his achievements in war. The *kōvai*, like the *ulā*, is a peace poem; it purports to deal with the stages in the development of love between a lover and his love from the moment they are thrown together by accident; in portraying each situation, details relating to the birth and achievements of the hero are worked in by the poet. The *Tañjaivāṇan-kōvai* falls almost outside the period of Cōḷa supremacy. After the *Tiruk-kōvaiyār* of Māṇikkavāśagar, this is the most popular among the poems of this type. The author, Poyyā-moḻi Pulavar, may have been a native of Vañji, as the name Vañji-Poyyāmoḻi indicates. He seems to have lived for some time in Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi, Turaiyūr and Madura; he is said to have finally betaken himself to Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, but another tradition affirms that the poet burnt himself to death on the funeral pyre of his patron Śīnakkan of Araiśūr.[29] The Vāṇan of Tañjai, the hero of the *Kōvai*, is reputed to have been the minister of the Pāṇḍya king and chieftain of Tañjākkūr in Māṟanāḍu near Madura. He is described in the *Kōvai*[30] as 'the eye of the Pāṇḍya who conquered the *malai-nāḍu*.' This must be a reference to Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I A.D. 1260-1308. This inference gains strength from another fact. The *Kōvai* illustrates systematically the rules of the *Nambi-Ahapporuḷ*, which mentions Kulaśēkhara as the king in whose reign it was composed and published.[31]

Śēkkiḻār.

The *Periya-Purāṇam* of Śēkkiḻār and the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* of Perumbaṟṟap-puliyūr Nambi are two works of high literary quality dealing with Śaiva hagiology and legends, and these may be briefly considered before taking up the purely devotional literature of the age. Of the composition of the *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* or the *Periya-Purāṇam* we have a graphic account attributed to Umāpati Śivācārya, c. A.D. 1313—the *Śēkkiḻār Nāyanār Purāṇam* narrates the life of Śēkkiḻār, and this work in spite of its being a Purāṇa, is unique for its historical and biographical interest. Umāpati came in the main line of Śaiva tradition and lived in an age when the memory of the great Cōḷa rulers and their achievements was still fresh; he must have had access to

much authentic information, and it is to his uncommon historical sense that we owe this life of Śēkkiḻār. Another work also said to be of Umāpati, though necessarily less authentic in its details relating to a much earlier time, is the *Tirumuṟai-kaṇḍa-purāṇam*, on the work of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, of which some account has already been given.

Śēkkiḻār was born at Kunṟattūr in Kunṟaivaḻanāḍu, a subdivision of Puliyūrk-kōṭṭam in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. He is also called Śēvai-kāvalar and Gangai-kula-tilaka. He was a Veḷḷāḷa by caste; he sought an official career under the Cōḷa government, rose to a high rank and earned the title *Uttama-śōḻa-Pallavan*. He was devoted to the deity of Tirunāgēśvaram and evinced his devotion by building in his native town of Kunṟattur a Śiva temple closely modelled on that of Tirunāgēśvaram. His deeply religious nature was roused to protest against the way in which the *Śīvaka-Śindāmaṇi*, the impious work of a heretical Jaina, was being read, admired and enjoyed in the Court of the Cōḷa monarch; he held that to spend time on such a book was to waste the opportunities of this life and to imperil the life hereafter, and exhorted the king to turn instead to the lives of the Śaiva saints sketched by Sundaramūrti in his *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* and elaborated by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. The king then commanded Śēkkiḻār to expound the life-stories of the Saints, and being greatly attracted by the theme, he desired Śēkkiḻār to write down the lives *in extenso* in a great poem, and gave him much wealth to enable him to undertake the task. Śēkkiḻār then retired to Cidambaram, and with his mind filled with divine grace—there was a voice commanding him to begin the work with the words *Ulagelām*—he began to compose the *Tiruttoṇḍar-Purāṇam* in the beautiful 1000 pillared *maṇḍapa* within the precincts of the temple. Messengers went to the Cōḷa monarch and reported the progress of the work from time to time until it reached completion with a total of 4253 stanzas. Then the king himself came to Cidambaram; again a voice, accompanied by the tinklings of an anklet, commanded the king to listen with attention to the great work of Śēkkiḻār, and there followed the formal publication of the work when Śēkkiḻār expounded it from day to day for a whole year; the work was universally hailed as a veritable fifth Veda in Tamil and immediately took its place as the twelfth book in the Śaiva canon. The author was honoured with the title

Toṇḍar-śīrparavuvār, 'the singer of the glories of saints', adorned with the crown of knowledge (*ñānamuḍi*) and saluted by everyone present including the Cōḷa monarch. Umāpati's poems must be read in the original for one to realise the gusto with which that author celebrates this epoch-making event in the history of South Indian Śaivism.

The *Periya-Purāṇam* has influenced the lives and thoughts of the Tamil Śaiva population almost incessantly from the date of its composition. It has certainly thrown into the shade, at least in popular estimation, many an other work of pure literature, not suffused with the didactic and religious purpose that pervades this Purāṇam. And to this day there are thousands of Tamils who accept the legends embalmed in Śēkkiḻār's melodious verse as literally and historically true. To us the significance of this work lies in the rank it takes among the masterpieces of Tamil literature and in the picture it gives of the heroic age of Tamil Śaivism as it was visualised by one of the most talented and deeply religious seers of the Tamil land. In every way, it is a composition that worthily commemorates the great age of the Imperial Cōḷas and their sustained devotion to Śaivism.

Śēkkiḻār himself tells us that his work was composed to please the *sabhā* of the Cōḷa monarch Anapāya who covered the Pērambalam with fine gold,[32] and we know that this description fits only Kulōttunga II. It may be noted, however, that the name Śēkkiḻār occurs as that of an official of the revenue department as early as A.D. 1093 in the reign of Kulōttunga I.[33] If this official was of the same family as the great poet, the latter must be taken to have come of a family which had distinguished itself for some generations in the service of the state. Umāpati Śivācārya states that Śēkkiḻār had a younger brother Pāḷaṟāvāyar, and it seems most probable that it is he that is mentioned in an early inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga II[34] under the name Śēkkiḻār Pāḷaṟāvāyar Kaḷappāḷarāyan of Kuṉṟattūr. It may be noted in passing that Śēkkiḻār was a family name, a fact which strengthens the identifications proposed here: *Kuṉṟattūṟiṟ-Cēkkiḻār tirumarapu śiṟandadaṉṟē* (Umāpati). Another member of the family, *Śēkkiḻān* Ammaiyappan Parāntakadēvan *alias* Karikālaśōḷa Pallavarāyan, made a gift at Tirukkaḍaiyūr in the Tanjore district in 1182.[35]

Nambi's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal.*

The *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* of Perumbaṟṟap-puliyūr Nambi is the earliest Tamil version we possess of the legends centring round Madura and describing the sixty-four miraculous sports of Śiva. The author was a Brahmin born at Śelli-nagar, now Panaiyūr, near Kari-valamvanda-nallūr in the Tinnevelly district. He composed his work at the request of the contemporary Pāṇḍya king and was richly rewarded by him for his effort. His spiritual *guru* was a certain Vināyaka who belonged to Māḷigaimaḍam in Cidambaram, and the name of Cidambaram (Perumbaṟṟapuliyūr) seems to be prefixed to his own name either to indicate the fact that he had his initiation there, or more generally to mark his devotion to Naṭarāja, the presiding deity of the place. It has been pointed out that in A.D. 1227 a member of our author's family, Ānandatāṇḍavanambi or his wife, erected a *gōpura* in Madura. This may be taken to furnish a rough indication of the age of our author also; but the exact chronological relation between him and Ānandatāṇḍavanambi cannot yet be settled.[36]

A much later version of the 'sacred sports' by Parañjōti held the field, and the earlier work of Nambi had almost been lost sight of till it was recovered, like many another classic, by the prince of modern Tamil scholars, Svāmināṭha Aiyar. Nambi's work differs in many important respects from Parañjōti's, particularly in the names of the Pāṇḍyan kings in whose time particular miracles are believed to have occurred. The fictitious list of successive rulers inheriting the throne for sixty-four generations from father to son, found in the *Hālāsyamāhātmya* and in Parañjōti, is unknown to Nambi, who names in all only less than ten kings. The order in which the sports are narrated also differs; there are besides many other minor differences all of which have been carefully noted by the learned editor of Nambi's Purāṇam. Authors who rush to deduce history from legend will do well to note the warning furnished by a study of these two versions.

Religious Literature.

To turn now to the purely religious literature of the age. The Tamil Śaiva canon owes its present arrangement to Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi who may certainly be assigned to the early eleventh century, if not to the close of the tenth. As has been stated already, Umāpati Śivācārya describes in a short

work, *Tirumuṟai-kaṇḍa-purāṇam*, the redaction of the Śaiva canon by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. He states that Nambi, in the first instance arranged the canon in the form of ten books: the first three comprising 384 *padigams* of Tiru-Ñāna-Sambandar, books four to six made up of 307 *padigams* of Tirunāvukkaraśu, 100 *padigams* of Sundara forming the seventh book, the *Tiruvāśagam* of Māṇikkavāśagar being the eighth, and a number of *tiruviśaippās*[37] by nine different authors and the *Tirumandiram* of Tirumūlar forming the last two books. We learn that subsequently the king requested Nambi to put together one more book from the *padigams* left over, including the *pāśuram* uttered by Śiva himself and calculated to procure *siddhi;* Nambi accordingly arranged the eleventh book of the Canon. This section, including the compositions of Nambi himself, comprises the works of twelve different authors, two of whom are among the sixty-three saints of Śaivism. The *Periya-Purāṇam* counts as the twelfth book. Clearly the arrangement of the books is not chronological; for to give the most striking instance, Tirumūlar was earlier than Sundaramūrti and is mentioned in the *Tiruttoṇḍattogai;* but the *Tirumandiram* is only the tenth book, whereas Sundaramūrtti's hymns form the seventh.

Tirumuṟai.

Among the authors of the ninth Book of the Canon, Gaṇḍarāditya may be definitely identified with the son of Parāntaka I.[38] The attempt to identify Śēndanār with Tirumāḷigaittēvar on the strength of an inscription of the reign of Rājarāja I from Tiruvīḷimiḷalai[39] can hardly be considered satisfactory; the inscription cited does not seem to furnish conclusive proof of the identity, and it seems unlikely that tradition could in this instance have erred so far as to make two authors out of one; for we should not forget that the arrangement of the Canon seems to have reached its present form before the age of Umāpati. Karuvūr-dēvar who has hymns on three Cōḷa temples, the Ādityēśvara at Kaḷandai, the Rājarājēśvara at Tanjore, and the Gangaikoṇḍacōḷēśvara at Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, was as his name indicates a native of Karuvūr, and the legends centring round his name have found a place in the *Karuvūr Purāṇam.*[40] He may be assigned to the first half of the eleventh century A.D. It is possible that Nambi Kāḍa Nambi who has sung two hymns,

one each on Tiruvārūr and Kōyil (Cidambaram) was identical with the Ātrēya Nambi Kāḍa Nambi, an *arcaka* mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1050 from Tiruvaiyāṟu.[41]

Theology.

Among doctrinal works, the *Śiva-Ñāna-Bōdam* of Meykaṇḍār, written in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D.,[42] is the first attempt at a systematic statement of the tenets of Tamil Śaivism. This is a short treatise of a dozen aphorisms (*sūtras*) which seem to have been translated from a Sanskrit original;[43] the author has added *vārttikas* of his own which explain and illustrate the argument of each of the *sūtras* and fix their meanings. The name *Śivā-Ñāna-Bōdam* is explained thus. '*Śivam* is one; *Ñānam* is the knowledge of its true nature; *Bōdam* is the realisation of such knowledge.'[44] The scheme of the twelve *sūtras* is simple. The first three *sūtras* assert the existence of the three entities God (*pati*), bondage (*pāśa*) and soul (*paśu*); the three next define and explain their nature and interrelation; the next triad deals with the means (*sādhana*) of release, and the last part is devoted to the nature of release. The key position held by the work of Meykaṇḍār in the literature of Tamil Śaivism is brought out by a verse which says: 'The Veda is the cow; its milk is the true Āgama; the Tamil sung by the Four is the ghee extracted from it; and the virtue of the Tamil work of Meykaṇḍān of the celebrated (city of) Veṇṇai is the fine taste of the ghee.'[45]

The *Bōdam* was preceded by two short works which may be said to stand almost in the relation of text and commentary.[46] These are the *Tiruvuṇḍiyār* and *Tirukkaliṟṟuppaḍiyār* by two authors, teacher and disciple according to tradition, and both known by the name or rather title Uyya-vandadēvar. They are both works meant to present in an easy style the main aspects of Śaiva doctrine and practice.

After the *Śiva-Ñāna-Bōdam*, the next work of importance on doctrine is the *Śiva-Ñāna-Śittiyār* of Aruṇandi, reputed in tradition to have been first the *guru* of Meykaṇḍār's father and then the disciple of Meykaṇḍār himself. Though written in verse, it is a comprehensive statement of the true doctrine (*supakkam, svapakṣa*) introduced by a critical discussion of rival systems (*para-pakkam*) of which no fewer than fourteen, including four schools of Buddhism and two of Jainism,

are passed under review. This great work, which is, in fact, the classic treatise on Tamil Śaivism, for the work of Meykaṇḍār is too cryptic and fails to explain the position of Śaivism *vis-á-vis* other systems, has been the subject of many commentaries and is to this day the most widely read manual of Śaivism among the Tamils. The *Irupā-virupahdu* by the same writer owes its name to the alternate use of two metres in its twenty verses which expound the doctrine in the form of a dialogue between teacher and pupil. This work is said to have been composed by Aruṇandi to enshrine the memory of his beloved teacher in each of its verses ; and so it does.

Another catechism, much the simplest of all manuals on Śaivism, is the *Uṇmai-viḷakkam* by Manavāśagan-gaḍandār of Tiruvadi (South Arcot) who claims that his work makes not the slightest departure from the essence of the Āgamas. Umāpati Śivācārya, who lived at the close of the thirteenth and the early years of the fourteenth century,[47] was the author of eight works on the doctrine which complete the tale of the Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras in Tamil.

They are the following :

1. *Śivappirakāśam*, an ambitious treatise, only less important than the *Śiva-Ñāna-Śittiyār*. One hundred verses.
2. *Tiru-varuṭ-payan* composed on the model of the celebrated *Tirukkuṛaḷ* and comprising ten divisions of ten *kuṛaḷs* each.
3. *Vinā-veṇbā*, a short catechism of thirteen *veṇbās*.
4. *Pōṛṛippahroḍai*, a short work of 100 lines.
5. *Koḍikkavi*, a very short exposition in four verses.
6. *Neñjuviḍu tūtu* adopting the *sandēśa* form which had already found imitators in Tamil.
7. *Uṇmai neṛi-viḷakkam* devoted to the path of realisation and dealing with 'the ten *kāryas*.'[48]
8. *Sankaṛpa-nirākaraṇam* devoted, like the *'para-pakṣa'* of the *Śittiyār*, to a critique of other creeds. Unlike the earlier work, this is much exercised with the minute differences within the very fold of Śaivism.

Paucity of Tamil works of Vaiṣṇavism.

It is curious that few works of religious literature seem to have been composed by the Vaiṣṇavas of the Tamil country in this period. It has been pointed out already that the arrangement of the Vaiṣṇava canon proceeded side by side with that of the Śaiva canon in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. There is also ample evidence to show that a succession of great Vaiṣṇava *ācāryas* composed numerous devotional poems and philosophical works in the Sanskrit language in this period; Yāmunācārya, Yādavaprakāśa and Rāmānuja himself are only the leading examples of a large group of authors justly celebrated for their learning and devotion and for their literary achievements. Strangely enough, however, Vaiṣṇavism which started as a popular movement of religious reform and revival, appears to have developed in the Cōḷa period a sort of a high-brow attitude and scorned the use of the popular idiom; in fact, the writers of this school developed in course of time a quaint style more Sanskritic than Tamil in its make-up which is seen at its best in the great commentaries of Periya-vāccān Piḷḷai and Nambiḷḷai. Among the works composed in this style of writing, one of the earliest is the short commentary, the *Āṟāyirappaḍi*, on Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*, by Kurugaippirān Piḷḷān, a relative and disciple of Rāmānuja.

Rāmānuja-nūṟṟandādi.

There is, however, one poem which deserves mention if only because it is one of the few exceptions to the general rule followed by the Vaiṣṇava authors of the age. It is the *Rāmānuja-nūṟṟandādi*, a century of verses in the *kaliṭṭuṟai* metre in praise of Rāmānuja by his disciple Tiruvarangattu Amudanār. This poem in a simple devotional style is held in great esteem and is even called *prapannagāyatrī* as it is often repeated as a daily prayer. The central idea of the poem is that without the grace of the *guru* there is no way to salvation. The author avows that he has no faith in *tapas*,[49] and pronounces a sweeping condemnation on every creed other than Rāmānuja's.[50] Rāmānuja's deep and abiding *bhakti, śorāda kādal peruñjuḻi*,[51] and his profound attachment to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[52] are specially stressed in the poem. It is not improbable that

our author is identical with the Tiruvarangattamudanār of Mūngiṛkuḍi mentioned in an inscription from Tirukkōyilūr of the third year of Kulōttunga II.[53]

Grammar, etc.

Grammar, rhetoric and lexicography have always claimed the attention of authors since the beginning of written literature, and striking contributions were made in these departments in the Cōḷa period. The *Yāpparungalam* and *Yāpparungalakkārigai* of Amitasāgara, a Jaina ascetic, were composed some time towards the close of the tenth century. The correct form of the author's name is Amitasāgara (the boundless ocean—*aḷapparungaḍal*) and not Amṛtasāgara as it is sometimes written by mistake. The author calls himself a disciple of Guṇasāgara, quotes the *Śūḷāmaṇi* and is quoted by Perundēvanar, the annotator of the *Vīraśōḷiyam*. The text and commentary of the *Vīraśōḷiyam* both date from the reign of Vīrarājēndra. The age of the *Śūḷāmaṇi* is not beyond dispute; it has been ascribed to the latter half of the ninth century,[54] but it might well have been some centuries earlier. The *Kārigai* of Amitasāgara soon attained great celebrity and the place where the work was composed came to be known as Kārigai-Kuḷattūr, as may be seen from two inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttunga I, from Nīḍūr.[55] These inscriptions state that an ancestor of Kaṇḍan Mādhavan of Kuḷattūr induced Amitasāgara to come and live in the Śiṛu-Kuṛṛanāḍu of the Jayangoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam; if this name was current in Amitasāgara's time, the composition of these two works on *Yāppu* must have been later than the last years of Rājarāja I who assumed the title Jayangoṇḍa-śoḷa towards the close of his reign.

Amita-Sāgara

The *Yāpparungalam* is a treatise on prosody of which the *Kārigai* is an abridgement. It is unique in its range and it offers an exhaustive treatment of the variety of metres in Tamil; it is even more valuable for the fine commentary to which it has given rise. A large number of literary specimens otherwise unknown have been preserved in this commentary. The same observation holds good of the commentary on the *Kārigai* by Guṇasāgara, who is believed to have been a disciple of Amitasāgara, the pupil taking the name of his *guru's guru*.

Buddhamitra.

The *Vīraśōḷiyam* of Buddhamitra, and its commentary by Perundēvanār, a pupil of the author, next claim our attention. The Cōḷa monarch Vīrarājēndra is mentioned by name as a great Tamil scholar;[56] this fact and the name of the work leave no doubt that it was composed in Vīrarājēndra's reign. The commentary cites the *tiru manni vaḷara* introduction of Rājēndra I[57] and mentions the battles of Koppam[58] and Kūḍalśangamam.[59] Buddhamitra is called 'the ruler of Ponparṟi', in the *pāyiram* or preface to his work; Ponparṟi may be the same as Ponpetti in the Tanjore district,[60] and the title of Buddhamitra may imply that he got an assignment on the revenues of Ponpetti from the Cōḷa ruler. The *Vīraśōḷiyam* is written in *kalitturai* metre and planned on the basis of a synthesis between the Tamil and Sanskrit systems of grammar and rhetoric and comprises the usual five sections: *Sandhi* (*eḻuttu*), *Śol*, *Poruḷ*, *Yāppu* and *Alankāra* (*aṇi*). The author's preference for Sanskrit titles is seen in the names of the first and last sections, while the names and order of the sections show even more clearly his partiality for the Sanskrit system. The work is full of interest for a student of the history of grammatical theory in Tamil.

Daṇḍiyalangāram.

The *Daṇḍiyalangāram* is the only work devoted entirely to a discussion of *alaṅkāra*, or *aṇi* as it is called in Tamil. The name of the work is justified by its closely following the model of Daṇḍi's *Kāvyādarśa*, being in fact a more or less close rendering of it in Tamil. The name of the author and the details of his life and age have disappeared altogether. There is a verse of unknown age which states that the author was the son of Ambikāpati, and was himself called Daṇḍi, that he attained eminence in Sanskrit and Tamil learning, expounding *alaṅkāra* on the lines laid down by Sanskrit rhetoricians. The great poet Kamban is reputed to have had a son Ambikāpati by name, and it is sometimes held that our author was the grandson of Kamban. One of the earliest references to the *Daṇḍiyalangāram* is that by Aḍiyārkkunallār, in his celebrated commentary on the *Śilappadikāram*. The work was also apparently called *Aṇiyiyal*,[61] *Aṇiyilakkaṇam* and *Aṇiyadigāram*. It is composed in *sūtra* style and, like the *Kāvyādarśa*, it treats of the nature of poetry and *kāvya*, and of figures of speech under two generic heads—*arthālankāra*

(*poruḷaṇi*) and *śabdālankāra* (*śollaṇi*). The author of the *Prayōgavivēkam*, writing some time in the eighteenth century, says that the author of the *Daṇḍiyalangāram* annotated the *sūtras* and illustrated them himself. This seems probable, and it is interesting to note that some of the illustrative stanzas are in praise of Anapāya Cōḷa.[62]

Nēmināḍam.

The *Nēmināḍam* of Guṇavīrapaṇḍita is a short treatise comprising less than 100 verses in the *Veṇbā* metre and treating of the orthographs and parts of speech (*eḻuttu* and *śol*) of the Tamil language. The work takes its name from the *tīrthankara* Nēmināṭha of South Mylapore, Tenmayilāpuri.[63] The author was a Jain, and pupil of Vaccaṇandi (Vajranandi) of Kaḷandai, possibly the the same place as that of Pugaḻēndi. Another work of Guṇavīra on prosody is called *Veṇbāppāṭṭiyal*, also *Vaccaṇandi-mālai*, the garland of Vaccaṇandi, after the author's *guru*. From the preface to the *Vaccaṇandi-mālai* we learn that the author's literary activity fell in the reign of Tribhuvana-dēva, no doubt identical with Tribhuvana-vīradēva of the inscriptions, i.e. Kulōttunga III. If this view is correct, Nēmināṭha, who according to tradition recorded in a recent compilation, the *Tamiḻ-nāvalar-caritai*, was a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttan, might not be identical with our author.

Nannūl.

The *Nannūl* (Good Book) by Pavaṇandi, again a Jain author, is another work composed in the reign of Kulōttunga III. By its simplicity and terseness, the book has practically displaced all other works as the beginner's handbook of Tamil grammar. The author was patronised by Amarābharaṇan Śīyagangan, a feudatory of Kulōttunga III. The *Nannūl* treats only of *eḻuttu* and *śol*, and it is not clear if the author stopped there, or if the rest of his work has been lost. The *Nambiyahapporuḷ* of Nāṟkavirājanambi is the last work that falls to be noticed here. Tamil literature divides its subject matter into two great divisions *Puṟam* and *Aham*, literally 'external' and 'internal', almost corresponding to the philosophical distinction between 'objective' and 'subjective.' The *ahapporuḷ* generally resolves itself into a minute analysis of subjective reactions to erotic situations, though this by no means exhausts the content of

Ahapporuḷ of Nambi.

this division. It has been pointed out already that this work was composed in the reign of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I and that it has been systematically illustrated in the *Tañjai-Vāṇan-Kōvai.*

Lexicography.

The *Pingalandai* and the *Cūḍāmaṇi* are two lexicons that may be assigned to the Cōḷa period with great probability. The *Cūḍāmaṇi* or the *Niganṭu-Cūḍāmaṇi* as the author, Maṇḍala-Puruṣa, seems to have designated his work, distinctly mentions the *Kārigai* of Amitasāgara in giving the different senses in which that word is applied; the *Cūḍāmaṇi* must therefore have been composed after the *Yāpparungalakkārigai;* how long after it is not easy to decide.[64] The two lexicons mark progressive stages in the advancement of lexicography in Tamil. It should be noted that if the *Pingalandai* was, as its *pāyiram* states, composed by the son of the author of the earliest Tamil *nigaṇḍu* known, the *Śēndan-Divākaram,* and if those are right that assign a very high antiquity to the *Divākaram,* the *Pingalandai* must be taken also to belong to the age anterior to the rise of the Vijayālaya line of kings.[65]

Commentaries.

Some of the great commentators must have no doubt flourished in the centuries of Cōḷa rule, but it is difficult to point to definite data bearing on the age of these writers. On the other hand no systematic effort has yet been made to settle the chronological relations among these authors. Iḷampūraṇar, often mentioned as *aḍigaḷ* because he was an ascetic, was no doubt among the earliest of them; he cites the *Divākaram,* and his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* is a model of terse and critical elucidation of a difficult text. Śēnāvaraiyar, Pērāśiriyar and Naccinārkkiniyar followed him, and they often cite his views if not always by his name. Except his name and the fact that he composed a commentary on the Śolladigāram of *Tolkāppiyam,* we know nothing of Śēnāvaraiyar at present; even the name is doubtful, for Śēnāvaraiyar is said to have been the name of a caste, by Mayilai-nāthar, in his commentary on the *Nannūl.* The commentary of Pērāśiriyar is again accessible only for parts of the Poruḷadigāram, the work once believed to be his having turned out to be by another hand, Deyvaccilaiyar. Pērāśiriyar also wrote a gloss

on the *Tirucciṟṟambalakkōvaiyār*.[65a] He is referred to in terms of very high regard by the commentator of the *Yāpparungalam;* the attempt[66] to identify him, on that account, with Iṟaiyanār, the mysterious author of the *Kaḷaviyal*, is rather misplaced. Aḍiyārkkunallār who cites the poets of this period, like Jayangoṇḍār and Kūttan, rather freely in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram*, and Parimēlaḻagar who is criticised by Naccinārkkiniyar[67] may also have belonged to our period. Parimēlaḻagar wrote excellent commentaries on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Paripāḍal*.

Sanskrit Literature.

If the literary chronology of Tamil is replete with many unsolved problems, the situation is even worse with regard to Sanskrit literature. We have ample evidence from all sides that Sanskrit learning and literary activity in its various branches found steady encouragement and flourished at a high level throughout the period of our study; attention has been drawn elsewhere to the endowments for colleges where different branches of Vedic and philosophic study were pursued, and to the popularity of the Prābhākara-mīmāmsā and of the *Rūpāvatāra* attested by the inscriptions. A detailed account of Sanskrit literature in this period cannot yet be undertaken, for those preliminary researches are yet to be made without which a general survey of literary activity over two or three centuries can hardly be attempted. But attention may be drawn here to one or two significant facts. First, we have some evidence to show that the Cōḷa monarchs took a personal interest in the growth and spread of Sanskrit studies; from the introductory verses in the Sanskrit lexicon *Nānārthārṇava-samkṣepa*, we learn that a village of Śaiva Brahmins learned in Sanskrit lore was established in the Cōḷa country by Kulōttunga I, that from that village a certain Kēśavasvāmin of the Vatsa gotra, a member of a family of hereditary grammarians, was in the service of Rājarāja II, and that he was commissioned by the king to prepare, for the use of young scholars, this Sanskrit lexicon in which the words are arranged in alphabetical order and their various meanings set forth, as directed by the king himself.[67a] A more important instance of royal patronage of Sanskrit learning belongs to a much earlier period. It is this. Mādhava, the

son of Venkaṭārya and Sundarī, lived in a village on the south bank of the Kāvēri, and composed an extensive *bhāṣya* on the Ṛg-vēda. He says that while writing his great work, he lived in comfort in the country of the most renowned warrior of the world: *Jagatām ekavīrasya viṣaye nivasan sukham.*[68] This statement implies that he flourished under royal patronage; and though he does not mention the name of his patron monarch, we may surmise that the reference is to Parāntaka I who is said in the Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīrarājēndra to have earned for himself the name Vīra-Cōḍa by conquering the invincible Kṛṣṇarāja.[69] The great Vēdabhāṣyas of a later age composed under the patronage of the early Vijayanagar rulers would thus seem to have followed the model set by the first great ruler among the Imperial Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line.

Ṛg-Vēda Bhāṣya of Venkaṭa Mādhava.

Haradatta, a well-known commentator on Sūtra literature, lived in the ninth or tenth century A.D. Bharatasvāmin is known to have commented on the *Sāmaveda* in Hoysala Rāmanātha's reign, and there must have flourished about the same time Ṣaḍguruśiṣya (pupil of six *gurus*) whose personal name is lost and who commented on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*, on Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī*, and on the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta sūtra*.

Among the Purāṇas, the *Bhāgavata* which synthesises *bhakti* and *advaita Vedānta* is believed to have been composed in South India some time in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Viṣṇu Citta commented on the *Viṣṇu Purāna* in the early thirteenth century. Uḍāli's *Vivekatilaka* on the *Rāmāyaṇa* may be assigned to the twelfth century as he is cited in the *Īḍu* (thirteenth century).

The Āḻvār Kulaśekhara (ninth century) produced *Mukundamālā*, a devotional lyric which has retained its popularity to this day. Only a little later came Śaktibhadra, reputed pupil of Śankara; his *Āścarya-Cūḍāmaṇi* deals with an episode in the Rāma saga and is believed to have been the first full-blown drama (*nāṭaka*) to be produced in the South. The same author's *Unmādavāsavadatta* is no longer extant. A second Kulaśekhara from Kerala (A.D. 935-55) dramatised incidents from the *Mahābhārata* in a stageworthy manner in

the *Tapatīsamvaraṇa* and *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya*. This royal author also patronised Vāsudeva, the author of *Nalodaya* wrongly attributed to Kālidāsa, and Bilvamangalasvāmi alias Līlā-śuka whose *Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta* is a devotional poem of unsurpassed beauty in three *āśvāsas*.

In the thirteenth century Śāradātanaya, scion of a scholarly family in the Chingleput district, wrote a great work on rhetoric *Bhāvaprakāśa*, and also a treatise on music called *Śāradīya*. Though Venkaṭanātha or Vedanta Deśika was born in 1268 his work falls mostly outside our period just as those of Kumārila and Śankara do at the beginning of it.

In philosophy we may note Varadarāja (twelfth century), author of *Tārkika-rakṣa* and of a commentary (*Bodhinī*) on the *Kusumāñjali* of Udayana. He was perhaps the same as the homonymous author of *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, a treatise on law, and *Nayavivekadīpikā*, an exposé of *Mīmāmsā* of the Prabhākara school. Śankara's and Kumārila's pupils, and their pupils continued the traditional lore of Advaita Vedānta and Mīmāmsā, but no detailed notice of their work can find a place in this general history. The same observation must be taken to apply also to Viśiṣṭādvaita literature.

Śaiva philosophy is represented in Sanskrit by Haradattācārya (d. A.D. 1119) author of *Śruti-sūkti-mālā* also called *Caturvedatātparya Sangraha;* and *Harihara-tāratamya*, a sectarian polemic. He was followed by Śrīkaṇṭha whose *Brahma-mīmāmsā-bhāṣya* expounds the *sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa from the Śaiva standpoint, not quite the same as the Śaiva-siddhānta, but distinguished as Śivādvaita. Aghoraśivācārya (c. 1158) and Umāpatiśivācārya, already noticed as a Tamil writer, also wrote considerable works on the Śaiva system in Sanskrit, besides Jñānaśivācārya of Sūryanārkoyil who commented on the *'Śiva-jñāna-bodha'* section of the *Raurava Āgama;* his commentary is notable for citations from lost works. He also wrote a *Śaivaparibhāṣā* and other works.

In lexicography the *Vaijayantī* of Yādavaprakāśa, the early *guru* of Rāmānuja, deserves particular mention, and in grammar Haradatta (ninth century) whose commentary *Padamañjarī* on the *Kāśikā* of Vāmana and Jayāditya is an authorita-

tive work of outstanding merit. In the thirteenth century a certain Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka wrote a commentary called *Puruṣakāra* on the *Daiva* of Deva, a terse metrical treatise in 200 verses on roots of similar form; the commentary describes itself as a *vārttika* and takes a high place among grammatical works.

1. *SII.* ii, p. 306; 120 of 1931. *ARE.* 1931, II, 12.

2. 198 of 1919.

3. 129, 128 of 1902.

4. *Pāradandannai arundamilppaḍuttuc-civaneṟi-kaṇḍa,* 482 of 1905.

5. 335 of 1914; Pd. 129;—*nān kavi pāḍi pāḍina kavikku enakku pariśil tanda tan kāṇiyāna kuḍikkāḍu.*

6. 548 of 1904. Cf. *nammakkaḷ* with *Kuñju-kūṭṭam* (troops, *paṭṭāḷam*) of the Travancore records (Desikavināyakam).

6a. 233 of 1921.

7. *JRAS.,* 1906, pp. 689-92.

8. V. Svaminatha Aiyar, *Perungadai,* p. xxviii, cf. Lacote *Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhat Kathā* (Tr. by Tabard, 1923), p. 148.

9. *Op cit.,* p. viii, n.

10. *Kṣattracūḍāmaṇi* ed. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, (1903), p. 3 of the introduction.

11. *Śīvaka-Śindāmaṇi,* p. 11, n; *Śen Tamiḻ,* v. pp. 98 ff.

12. v. 3143.

13. Naccinārkkiniyar on v. 3143 and *n.* on p. 914 by Svāmināṭha Aiyar.

14. *Kallāḍattuk-kalandinidaruḷi, Tiruvāśagam* (*Kīrtti,* l. 11).

15. One of these (385) is in celebration of Aruvandai, the chief of Ambar in the Tanjore district. This chief may have been the patron of the author of *Śēndan Divākaram;* R. Raghava Aiyangar (*Śen Tamiḻ,* v. pp. 114 ff.) has argued that the *Divākaram* was composed more than 1800 years ago. On the other hand, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (*Nāma-Deepa-Nighaṇṭu,* p. iv) suggests that the Aruvandai of the *Divākaram* might have been a descendant of the Aruvandai of the *Puṟanānūṟu,* and proposes the first half of the eighth century as the date of the *Divākaram.*

16. The saying is: *Kallāḍam kaṟṟavaniḍattu śollāḍādē;* this may be true in a sense different from the one intended. The work, it should be noted, is not cited by any of the great commentators.

16a. *Kūḍaṟpadivaru māḍaṟpariyōn*
eṭṭeṭṭiyaṟṟiya kaṭṭamar śaḍaiyōn—95.

17. The *Divākaram* has: *Śengundap-paḍaiyar śēnait-talaivar tantuvāyar kārugar kaikkōḷar,* though there seems to be no good Ms. authority for this.

18. Kūttan's birth-place is given differently in different accounts. Maṇavai takes the place of Malari in some, while others give to Shiyāḷi the honour of having been the place of Kūttan's birth. But Malari is borne out epigraphically—109 of 1928.

19. 109 of 1928. *ARE.* 1928, I, 3; 1932 II, 47.

20. For notices of Kūttan see: Pandit V. Svāmināṭha Aiyar—introduction to *Takkayāgapparaṇi;* R. Raghava Aiyangar—*Śen Tamiḻ,* iii, pp. 164 ff.; and *Śengundar Pirabandattiraṭṭu* by Nāgalinga Munivar (1926).

21. *Mitilaikkātci* v. 74.

22. *Nagarnīngu-paḍalam* v. 140.

23. An *arcaka* in the temples of Kāḷi and similar deities.

24. *Ante* p. 347.

25. 29-34 of 1925; 57-58 of 1931. *ARE.* 1925 II 43. All *veḷḷāḷas* are conventionally described as being of the Gangai-kula.

26. R. Raghava Aiyangar has discussed the life and work of Kamban with remarkable ability in *Śen Tamiḻ,* Vol. 3.

27. *Maruttumalaip-paḍalam,* 58. There are two traditional verses on Kamban's date, one apparently giving Ś. 807 and the other Ś. 1100. The former seems to accord with a vague legend that the *Rāmāyaṇam* was published in the Śrīrangam temple under the presidency of Nāthamuni, (*Śen Tamiḻ,* xxv, pp. 308-9). But this fact is not mentioned in the *Divyasūricarita* or the *Guruparamparā.* R. Raghava Aiyangar suggests that the date usually taken as 807 is really 107 with an omitted thousand i.e., 1107 (*Śen Tamiḻ,* iii, p. 179), and this reconciles the two verses. This is accepted by S. Vaiyapuri (*Tamiḻc-cuḍar-maṇigaḷ,* p. 130) who says that the poem was published in 1185 in Kulōttunga III's reign. He also says that *Tyāya-samudra, Tyāga,* and *Tyāga-vinōda* were respectively the titles of Vikramacōḷa, Kulottunga II and Kulottunga III (ibid., pp. 126 ff.).

27a. *EC.* v. Hassan 77, A.D. 1377 refers to a hereditary family of expounders of Kamban.

28. *Ante* p. 347, *Śen Tamiḻ,* ii, 393 ff.

28a. Vaiyapuri, op., cit., p. 157.

29. The story is told that the poet once fell asleep on the bed of his patron and that Śīnakkan's queen, not knowing this, also slept on the same bed for some time; when Śīnakkan himself turned up and saw what had happened, the poet felt miserable though his patron did not mistake him in the least.

30. Verse 18.

31. The commentary which gives this fact is coeval with its text and by the same author. *Śen Tamiḻ,* v. p. 544.

32. *Mēya-vivvurai koṇḍu virumbumāñ-*
jēyavanṟirup-pērambalañ-jeyya
tūya ponnaṇi śōḷanīḍūḷipā-
rāya śīr-anapāyan-araśavai—Pāyiram, 8.

33. 180 of 1894.
34. 445 of 1912.
35. 39 of 1906.

36. For more details see introduction to V. Svaminatha Aiyar's edition of the work. Note, however, that 133 of 1908, (A.D. 1304), mentions either our author or a namesake of his.

37. These contain hymns on the Tanjore temple and on its copy, the temple of Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram; this may be taken to give an indication of the date of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, if we may be certain that we have this ninth book as Nambi left it.

38. *Ante* p. 152.
39. 449 of 1908, *Sen Tamiḻ*, iii, pp. 358-62.
40. Ch. 39, vv. 62-80. *Sen Tamiḻ*, iv, pp. 141-5.
41. 221 of 1894.
42. *Sen Tamiḻ*, iii, pp. 189-90.

43. Ramaṇa Śāstri says that the original forms part of the *Raurava Āgama* (*Tirumandiram* Intr. p. 7). The view has often been expressed that the Tamil work is the original and the Sanskrit is the translation. See T. I. Tambyah: *Psalms of a Śaiva Saint*, p. xix. The arguments adduced in support of this position are inconclusive. The Sanskrit work is in *anuṣṭhup* verse like all *āgamas*, corresponds to the Tamiḻ *sūtras*, and does not contain anything corresponding to the Tamiḻ *vārttikas*. Both Umāpatiśiva, author of the *Pauṣkarabhāṣya* and Śivāgrayōgi held the view that the Sanskrit work is the original. cf. V. P. Kāntimatināṭha Pillai, *Tamiḻ-civa-ñāna-bodac-cirappu* (1926) pp. 54, 59. Vidyāraṇya is said to have written a monistic exposition of the Sanskrit work, *ibid.*, pp. 30, 47. Śiva as *guru* told Māṇikkavāśagar that he held the *Śiva-ñāna-bōdam* in his hand; this may be not so much a daring anachronism antedating the work of Meykaṇḍār as Pope thought (*Tiruvāśagam*, xxii), as the expression of a belief in the antiquity of the Sanskrit work of that name.

44. *'Sivam onṟu; adanait-tēṟudal ñānam; tērndadanait-teḻidal bōdam'*. Kaḍavuḻ-mā-munivar, v. 36 Tirupperunduṟaic-carukkam, *Tiruvādavūr-aḍigaḷ Purāṇam*.

45. *Vēdam paśu, adan pāl mey āgamam nālvar*
Ōdum Tamiḻ adanin uḷḷūrum ney-pōda migu
Neyyin uṟuśuvaiyām nīḻ Venṇai Meykaṇḍān.
Śeyda Tamiḻ nūlin tiṟam.

46. The *Śaiva-Sittānta Varalāṟu* by Anavaratavinayakam Piḷḷai (Madras, 1908).

47. We have the Śaka data 1235 in his *Sankarpanirākaraṇam, pāyiram*, 26.

48. These are: tattva rūpam, tattva darśanam and tattva śuddhi, ātma rūpam, ātma darśanam and ātma śuddhi, śiva rūpam, śiva darśanam, śiva-yōgam and śiva-bhōgam. The authorship of this work has been recently ascribed to Tattuvanāthar of Shiyāḻi, and the *Tugaḷaṟubōdam* of Śiṟṟambala-nāḍigaḷ included among the fourteen śāstras on the

strength of a fresh study of the mss. of the work. *Śaivasiddhānta Śāttiram* (1934), pp. 980-2, and 1124.

49. v. 14.

50. v. 99.

51. v. 15.

52. v. 37.

53. 315 of 1921. Contra, *ARE.* 1922, II, 23, where the inscription is assigned to Kulōttunga III.

54. *Śen Tamiḻ*, v. pp. 99-102.

55. 534 and 535 of 1921; K. V. S. Aiyar who edits these inscriptions, *EI.* xviii No. 8, falls into a number of errors which have been corrected by M. Raghava Aiyangar in *JIH.* I may add that I am unable to accept the identity of Guṇasāgara, the *guru* of Amitasāgara, with the Guṇasāgara of the Kaḻugumalai inscriptions with no more evidence than the identity of a name so common among Jain ascetics.

56. *mēviya veṇkuḍaic-cembiyan Vīrarājēndiran-ṟan nāviyal śendamiṭ-collin moḻi*—*Śandi* verse 7.

57. Yāppu 19.

58. Yāppu 34.

59. *Alaṅgāram* 39.

60. *ARE.* 1899, paragraph 50.

61. Not all the citations of Aḍiyārkkunallār from this work could be traced in the current editions of the *Daṇḍiyalangāram.*

62. See Preface to *Daṇḍiyalangāram* ed. Arumugam Śērvai (1920).

63. *Nannūl-Maylainādarurai*, p. xvii.

64. If Kṛṣṇa Rāya mentioned in St. 10 of the ninth section refers to the Vijayanagar ruler, the work must be taken to fall outside the period covered in this chapter.

65. For further details see S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Introd. to *Tamil Lexicon*, p. xxvi.

65a. Some hold that there were two authors of the same name.

66. *Yāpparungalam* ed. Bhavanandam Pillai, pp. iv-v.

67. *Paripāḍal* Introdn. p. xxi.

67a. *Nānārthārṇava-samkṣepa*, Triv. Sans. Series No. 23. 29 and 31—vv. 1-20 at the beginning.

68. *Proceedings of the Fifth (All India) Oriental Conference*, pp. 263 ff.

69. *Ante* p. 126.

Chapter XXVII

CŌḶA ART

Pre-Cōḷa period.

The history of Art in the Tamil country begins for all practical purposes with the rise of the Pallavas of the Simhaviṣṇu line in the seventh century A.D. Having scooped out perhaps the first rock-cut shrine of his time at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu (Viluppuram taluq, S. Arcot), Mahendravarman records his achievement with boyish glee in an inscription which says that he caused a temple for Brahmā, Īśvara, and Viṣṇu to be made without the use of brick, timber, metal or mortar.[1] This is clear evidence that before his time temples were built of wood with the aid of metal nails or bands and raised over plinths of brick and mortar, or they may have been altogether brick and mortar structures in which timber and metal also found use. None of these early monuments have survived, but doubtless their forms and *motifs* must have been the basis for the Pallava structures, their pillars, capitals, and decorative designs. We have only literary references to palaces and temples, mansions and bazaars in cities, besides some detailed, but obviously overdrawn, descriptions which we have now no means of verifying. Under the Pallavas who ruled to the end of the ninth century, architecture and sculpture in stone made great advances; the Shore Temple of Māmallapuram, and the Kailāsanātha and Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ at Kāñcīpuram mark the zenith of Pallava art; they were followed by smaller structures bearing evidence of the dwindling resources of the Pallavas towards the end. No South Indian bronze can be said to have been identified as demonstrably Pallava in origin; but considering the heights attained in the art of metal-casting early in the period of Cōḷa rule, we may legitimately infer that the beginnings of the art must be placed also in the age of the Pallavas.

Cōḷa art.

The Cōḷas continued and developed the art-tradition of the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas whom they succeeded. Under both the dynasties all the arts—architecture, sculpture and painting, were concentrated

mostly in public structures, particularly temples; the palaces and houses and all other types of civil architecture have more or less totally disappeared, though careful study may reveal, as in the instance of Uttaramērūr,[2] the unbroken continuity of the town plan, and even of the names of streets in important centres from those days to ours. The practice of scooping out live rock into temples and pavilions had ceased under the later Pallavas, and structural temples of stone had become more or less the rule. It was the particular glory of the Cōḷas to have extended this practice all over the Tamil country, their early temples being unpretentious structures hardly to be distinguished from those of the later Pallavas in the decline; the size of the temple grew with the extent of the kingdom until the giant temples of Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram proclaimed to the world the might and majesty of the greatest empire of the Tamils; two other temples at Dārāśuram and Tribhuvanam near Kumbakonam completed the tale of the most impressive Cōḷa monuments. Sculpture, painting and bronze-casting made corresponding advances.

G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, the founder of the scientific study of South Indian architecture, observed:[3] 'The Pallavas excelled in sculpture. The Cōḷas were above all architects. Their style is distinguished by simplicity and grandeur'. Cōḷa sculptors, we shall see, however, were no less noteworthy than Cōḷa architects and in no way inferior to Pallava sculptors in stone; their achievements in big bronzes were unsurpassed for their beauty and for the technical skill in the sheer manipulation of large masses of metal.

Origin of temples.

The South Indian temple came up in one of several ways. Some shrines were erected in places where trees had been regarded perhaps from pre-Aryan days as the abode of the deity and had been worshipped as such; these trees came to be regarded as *sthala-vṛkṣas* even after the rich hues of Indo-Aryan myths had gathered round these places; examples are found in the mango (*ekāmra*) tree of Kāñcīpuram, the *Jambu* tree of Jambukēśvaram on the island of Śrīrangam, and the *tillai*-forest of Cidambaram. Other shrines arose on the spots where *purāṇic* stories and incidents were localised by popular belief. These two classes find a prominent place

in the hymns of the Dēvāram and the Divyaprabandam; after being celebrated in song by the *nāyanārs* and *āḻvārs* they gained in importance and naturally attracted the attention of generous temple-builders. Then there were sepulchral shrines, *paḷḷipaḍais* as they were known, built on the relics of saints, heroes and kings. Temples of this class appear to have been more numerous than we are apt to imagine, though only some attained any great size or celebrity. Some examples of such shrines have been noticed here in the chapters on political history. Lastly, there were temples which rose at the bidding of powerful monarchs on sites of their choice—the most conspicuous instances of this class being the two Bṛhadīśvara temples of Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram erected by Rājarāja I and his son Rājendra I. Perhaps the Kailāsanātha of Kāñcī, and the Kailāsanātha of Ellora, must be included in the same category.

Stone temples.

The rule of the Cōḷas covered roughly a period of four centuries (A.D. 850-1250). During this long period not only was the entire Tamil country studded with stone temples of varying sizes, the erection of *kaṟṟaḷis*, all-stone temples from base to finial (*upānādi-stūpi pariyantam*), being often mentioned as a mark of distinction, but the canon of Cōḷa architecture was adopted and followed in areas outside the Tamil country—Ceylon, Mysore, Drākṣārāma and other places in Andhra for instance. It is not possible to survey here all these monuments; we must confine our attention to the Tamil country proper and to a few typical structures that possess the leading characteristics of each stage in the development of architectural *motifs* and designs. The number of temples of which the precise date of construction is known is not many, but the architectural *motifs* when carefully studied reveal features typical of each phase of the art; the Śiva temple at Koṟkai in Tinnevelly district, (Pl. III, fig. 5) for instance, looks like a very early Cōḷa temple, but its walls bear no inscriptions earlier than the time of Kulōttunga I;

Their dates.

if, however, it is noted that the late inscriptions occur only in the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, and that the *garbhagṛha* and *ardhamaṇḍapa* have nearly the same external and internal dimensions as the early Cōḷa temples of Pudukkottah, that the cornice here carries a *hamsa* frieze underneath, and that there are no niches on the exterior of

the walls of the sanctum, there can be little doubt left that the main shrine was certainly pre-Rājarāja in date, and the *mahā-maṇḍapa* a later addition. On the other hand, some features of the early Cōḷa and in places even pre-Cōḷa style, like the plain bevelled corbel without the triangular tenon-like projection, appear in temples known to have been built late in the Cōḷa period like the Mayūranātha of Māyavaram (Tanjore) and Brahmēśvara in Brahmadeśam (S. Arcot). Another difficulty arises from the additions made to early temples in later times; they are mainly in the form of pillared *maṇḍapas* and corridors which often obscure the leading traits of early art; subsidiary structures, surrounding walls and *gōpuras* on them create a somewhat confusing temple complex, the growth of which through its several stages is not always easy to trace. The temple of Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai near Trichinopoly, for instance, was at first a free-standing early Cōḷa temple on a hill; under Rājēndra I it was surrounded by *maṇḍapas* erected at some distance from the main shrine so as not to obscure its features; but subsequent additions have not been marked by such taste, and have made it difficult to visualise the original beauty of the shrine and its situation.

Early temples.

The replacement of brick by stone structures went on steadily under the Cōḷas, and is often mentioned in the inscriptions. Perhaps the earliest instance is that of Tirukkaḷukkuṉram in the Chingleput district; all the early inscriptions of the temple occur in an apsidal stone building with a flat top which now serves as a strong-room; its architectural features are either late Pallava or early Cōḷa in character; an inscription of the twenty-seventh year of Rājakēsari[4] suggests that the temple must have been in existence as a brick structure from the days of Skandaśiṣya (if not earlier) to those of Āditya I, when it was built of stone and its original grants dating from Skandaśiṣya's time renewed and confirmed. At a later date even this stone temple was abandoned in favour of another large stone temple. Āditya I is praised for his having built stone temples of Śiva from Sahyādri to the sea. In his reign, however, brick temples were also built; a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiya chieftain Kandan Maṟavan built a brick temple of Tiruttōṟṟam-uḍaiya-mahādēva which was rebuilt of stone many years later in the

reign of Kulōttunga I;[5] at the same time another fine stone temple of Agastyēśvara (Pl. IV, fig. 8) was built in the same place in Āditya's reign, and this temple well preserved to this day conserves the most notable features of the transition from Pallava to Cōḷa architecture—such as pillars with squatting lions forming their lower half and marked by large thick *palagais* over their capitals (Pl. V, fig. 9). At Tirukōḍikāval (Tanjore district) Queen Śembiyan-mahādēvi rebuilt of stone an old brick temple in the eleventh year of her son Uttama-Cōḷa's reign, and Rājarāja I ordered in his twenty-eighth year the reconstruction in stone of the temple at Tirumalavāḍi, a task completed by his son as recorded in one of the inscriptions.[6] Other examples need not be recounted; obviously brick and stone architecture flourished side by side, and to this day we have the all-brick Cōḷa temple at Nāngūr (Tanjore district) which reproduces all the mouldings in the basement and other architectural features typical of the Cōḷa style.

Jouveau-Dubreuil observed: 'The pagoda of Bāhūr represents the style of the Pallava epoch, at the beginning of the ninth century; and the temple of Tanjore dates from the commencement of the eleventh century. During this interval of two centuries were constructed monuments of an intermediate style', and proceeded to illustrate that style by a study in some detail of the temple of Śrīnivāsanallūr (Muśiri taluq, Trichinopoly district). But the period of the intermediate style may be further divided into two—an earlier phase of transition from the Pallava to the Cōḷa style, a period marked by a number of small and medium temples which share the Pallava and Cōḷa architectural features in varying proportions and which still retain generally the appearance of Pallava structural temples; and a later more pronounced Cōḷa phase; the former includes the reigns of Vijayālaya and Āditya I, and the latter the reign of Parāntaka I and the interval between him and Rājarāja I.

Two periods.

The smaller early Cōḷa temples hardly differed in their appearance from those of Mukteśvara and Matangeśvara in Kāñcī, and the temples of Tiruttaṇi and Bāhūr—all stone temples of the late Pallava period. The mouldings in the basement (*upapīṭha*[7]) the disposition of the niches and pilasters on the body

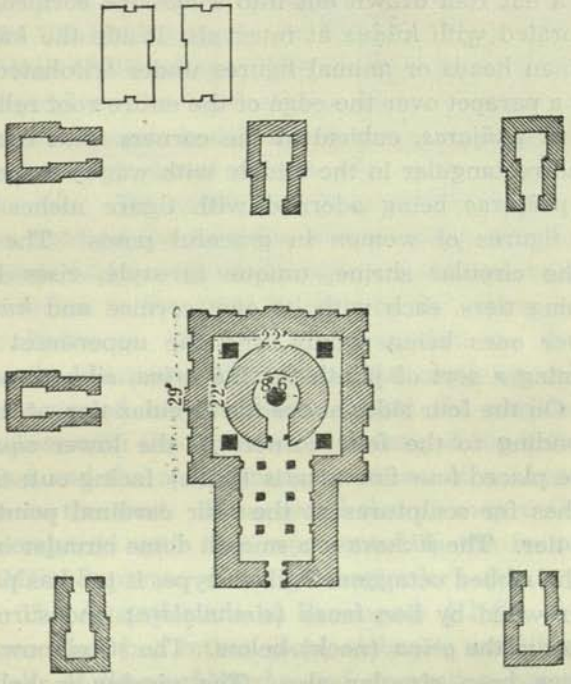
Transition.

of the temple, and the *vimāna* rising on a square sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) in diminishing tiers were more or less the same. The topmost members of the *vimāna*, viz., the *grīva, śikhara* and *stūpi* conformed to the plan of the *garbhagṛha*, generally square, but sometimes circular in section as in the case of the Vijayālaya-cōḷēśvara of Nārttāmalai which resembles the Tripurāntakeśvara, Mukteśvara and Matangeśvara of Kāñcī. Some of these early Cōḷa temples have a number of subsidiary shrines round about and to understand the disposition of these shrines, we must again turn to Pallava shrines. The *garbhagṛha* of the Kailāsanātha (Rājasimheśvara) of Kāñcī is a composite structure, with a central cella facing east to which are attached smaller shrines built on to its walls on the three free sides and the four corners; all the subshrines contain images of Śiva. At Panamalai subshrines are attached to the middle of the three free sides, while in the Aivarkōyil at Koḍumbāḷūr they are found in the four corners of the main shrine; the integration of Kailāsanātha is reached by a combination of both the conceptions. In the early Cōḷa temples the subshrines are detached from the main sanctum, and arranged as separate shrines round it in the courtyard, facing the main shrine and its axis, dedicated each to a subsidiary deity (*parivāra-devatā*). These peristylar subshrines, each a miniature of the central sanctum, generally abut on the enclosing wall (*tirumadil*) which usually has a *gōpura* in front. The *gōpura*, however, is a relatively small structure calculated in no way to detract from the domination of the *vimāna*. The number of subshrines increased in later times with the size of the temple.

Of these early Cōḷa temples Percy Brown observes: 'All these small structures are very complete in their formation and display a freshness and spirit in marked contrast to the last productions of the declining style of the Pallavas. So much so that they appear to herald either a new movement, or to denote some stimulation received from another and more virile source. The latter assumption is the more likely as all the temples of the group show by their treatment a close affinity to those of the more distant Cāḷukyans than to any revival of their predecessors the Pallavas'.[8] It is well known that the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi drew upon Pallava experience for their chief temples

New start.

in Paṭṭadakal, and that about the middle of the eighth century they gave place to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who continued the Pallava-Cāḷukya tradition in structural temples and in the rock-cut style; the Cāḷukya power did not revive till towards the close of the tenth century. Most obviously, Brown's first alternative, the heralding of a new movement, is the correct explanation of the freshness of the early Cōḷa monuments.



PLAN I. Vijayālaya-cōḷēśvara temple.

The Vijayālaya-cōḷēśvaram of Nārttāmalai (Pl. I figs. 1 and 2) is the first of these monuments to claim attention. Its name occurs in a later Pāṇḍya inscription, and the date of its construction is not as clearly attested as might be wished.[9] But there seems to be little reason to doubt the identity of the structure or its age as suggested by its name. The temple stands on a hill and faces west, and is surrounded by seven small attendant shrines now in ruins (see plan) besides the *nandi* in front which has left no trace; the enclosing wall of the group has totally disappeared. The main temple is built entirely of well-dressed

Vijayālaya-Cōḷēśvara.

gneiss blocks accurately fitted, and covers an area of 1240 square feet. The *garbhagṛha* is circular and enclosed by a solid wall five feet thick; it has a diameter of 8 feet 6 inches inside, and a height of 8 feet. The circular wall is enclosed by a square structure of 29 feet side which leaves a narrow circumambulatory between the two walls. The closed *antarāḷa* (porch) in front on the same basement as the main shrine is carried on six pillars and an equal number of pilasters, and has a flat roof drawn out into a massive cornice, arched and decorated with *kūḍus* at intervals; inside the *kūḍus* are seen human heads or animal figures under trifoliated finials. There is a parapet over the edge of the entire roof relieved by a series of *pañjaras*, cubical at the corners with curvilinear roofs, and rectangular in the middle with wagon-shaped roofs, all the *pañjaras* being adorned with figure niches bearing dancing figures of women in graceful poses. The *vimāna* above the circular shrine, unique in style, rises in three diminishing tiers, each with its own cornice and *kūḍus*, the two lower ones being square, and the upper-most circular and forming a sort of plinth for the *grīva*, *śikhara* and *stūpi* on top. On the four sides above the circular tier, at the points corresponding to the four corners of the lower square tier there are placed four fine *nandis* (bulls) facing out; there are also niches for sculptures at the four cardinal points of the circular tier. The *śikhara* is a smooth dome circular in section unlike the ribbed octagonal Pallava type; it too has projecting *kūḍus* crowned by lion faces (*simhalalāṭa*) and surmounting the niches in the *grīva* (neck) below. The *stūpi*, now missing, must have been circular also. The *vimāna* is hollow and diminishing in size as it rises owing to the corbelling of the stones on their inner face. The pillars within the *antarāḷa* (unlike the pilasters on the external walls which have developed Cōḷa features) are still of the Pallava order, square in section and chamfered into an octagon in the middle; the corbels exhibit the *taranga* (roll) ornament with a medial band and no lotus medallion. An elegant floral design crowns the main gateway bearing in lateral niches graceful two-armed *dvārapālakas*, five feet in height facing front, but body flexed towards the entrance; one leg crossed over the other (fig. 84). Of the seven subshrines six are intact and the seventh in ruins. They are all cut-stone replicas of the main shrine.

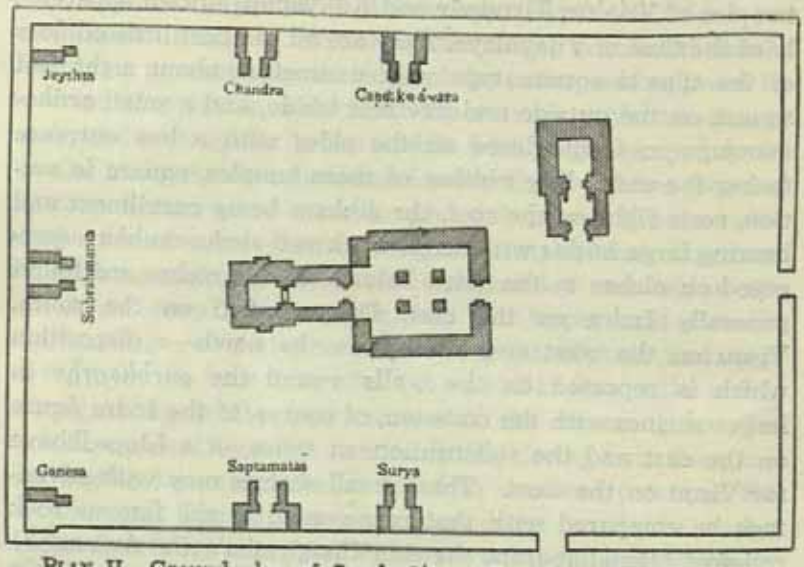
Other temples, though smaller, belonging to the same class are also found in the Pudukkottah area. In Virālūr the small Śiva temple has a circular *vimāna* which dispenses with the square stages and is set right on the roof, and there are remains of subshrines. The Bālasubrahmaṇya temple of Kaṇṇanūr, which is marked by entire *yāḷis* in the frieze of the entablature and not merely their busts as in other instances, belongs to the reign of Āditya I, while the small Śiva temples of Viśalūr, Tiruppūr and Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi are all apparently of the time of Vijayālaya. They are all compact little edifices of the typical square type with a sanctum about eight feet square on the outside and five feet inside, and a small *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front closed on the sides with a low entrance facing the east. The *vimāna* of these temples, square in section, rests right on the roof, the *śikhara* being curvilinear and bearing large *kūḍus* with scroll work and *simha-mukha* superposed on niches in the *grīva* below. In the niches are found generally Indra on the east, Dakṣiṇāmūrti on the south, Viṣṇu on the west and Brahmā on the north—a disposition which is repeated on the walls round the *garbhagṛha* in larger shrines with the omission, of course, of the Indra figure on the east and the substitution, at times, of a Lingodbhava for Viṣṇu on the west. These small shrines may with advantage be compared with that represented in the famous rock relief of Māmallapuram showing Bhagīratha's (or Arjuna's?) penance. The Agastyeśvara of Panangudi (II fig. 3) is also of the same class but rather more elaborate as it has niches on the walls of the *garbhagṛha* and excavation has revealed the presence of seven subshrines round it, as round all the others so far mentioned.

Other examples.

Most typical of the transition period is the larger and very well preserved temple at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai (see plan) now known as Sundareśvara. It was built in the third year of Āditya I.[10] The modern name of the place is derived obviously from the old name of the temple called Kaṛkuṛicci-Tirukkaṛṛaḷi in the earliest inscriptions. The central shrine comprises a square *garbhagṛha* (12′ outside and 6′ 6″ inside) and an *ardha-maṇḍapa* besides a *mukhamaṇḍapa*, an obviously later addition of the time of Kulōttunga I. The *vimāna* is almost square

Tirukkaṭṭaḷai.

and has a stone finial of corresponding shape. There are *simhalalāṭas* facing each cardinal direction below the *stūpi*, and the bulls in the next tier below. Further down, in two rows one above the other on the tiers of the *vimāna* are found in niches a seated Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Bhikṣāṭanamūrti in the south, Varāhamūrti and Viṣṇu on the west, two Brahmās on the north. And on the main wall of the *garbhagṛha* there are a standing Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti on the south (fig. 37), a Lingōdbhava on the west and Brahmā on the north. The



PLAN II. Ground plan of Sundarēśvara Temple at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai.

pilasters on the walls are typically Cōḷa, but the corbels though with an angular profile bear the Pallava roll-ornament with a hollow moulding (in place of the roll at its lower angle or bend), and further up above the cornice there runs a frieze of rampant *yāḷis* with projecting *makara* heads at the corners. There is a frieze of *gaṇas* below the cornice. The seven subshrines, miniatures of the main shrine, abut the surrounding wall (*tirumadil*), and enshrine Sūrya; the Saptamāṭṛkas (seven mothers) in a row with Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra at either end (this shrine has necessarily a wagon-top roof with a row of finials); and then in *pradakṣiṇa* order, Gaṇeśa, Subrahmaṇya, Jyeṣṭhā, Candra and Caṇḍikeśvara. There is a small *gōpura* over the front gateway of this very complete early Cōḷa temple extant.

Nāgeśvara.

The Nāgēśvara at Kumbakonam (Pl. III fig. 6), though its appreciation has become difficult by the too close proximity of a number of later structures, shares all the main features of Tirukkaṭṭaḷai; specially notable here are the *ardhanārī* figure at the back of the *garbhagṛha* and the number of fine portrait figures in the recesses and niches of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and the tableux of Rāmāyaṇa scenes beneath the pilasters of the same *maṇḍapa*, which will call for further discussion under sculpture; the top members of the *vimāna* above the third tier are now finished in stucco though originally they must have been of stone. The presence of four lion-pillars built into later sub-shrines shows that the sanctity of the site goes back to the Pallava period. A shrine of Gaṇeśa in the s.-w. corner, one of Vaidyanātha to the north of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, a Sūrya shrine in the n.-e. corner and a loose bas-relief of Jyeṣṭhā seem to be the only survivals of the original *parivāra* shrines. This temple may with reason be identified with the Tirukkuḍandai-kīḻkōṭṭam of Appar. The Mahādēva temple at Tiruccenduṟai (Trichinopoly district) built by Bhūti Āditya Bhaṭṭārikā, queen of the Cōḷa prince Arikulakēsari, in the reign of Āditya I,[11] the Agastyeśvaram of Mēlappaḻuvūr (Pl. IV fig. 8) with a circular *vimāna* on a square *garbhagṛha* of the time of Vijayālaya or Āditya, are other notable temples of this early phase of the transition to the Cōḷa style.

Features of Cōḷa style.

Before taking up the temples of the next period, Parāntaka I to Rājarāja I, when Cōḷa temples proper came into existence, we may stop to consider the definite characteristics of the transition and the typical features of the developed Cōḷa style. The most notable general features are the emphasis on the central shrine which dominates the whole group of sub-shrines by its position and its architecture; then the exterior of the main shrine displays a remarkable simplification in all its parts; much unnecessary and fretful detail is eliminated and the value of plain spaces receives greater appreciation than in the Pallava structures, and much more than in the later Cāḷukya and Hoysala temples. The *antarāla* or porch in front of the *garbhagṛha* forms an integral part of the central shrine, so that the lowermost tier of the *vimāna* covers both in Pallava temples; this feature which persists in the early

Cōḷa temples, e.g. Vijayālaya-cōḷēśvaram, soon disappears; the *antarāla* true to its name becomes a communicating passage between the *garbhagṛha* and the *mahāmaṇḍapa* in front, and the *vimāna* rises in the newer temples only over the sanctum; the *antarāla* is also known as *ardhamaṇḍapa* (vestibule). In the basement (*upapīṭha*), the *kumudam* starts by having an octagonal section but later becomes a rounded moulding; likewise the *kapōtam* starts by being straight, a projecting tier of rectangular blocks, but later develops into a curved cornice. The dominating lion-*motif* in pillars and elsewhere of the Pallava style gradually disappears altogether, and the pillars and pilasters evolve into 'purely abstract conventions of mouldings and other similar forms' (Brown). The Cōḷa order of the capital differs from the Pallava in two respects: a neck-moulding (*padmabandha*) is introduced between the shaft and the capital adding another member to the latter at the lower end in the form of a pot (*kalaśa*); the abacus or *palagai* becomes much expanded, a thick square slab of stone which together with the petal moulding (*idaḷ*) on its lower side becomes the most striking element in the order. The *palagai* becomes thinner later, and the *idaḷ* undergoes interesting modifications.

Again the bracket or corbel develops an angular profile instead of the curved one of the late Pallava style, and is often bevelled so as to leave a triangular tenon-like projection, which, in turn, starts on a long line of varied and interesting evolution culminating in the *pūmunai* of modern times (see drawing 5 at the end of the chapter). The roll ornament with its median band is either shed, or at times varied with an involution or 'throating' at its bend. Both forms of the corbel, the plain bevel as well as the bevel with the *taranga* (roll), often appear together as inside the Agnīśvara at Cittūr (Pudukkottah). Vestiges of the old order survive sometimes like the massive capital surmounted by a *kūḍu* in the Śiva temple at Uḍaiyārguḍi, the Mūvarkōvil of Koḍumbāḷūr and the Śiva temple at Puñjai—all of which will be referred to again in some detail. Besides the strictly architectural treatment of the exterior, a considerable amount of bold sculpture appears in prepared niches containing icons and *purāṇic* or human figures. String courses or friezes of *yāḷis* above the plinth, and of *bhūtagaṇas* in various humourous postures

below, and *yāḷis* again above the upper cornices, which also carry *kūḍus* at intervals and scroll ornamentation (*koḍik-karukku*) are other notable features of the new style. The *kūḍus* have changed form, their shovel-tops giving place to a trefoil or to a lion-face (*simha-mukha*), arches giving place to circles in the centre containing no figure sculpture unlike the Pallava *kūḍus*.

The peristylar subshrines, already mentioned, are another essential feature of the Cōḷa temple-complex. An inscription in the Śiva temple of Erumbūr (S. Arcot)[12] counts eight subshrines including that of Nandi in front of the main shrine. The deities occupying the subshrines and the positions they take in relation to the main shrine vary in different instances, and the inscriptions often give full details regarding each temple. We need not stop to reproduce them here as some idea has been given in the account of individual temples.

Koranganātha.

The earliest specimen of the time of Parāntaka I is the temple popularly known as Koranganātha in Śrīnivāsanallūr (Muśiri taluq, Trichinopoly district), of which the deity is described as Tirukkurak-kuttuṟai Perumānanḍigaḷ in the earliest inscriptions.[13] A medium-sized temple (fig. 10) with an overall length of 50 feet, it has a square *garbhagṛha* of 25 feet side, and a *maṇḍapa* in front 25 feet by 20. The top of the *śikhara* is 50 feet from the ground and the cornice of the *maṇḍapa* and *garbhagṛha* 16 ft. The cella, which has the appearance of being double-storied on account of a cornice at its middle height, is 12 feet square inside and entered by an *antarāla* borne on four pillars. A projecting niche in the middle of each of the three free sides of the *garbhagṛha*, and the recesses on either side of it accommodate icons or portrait sculptures of about half life-size and of such high relief as to appear almost as in the round. The north and south walls of the *antarāla* have similar niches which must once have enshrined Durgā and Gaṇapati. The niches for the *dvārapālas* are also empty. The decorative designs of the arches above the niches are intermediate between those of the Kailāsanātha of Kāñcī and of Tanjore. There is no *kapota* on the basement and its place is taken by the frieze of *simhas* nearly as prominent as at Tanjore in the next period. There

is no *gaṇa*-frieze below the cornice of the *garbhagṛha*, where we see instead over the beam the projecting ends of the rafters inside, imitated from the wooden rafters of a brick and mortar temple.

Other temples.

The Agastīśvara of Kiḷiyanūr (South Arcot) dates from the time of Parāntaka I also;[14] here the lowest course of the square basement comprising a series of plinth stones (*upāna* or *jagatip-paḍai*) scalloped on top in the form of lotus petals, the idea being that the entire *vimāna* from the *kumuda* upwards stands within a blossoming lotus forming a *padmakośa* (pistil inside the lotus). The *kumuda* moulding has semi-circular cross section as at Śrinivāsanallūr. The Tiruttiṇḍīśvara of Tiṇḍivanam[15] (S. Arcot) dating from before A.D. 961; the Pipīlikeśvara of Tiruveṟumbiyūr (Trichinopoly) built by about the same time by Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān, a feudatory of Sundara Cōḷa,[16] and notable for the sculptures of *purāṇic* scenes in panels below the pilasters in the exterior as in the Nāgeśvara of Kumbakonam, are other temples in the same class. The Tiruvālīśvaram near Brahmadēśam (Tinnevelly district) is almost unique for its fine workmanship and its wealth of iconographic sculpture on the upper tiers of the *vimāna*, and dates from some time before the accession of Rājarāja I whose inscriptions, however, are the earliest traced on the walls of the extant structure, later additions being the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the period of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys and the *amman* shrine of the thirteenth century. The Brahmapurīśvara of Puḷḷamangai (Tanjore district) built in the early years of Parāntaka I [17] resembles the Nāgeśvara of Kumbakonam in many ways, and is notable for its corbels bearing the *taranga* ornament—one of the earliest instances in this period, and for the excellence of its niches and their sculptures to be considered later in some detail.

The Mahālingasvāmi temple of Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Tanjore district) must have been built of stone about 910. An inscription in the temple of the fourth year of Parāntaka I[18] states that at a meeting held in the *nāṭakaśālā* of the temple it was resolved to have the old inscriptions copied and re-engraved in the *garbhagṛha* and *vimāna*, and one of the old recorded gifts related to the reign of Kāḍupaṭṭigaḷ Nandipōttaraiyar, i.e. Nandivarman II or III. The basement of the

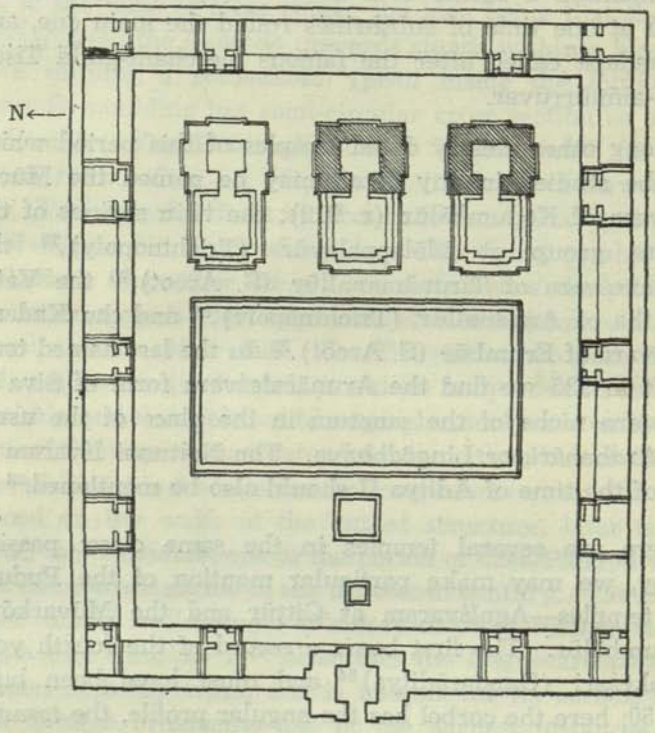
temple has an octagonally moulded *kumuda* and a short *kaṇṭha* studded with pilasters supporting a straight *kapota,* over which is a dado much like the *kaṇṭha* below adorned by sculptured panels and surmounted by a thick projecting cornice scalloped underneath in the form of lotus petals. Such variations of architectural *motifs* which attest the artistic freedom and initiative of the school cannot be traced in any detail in this general account of Cōḷa art. The early inscriptions of the temple mention a shrine of Purāṇa Gaṇapati, implying the presence at one time of subshrines round the main one, and of a *maṇḍapa* called after the famous merchant-guild Tiśai-āyirattu-aiññūṟṟuvar.

Among other clearly dated temples of this period which cannot be studied in any detail may be named the Mucukundeśvara of Koḍumbāḷūr (*c.* 912), the twin shrines of the Cōḷeśvara group at Mēlappaḷavūr (Trichinopoly),[19] the Bhaktajaneśvara of Tirunāmanallūr (S. Arcot),[20] the Vaṭatīrthanātha of Aṇḍanallūr (Trichinopoly),[21] and the Kadambavanēśvara of Erumbūr (S. Arcot).[22] In the last named temple built in 935 we find the Aruṇācaleśvara form of Śiva in the western niche of the sanctum in the place of the usual Viṣṇu, Ardhanāri, or Lingōdbhava. The Naltuṇai Īśvaram of Puñjai of the time of Āditya II should also be mentioned.[23]

There are several temples in the same class; passing these by, we may make particular mention of the Pudukkottah temples—Agnīśvaram at Cittūr and the Mūvarkōvil of Koḍumbāḷūr. The first bears a record of the fourth year of Rājakēśari (Gaṇḍarāditya)[24] and must have been built about 950; here the corbel has the angular profile, the *taranga* ornament with the 'throating' at the bend, and also the median band; the other type of corbel is also used, and the same latitude is observed in the shape of the pilasters in the different sections of the temple. Of the 'Temple of Three' at Koḍumbāḷūr, a very fine temple-complex of the time of Sundara Cōḷa built by Bhūti Vikrama-kēsari,[25] only two members survive (IV, fig. 7). Excavation has revealed that the *vimāna-trayam* together with the surrounding subshrines was placed within a large enclosure with a gateway on the west (see plan). Of the three central shrines each 21 feet square

Mūvar-kōvil

and standing on a north-south line at intervals of about 10 feet, all facing west, the middle and south *vimānas* are intact, but only the basement of the northern one. Each had an *ardhamaṇḍapa* of 18 feet square of which all but the plinth has gone. At a distance of 8 feet from this, and common to all the three, was a *mahāmaṇḍapa* 91 feet by 41 feet, in front of which at a distance of 1 foot 9 inches in the centre was a small *nandi* shrine (11′ 3″ square); midway between the *nandi*



PLAN III. Mūvarkōvil: Koḍumbāḷūr.

shrine and the gateway (*gōpura*) on the central axis was the *balipīṭha* or *dhvajastambha* about 5′ 9″ square. Of all these only the plinths have survived. Around this principal group and abutting the enclosing wall ran a covered cloister with fifteen subshrines. The basements of 14 of these are intact while the one at the south-east corner is altogether missing. The enclosing wall is massive, 3′ 4″ of stone; the main gate on the west is 4′ 6″ wide, and there is besides a passage (4′

wide) on the north-east corner leading down a flight of steps to a circular stone well of ten feet diameter just outside. The principal shrines are *padmakośas*, and the mouldings of the basement, as indeed all that has survived of this temple-complex, are very fine work. The *bhūta* or *gaṇa* friezes below the massive arched cornices of the *vimāna* contain particularly fascinating studies in the funny and bizarre. Many of the fine sculptures of Śiva in his various forms on the *vimāna* and of the *parivāra devatas*, lying loose or excavated, deserve notice; these include Ardhanārī, Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Gajāri, Antakāsurasamhāra, Kirāta, Gangādhara, Harihara, Umāprasāda, Saptamātṛkas, Mohinī and others.

Influence on Java.

By its three central shrines of equal beauty and importance, and the multiplicity of its subshrines the Mūvarkōvil reminds one of the celebrated Brahmanical temple-complex of Prambanam in Java. Built within less than half a century of each other, and at a time when there were many opportunities of active intercourse between South India and Indonesia, the two temple-complexes exhibit very interesting differences in the application of the same idea. The Javanese temple takes up the pre-Cōḷa Indian idea of representing the manifestations of the same deity in the principal and subordinate shrines, and multiplies the latter indefinitely, the Prambanan complex having for instance 156 minor shrines; the Cōḷa architects resist the temptation to display by sheer number of subshrines, confining them to a more or less schematic and traditional group of attendant divinities waiting upon the main deity as it were. On the other hand, while the central temples in Prambanam enshrined Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, the Trinity of Hinduism, at Koḍumbāḷūr Śiva alone occupied the sanctum of all the three central shrines.

Middle Cōḷa period.

We now come to the Middle Cōḷa period as we may call it (985-1070) when Cōḷa Art reached and passed its meridian. The number of temples built during this period continued to be large, and the constructions were as widespread as the Cōḷa empire itself. But in this general account we must necessarily pass over many instances of intrinsically interesting and well-dated examples,[26] and fasten attention on the two great

temples of Tanjore and Gangāikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram which constitute a landmark in the history of Indian Architecture.

Compared with the smaller temples of the same age, these two, as Percy Brown observes, 'are as cathedrals to a village church.'[27] Begun according to the records in the temple some time about 1003, the Rājarājeśvara (now called Bṛhadīśvara) of Tanjore was sufficiently advanced in construction by 1006 to allow of Rājarāja worshipping in the central shrine with the offer of golden flowers on his return from the war against the Cāḷukya Satyāśraya, and we have seen that on the 275th day of the twenty-fifth year (1009-10) of his reign he solemnly dedicated the copper-pot (*kalaśa*) meant to serve as the finial (*stūpi*) at the top of the *vimāna*.[28] This was apparently the most ambitious undertaking of Tamil architecture quite in keeping with the vast power and the growing extent and resources of the Cōḷa empire (VI fig. 11). The main structure is 180 feet long, and the massive pyramidal *vimāna* rises to a height of 190 feet over the sanctum excelling thus even the Lingarāj (160 feet) of Bhuvaneśvar, then a recent construction. Barring the portico, the *nandimaṇḍapa*, the Karuvūr Devar shrine, the *amman* shrine and that of Subrahmaṇya which are the most substantial later accretions, most of the structures of this grand temple are of one period, and it is not difficult to appreciate the majesty and simplicity of its unitary plan. The axial structures, the *vimāna*, the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa* and the big *nandi* are set in a walled enclosure of suitable proportions with a *gōpura* in front on the east. Abutting the *madil* inside runs a pillared cloister connecting together a number of subshrines, thirty-five in all, placed at the cardinal points and at intervals along the four sides. There is a second *gopura* in front which formed the gateway of a second outer enclosure.

Tanjore.

The main *vimāna* is of the *uttama* (high-class) type, also called a *māḍakkōvil* in Tamil and Dakṣiṇa-meru—the Koranganātha, as already noticed, being perhaps the earliest example of this type. It rests on a solid square base of 99 feet side, of which the horizontal outline is broken by five projecting bays, the central bay larger than the rest, alternating with recesses—all continued right up from the basement to the

topmost storey of the pyramid above, where the *śikhara* springs. The base (*pīṭha*) is ornamented by pilasters alternating with recesses and carries a *kapota* (cornice) pressed down as it were by a *yāli* frieze. On this *pīṭha* rises the *upapīṭha* of a lesser area of 63 feet square of which the *upāna* covered with inscriptions forms a *padmadala* receptacle for the massive semi-circular *kumuda* with *padmadala* courses above and below; the *kumuda* is chamfered octagonally where it turns into the transept at the eastern end. The *kaṇṭha* and *kapota* have been virtually suppressed, and immediately above the *kumuda* is found the *varimānam*, a series of lion figures in profile with riders on their backs, the lions giving place at the corners to *makara* heads with warriors, horses or equestrian figures in their gapes. The vertical walls of the cella follow the contours of the pediment as already stated, and rise to a height of 50 feet; they are divided into two storeys by a massive curved cornice with a number of *kūḍus* bearing sculptures in low relief; the second storey also ends with an overhanging cornice on top with a frieze of *yāḷis* above. The niches and recesses throughout bear graceful figural sculptures and have the typical Cōḷa forms of architectural members and ornamental *motifs*. Some of these are so prominent and characteristic of the style as to deserve particular mention. As already indicated the niches (*devagoṣṭhas*) are no longer shallow recesses adorned with bas-reliefs as in Pallava times, but deep hollows serving as receptacles for statues almost in the round generally of the various manifestations of Śiva. On either side of the niche are pilasters with bulbous capitals which differ from other pilasters by their section being polygonal and not square. Again, beneath the architrave over the niche we find a *tiruvācci* whose form begins to resemble the *kūḍu*, a transformation which is fully effected in the next period. The centre of this *tiruvācci* is circular as in the *kūḍu*, but the *makaras* on the sides have pendant tails as in the Pallava period—a feature which disappears later. There is another *motif* peculiar to the Cōḷa epoch and unknown in Pallava monuments. It appears in the recesses between the niches carrying sculptures and takes the form of a tree or pillar growing out of a vase (*kumbha*) and crowned by a sort of capital with brackets of rearing horses supporting an ornament which in general resembles

the *tiruvācci* described above and takes the shape of a flower bearing flames or arabesques. This 'decorative pilaster' *motif* develops in the fourteenth century into the *kumbhapañjara* in which the top member grows into something like a *pañjara*.

As in the upper storeys of the *vimāna* the verticality of perpendicular walls and niches of the *garbhagṛha* is relieved by powerful horizontal members—the heavy *kumuda* moulding of the pediment, and the massive overhanging cornices of the two storeys. These vertical walls enclose a shrine chamber 45 feet square with a narrow circumambulatory passage 9 feet wide round it. The inner wall of the cella repeats the features of the outside with large central bay-niches enshrining sculptures and lighted by rectangular openings (doorways) on the outer wall, the openings being walled up later perhaps in the Nāyak period. These rubble walls have now been removed. It is in this circumambulatory, tucked away beneath the *vimāna* round the *garbhagṛha*, that the now well-known Cōḷa frescoes were discovered about 1930. The cella enshrines an enormous *linga* which with its pedestal nearly covers the height of both the storeys (as seen from outside) of the *garbhagṛha*.

The pyramidal *vimāna* above the sanctum rises in thirteen diminishing tiers until the width of its apex equals one-third of its base. 'On the square platform thus formed stands the cupola, the inward curve of its neck producing a pleasing break in the otherwise rigid outlines of the composition, while the bulbous dome poised like a light but substantial globe is a fitting finish to its soaring character' (Brown). The effect of the pyramid is enhanced by the studied manner of its treatment in which the vertical lines of the *pañjaras* are so intersected by the horizontal lines of the diminishing tiers as to produce 'an architectural texture of great beauty.' 'Finally', says Percy Brown, 'there is the contrast of the rounded cupola at the summit, its winged niches on all four sides relieving the severity of the outline just where this is required. In erecting the *vimāna* on the principle of a pyramid its builders were on safe ground, for such a form not only conveys the impression of solid strength and stability, but is in reality the most permanent structural shape yet devised . . . Unquestionably the finest single creation of the Dravidian

craftsmen, the Tanjore *vimāna* is also a touchstone of Indian architecture as a whole.'

The shrine of Caṇḍikeśvara is situated very near the main shrine to its north and looks like a miniature of it even in the double storey of the cella. The peristylar cloister connects as already noted a string of thirty-five subshrines—four at the four corners, six between them and on either side of the *gōpura* on the east, seven on the west, and nine each on the two sides. Most of them have now been walled up and converted to other uses; the corner ones which are intact recall the small early Cōḷa shrines already discussed. The full details of the *parivāra* deities enshrined in these subshrines and at Mūvarkōvil will perhaps never be known. The enclosing walls (*madil*) seen from outside also present the appearance of two storeys of equal height each topped by a massive curved cornice of its own. Their pilasters with quadrangular section and bulbous capital, superimposed one on the other, are quite impressive to look at and a series of *nandis* at regular intervals crown the walls.

Built within twenty years of the completion of the great Tanjore temple, that of Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram (VI, fig. 12) reproduces almost all the main features of Tanjore, but in quite a different spirit; Percy Brown has called it 'the feminine counterpart of Tanjore,'[29] lacking the virile qualities and masculine vigour of its predecessor, but possessing a rich and voluptuous beauty of its own. The difference in effect is almost entirely the result of the introduction of more ornamentation as in the pediment and of curves in the place of straight lines in the composition of the *vimāna*. This great temple has suffered much from modern predatory engineering,[30] and seems once to have been as much fortress as temple; there is a large bastion on its south-west angle, and a smaller one on the western side.

Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram.

The temple itself forms a rectangle 340 feet long and 100 feet wide, composed of a *maṇḍapa* measuring 175 feet by 95, and a *garbhagṛha* with a square plan of 100 feet side, with a vestibule in between, the ends of which form, as in Tanjore, north and south entrances, both picturesque doorways with impressive *dvārapālakas* and approached by flights of steps, (VII, fig. 13).

temple as in the north-west corner of the north court in the Valuvūr (Tanjore) temple.

Gōpuras and maṇḍapas.

Other developments to be put in the same class were the *gōpuras* and *maṇḍapas* which also grew in importance in the late Cōḷa period and continued to retain it in subsequent times. A single modest *gōpura* was part of the temple plan even from Pallava times, and we have seen examples of it in such transition and early Cōḷa temples as those of Tirukkaṭṭaḷai, Mūvarkōvil and Erumūr. Again an inscription[39] from Vṛddhācalam (S. Arcot) of the twelfth year of Uttama Cōḷa records the construction by his mother, Śembiyan-mahādēvi, of a complete temple unit comprising *śrīkōyil, snapana-maṇḍapam, gōpura* and minor shrines. The large inner *gōpura* Rājarājan-tiruvāśal, and the outer *gōpura* Kēraḷāntakan-tiruvāśal of Tanjore, both of stone, were coeval with the main shrine. Another all-stone *gōpura* is the small and beautiful one of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara at Laddigam (N. Arcot) of the time of Rājendra I (VII, fig. 14). Kulōttunga III was the last great builder among Cōḷa monarchs and the *gōpura* of his great temple at Tribhuvanam (to be described presently) marks the last phase of the Cōḷa style of *gōpura*. It is a squat oblong structure of five diminishing storeys with a rectangular *grīva* surmounted by a wagon-top *śikhara* with large *kūḍu*-ends on either side and a series of *kalaśas* on top. None of these *gōpuras*, however, is designed so as to interfere with the domination of the entire temple-complex by its central *vimāna*. The position was more or less exactly reversed under the later Pāṇḍyas and their successors, the rulers of Vijayanagara. To some extent the Pāṇḍya practice began when the Cōḷa style had not cleared the stage, and the Pāṇḍyan *gōpuras* of Cidambaram, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Jambukēśvaram (1100-1350) chosen by Jouveau-Dubreuil to illustrate that style considerably overlap the later Cōḷa period. Likewise the *maṇḍapa* is also an essential part of the temple plan as it was developed by the Cōḷas and only received a greater emphasis, often carried to meaningless excess of display, under their successors, particularly the Vijayanagar monarchs and their feudatories. Even if we take no account of the pillared cloisters of the peristyle—the *tiruccuṟṟālais* as they

were called—sometimes built in two or three storeys, the *mahāmaṇḍapas* of Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, and earlier still that of Mūvarkōvil must be held to be the precursors of the later more extensive *maṇḍapas*. A *maṇḍapa* called Arumoḷidēvan was built on the north of the Mēlpāḍi temple in the fourth year of Rājēndra I.[40] Though the *snapana-maṇḍapas* may not have been large structures, *nṛtta-maṇḍapas* in temples of which we hear in inscriptions must have attained a fair size. Some of these *maṇḍapas* were big enough to serve as royal camps or courts of enquiry in important causes where investigations had to be conducted by royal officials. Śēkkiḷār is said to have first expounded his *Periya-Purāṇam* in the reign of Kulōttunga II in the 1000-pillared *maṇḍapa* of the Cidambaram temple; this may mean only that that *maṇḍapa* had been built when the *Śēkkiḷār Purāṇam* which narrates the event was written; but enough has been said to show that, very probably, a *maṇḍapa* of good extent was available for Śēkkiḷār's use.

Late Cōḷa.

In the late Cōḷa period (1070-1250) temple construction was as active as ever. We must pass by all the smaller temples, because not only are they numerous and very much like one another, but in several cases owing to the changes wrought by time they have become composite structures made up of parts belonging to different epochs not always easy to distinguish. We shall consider briefly only the two large temples which stand in the main line of the evolution of Cōḷa architecture and constitute landmarks in it.[41]

Dārāśuram.

First comes Airāvateśvara of Dārāśuram (Tanjore district VIII, fig. 15). The temple is called Rājarājeśvara in its inscriptions, after Rājarāja II in whose reign it was built, though additions were made to it by Kulōttunga III also. Originally the temple seems to have had a number of enclosures (*prākāras*) with *gōpura* entrances to each, of which only one is now intact. Axially, the main temple has the same plan and parts as the Tanjore temple, with the addition in front of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of a pillared *agramaṇḍapa* having a porch on the south. This *'Rājagambīran tirumaṇḍapam'* as it is called is so built as to simulate a chariot on wheels drawn by elephants. The

temple belongs to the Meru class like the Tanjore temple, and is conceived as a *padmakośa*. While the general similarity between this temple and its predecessors of Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram is unmistakable, there is a striking increase in the quantity of figural and decorative sculpture on every part of the temple. One of the most interesting sets is the series depicting scenes from the *Periya-Purāṇam* on the short pilaster strips and the recesses between them in the dado on the base of the *garbhagṛha* wall over the *yāḷi* frieze. The similarity of the scenes of Sundara's life in this series and in the mural paintings of Tanjore is very striking. These labelled scenes[42] attest the powerful moral influence of Śēkkiḻār's epic narration of the 'lives of the saints.' Another development of an architectural *motif* that calls for particular notice is the transformation of the ogee or doucine below the *palagai* into a well-developed inverted lotus with a whorl of expanding petals, the *idaḷ* properly so called: in later styles it becomes multi-seriate and consists of two or more alternating whorls of petals. The corbels also evolve some way towards the later *puṣpabōdigai*, particularly by the chamfered parts on either side of the central tenon beginning to assume the floral shape that came to be known as *maḍalai*. The *kumbhapañjara*, of which the beginnings are traced on the recesses of the Tanjore walls, also evolves further in both the lower *kumbha* and the *pañjara* on top.

The superstructure of the *vimāna* has five diminishing storeys, the two lowermost extending over and including the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. The first storey (*tala*) is a string of complete miniature shrines running on the edge of the roof plate and inter-connected by a low parapet—the *pañjaras* corresponding in their position to the projecting bays in the walls below, and the parapet with its cornice to the recesses. The second *tala* repeats the same grouping of *pañjaras* as below, but the *ardhamaṇḍapa* part of it is simply a walled enclosure with a row of *nandis* along the edge on top. The third, fourth, and fifth storeys repeat the same arrangement of the *pañjaras* and are confined to the central shrine. Above the fifth storey rests the circular *grīva* with niches at the cardinal points flanked by outfacing *nandis* at the corners, and surmounted by a dome (*śikhara*) also circular, with an outward bulge across the middle and slightly splayed out at the bottom. The

metal *stūpi* is now missing and only its central rod is *in situ*. Much of the top portion is covered and obscured by stucco and possibly this was the part plated with golden tiles by Kulōttunga III.

To the north of the *agramaṇḍapa* (IX, fig. 16) is a shrine of Pārvatī facing the porch. The pillars of this *maṇḍapa* and porch have attached pilasters on their sides with *yāḷis* and elephants as their bases, furnishing thus examples of the earliest type of composite pillars which became so common in later epochs. Built against the south wall of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is the shrine of Śiva in the form of a Śarabha;[43] this shrine is also raised on a double plinth with *upapīṭha* and *pīṭha* and has a small pillared porch in front reached from the east by a flight of steps flanked by curved *yāḷi* balustrades.

An interesting feature is the extension of an alternating series of the three types of *pañjaras*, square, rectangular, and apsidal, over the *yāḷi frieze* along the edges on three sides of the terrace over the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and *agramaṇḍapa*, a feature noted in the front *maṇḍapa* of Vijayālayā-cōḷeśvara and in the Cāḷukyan temples; the porch of the Airāvateśvara, however, carries not *pañjaras*, but *nandis* on the edge of its terrace.

In front of the *agramaṇḍapa* is a small *nandi* shrine and a *balipīṭha* showing the early characteristics of the Tanjore style in square pilasters and bevel and tenon corbels, but with flights of steps and balustrades of a definitely later epoch. In the court to the north of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is the shrine of Caṇḍeśvara with features very similar to those of the corresponding member in Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram. Round the court is a peristylar pillared cloister coeval with the main temple and containing six subshrines now traceable along its length.

Separated from the axial group and in front of it to the north is another shrine of Pārvatī, locally known as Devanāyaki (X, fig. 18). Essentially the same as the main temple in many ways, its *vimāna* has two *talas*, its niches carry *dēvī* images, and it exhibits features which place it among the *tirukkāmakkōṭṭams* of a slightly later epoch; it was perhaps

erected by Kulōttunga III. The outer *gōpura* is now in ruins; its empty niches bear inscriptions indicating that they once contained icons of the thirty-six gods and goddesses named;[44] the inner *gōpura* survives and has two *talas*.

Stylistically this temple marks in many ways the transition from the full plenitude of the Cōḷa style as seen at Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram to the great temple-complexes of the post-Cōḷa epoch.

The Kampahareśvara, called Tribhuvanavīrēśvara in its inscriptions, is clearly the work of Kulōttunga III as testified by the undated duplicate Sanskrit inscription of his reign on the walls of the *garbhagṛha* and the *gōpura* of the temple (X, fig. 19). Its traditional name is due to the belief that the god removed the quaking (*kampa*) of a Cōḷa king who was afflicted with the sin of having killed a Brahman. This has much in common with the Dārāśuram temple including the *agramaṇḍapa* and entrance epoch. The pilasters of the basement carry scroll work (*koḍikkarukku*) while the recesses are adorned by dancing figures representing Bharata-nāṭya poses accompanied by drummers and other musicians constituting the *mela;* there are riders on *yāḷis*, lions and elephants as elsewhere. In the pillars of the temple, the square abacus (*palagai*), as in Dārāśuram and other later Cōḷa temples, is thinner in contrast to the thick massive *palagais* of the Pallava and early Cōḷa temples including Tanjore. The corbel is also an early type of *puṣpabōdigai*, the earlier angular central tenon being transformed into an inverted bell-shaped 'palastara' and the bevellings on either side developed into curved up and foliated 'maḍalais.' This marks a definite advance over the corbels of the Airāvateśvara. There is even more elaborate imitation of woodwork in the handling of the *kapōta* and the adjacent members of the roof. The recesses on the sides of the central bays on the outer walls of the *garbhagṛha* carry rectangular windows (*jālaka*) framed by semi-pilasters on the sides and a *toraṇa* arch above.

Tribhuvanam.

The *vimāna* is a tapering pyramid of six diminishing *talas* of which the two lowest cover the *ardhamaṇḍapa* also as at Dārāśuram and Tanjore. A very striking feature is the pre-

sence of two stout circular pilasters one on either side of the niche in the central *pañjara* of the first storey; these pilasters carry a *kūḍu* on top. This is a *motif* coming down from Pallava times and seen also in some early Cōḷa temples like the Ananteśvara at Uḍaiyārguḍi, Mūvarkōvil at Koḍumbāḷūr and Naltuṇai Īśvara in Puñjai. The recesses between these projecting *pañjaras* have miniature shrines in relief. The circular *grīva* and domical *śikhara* are apparently of brick and mortar while all the rest of the construction is of cut stone.

The main pilasters in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and *agramaṇḍapa* have square bases with *nāgapaḍam motifs* at the four top corners from amidst which spring the octagonal shafts terminating in capitals likewise octagonal in section. The niches on the projections of the surface of the walls have shorter pilasters with the same square bases and *nāgapaḍams* at the scape, but sixteen-sided shafts and capitals, square abacus, and, what is more important, corbels of the earlier type with a plain median tenon and the two lateral bevels showing faintly the *taranga* (roll) ornament. The projecting cornices over these niches are surmounted by *pañjara* reliefs with large *kūḍus* enclosing miniature models of shrines. The niches on the recessed parts of the walls have short pilasters and capitals. They bear no corbels and the projecting shelves above them carry *toraṇa* arches.

The porch to the south of the *agramaṇḍapa* is of the same type as in the Airāvateśvara; but in the place of the lion and elephant-based pillars we find simple ornamental ones. The porch itself is a multi-wheeled chariot with two elephants in front of the steps and balustrade on the east; the projecting axles are supported by rampant lions; the detachable wheels are missing. On the west of the porch is a Somāskanda shrine of an earlier time with square pilasters, petalled *idaḷ*, and bevel and tenon corbels. The part abutting the south wall of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* corresponding to the Śarabha shrine in the Airāvateśvara contains the stucco figure of a chief.

The Dēvī shrine in front on the north and the Caṇḍeśvara shrine to the north of the *vimāna* are both coeval with the main temple. Unlike its counterpart in the Airāvateśvara

which retains some features of a time earlier than the age of the *vimāna*, the Caṇḍeśvara shrine here shows certain advanced characters. The *adhiṣṭhāna* has a *padmadala* base and a semi-circularly moulded *kumuda;* the corbels are incipient *puṣpabōdhikas* and the *palagai* loses its square character and conforms in section and shape to the capital and shaft below, which are octagonal.

The temple as a whole is a veritable sculpture gallery of varied iconography. Of the two *gōpuras*, the inner one is dilapidated at the top, but the outer main *gōpura* is complete. There is another ruined *gōpura* on the west behind the temple. They are all squat rectangular structures like the Tanjore *gōpura* not in any way to be compared to the imposing pylons reared by the Pāṇḍyas of the second empire very soon after Kulōttunga III. This is the last temple to preserve the predominance of the *vimāna* characteristic of the Cōḷa style of architecture.

The influence of Cōḷa art on other countries, especially on Indo-China and the Far-East, is an interesting question to which we can make only a brief reference here. We have seen that the Cōḷa empire was in active communication along trade channels and otherwise with China and the Hindu states of Indo-China. It seems possible that the great temples of Angkor and these temples of Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram had a mutual influence in their conception and execution, and belonged to the same line of evolution in religious architecture. A closer and more surprising parallel, nay, a regular copy, of Cōḷa architectural and sculptural designs has been pointed out by A. K. Coomaraswamy,[45] as found in old Zayton, modern Chuan Chou, opposite Formosa, where in an old temple of about the thirteenth century A.D. or later, he has discovered a plinth with mouldings very similar to those of a Cōḷa *upapīṭha* and sculptured panels of the *līlās* (sports) of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa on pillars (XI, figs. 20-A, B, C). This furnishes a glimpse into a little known chapter in the history of South Indian Art.

Sculpture

The Pallava sculptors had won the palm in the art of bas-relief. The primal simplicity of conception and the sure-

ness of grouping that is seen in the depiction of Kṛṣṇa as *govardhana-dhara,* or of Durgā as fighting the Mahiṣāsura, the more complicated but not less convincing 'tapestry on rock' known as the descent of Gaṅgā (or Arjuna's penance?)—all at Māmallapuram are works of such merit as to command a place in any considerable history of world art. The portraiture of Simhaviṣṇu and Mahendravarman I and of their queens in the Ādi Varāha cave also at Māmallapuram deserves in turn high praise for its unusual excellence. The Cōḷa sculptors did not attempt the 'large frescoes in stone' as the Pallava bas-reliefs have been called. They took more to sculpture in high relief, nearly in the round, and they concentrated more on the rich iconography that had come up in their time as the result of the growth of the hagiology of the *nāyanārs* and *āḻvārs,* and the tremendous vogue that their popular hymns gave to *purāṇic* mythology in the Tamil country. When they attempted narrative sculpture in stone, it was generally in small panels, sometimes as small as six inches by four as at Nāgēśvara in Kumbakonam, and seldom more than two feet by one foot—which is roughly the measure of the Rāmāyaṇa panels of the Kampahareśvara in Tribhuvanam. They did not fail even to excel the Pallava sculptor in portraiture when they attempted it as at Śrīnivāsanallūr and Kumbakonam (Nāgēśvara); but for some reason not now clearly traceable they did not continue their work in this line, though they attained unexampled skill in the casting of metal icons of very considerable size.

Relation to Pallava.

Except where metal was used, sculpture was generally subsidiary to architecture but did not, on that account, cease to belong technically to the plastic or glyptic form of art. It was employed as decoration on the walls, pillars, plinths, roofs and other convenient spots in temples. The Cōḷa sculptor, however, appreciated the value of plain spaces on walls and did not crowd them with too many figures; nor did he adopt the method of the ivory carver and goldsmith and seek to produce filigree work in his ornamentation. He generally worked on hard rock and depended on bold strokes and flowing lines for his effects, and the metal images of the time partake of the same qualities,

Classes of sculpture.

though here the details are naturally more and more elaborately wrought. Portraits, icons, and decorative sculpture are the three main classes of Cōḷa sculpture. Portraits are few and early; they soon fall out of use and often the line between a portrait and an icon is not clear particularly in the case of saints and other religious persons. Several sculptures, obviously portraits, cannot now be identified as we lack the data for it. Among icons which form the most important part of Cōḷa sculpture, Śaiva figures predominate as the Cōḷas were ardent Śaivas, though very fine Vaiṣṇava and Jaina images are not unknown. The iconography is by no means rigidly fixed,[46] and the art is still fairly free from the domination of text-book rules; there is little that is mechanical and hidebound about Cōḷa sculpture almost to the end. Decorative sculpture takes many forms; architectural *motifs*, floral and vegetal patterns, friezes of animals, birds, dancing figures with musical attendants, and of legendary and *purāṇic* stories. It will not be possible to review here the enormous mass of material to be gathered from the numberless temples, but present only a few select and typical instances of each class. It must also be noted that many of the fine bronzes of the Tanjore temple described in detail in its numerous inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I are not now forthcoming.

Portraits.

There is a singular paucity of properly authenticated portraits in Cōḷa sculpture, as to some extent in all Indian sculpture. The underlying cause is seen from a statement in *Śukranītisāra*,[47] doubtless a late work, but probably embodying an authentic old tradition: 'A divine image, though ugly, does good to men; while a human image, however excellent, does them no good.' Again the natural instinct to reproduce the features of the subject from life was often restrained by a tendency to merge the individual in a type. There were some conspicuous exceptions in early Cōḷa art, but we have now no clue to the identity of these exceptionally realistic portraits. There are three of them, two women and a man (XII, figs. 21-23), all sadly mutilated, on the walls of the Koranganātha temple at Śrīnivāsanallūr; and several others, men and women (figs. 24-29), in the Nāgēśvara at Kumbakonam, which are very well preserved and nearly life-size. Writing of the Kumbakonam

sculptures Ajit Ghose observes:[48] 'Here for the first time the Cōḷa artist stands in sharp contrast with his Pallava predecessors and the latter's severely abstract, ideal, and schematic vision. There is no difference in outward bearing between a Pallava king and a god, between a goddess and a queen. But a new and attractive conception of life and beauty had dawned on this Cōḷa sculptor. These Cōḷa ladies are picturesque and realistic human figures, full of feminine grace and the joy of life. This intensely human quality may be said to distinguish every one of the statues in the niches of this shrine. This art, so unconventional, is thus, refreshingly original in conception and spirit. This humanism is the Cōḷa's principal contribution to South Indian Art.' In their free and easy poses, in the divergence of their features and forms which impart a pronounced individuality to each figure, in the excellence of their modelling and in the discerning treatment of facial expression particularly of the eyes and mouth, these sculptures have no parallel in any other phase of South Indian art, not even in the Cōḷa period. Though not modelled in the round, being undetached from the blocks from which they are carved, their forms stand out clearly owing to the technical skill of the execution. The figures are generally posed in profile, and the exception here (as also the figures of Śrīnivāsanallūr), where the traditional law of frontality is followed, serves only to emphasise the superiority of the profile presentation. The treatment of dress, coiffures of women, and ornament of both men and women reveal much of life in the high society. The more poignant is our regret that we can only guess that these were perhaps representations of royal donors or members of the royal family. A close scrutiny does indeed reveal a few weak spots in the treatment of the fingers of the hand in one female figure, of the bust in another, and of the feet in all; but the general superiority of these statues is so pronounced as to enforce a revision of the common view that Cōḷa sculpture attained its high-water mark under Rājarāja I and Rājēndra; these sculptures of Śrīnivāsanallūr and Kumbakonam precede the accession of Rājarāja I by more than a century. But we have nothing else like them either before or after.

The earliest definitely dated portrait of the Cōḷa period is that of Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan (fig. 30), who is said to have

built (A.D. 932) the stone temple of Tiruvāḍuturai.[49] His figure is cut in relief, about a foot in height, on the south wall of the central shrine of that temple; by his side, in another panel separated by a narrow vertical band, stands the portrait of Iḷaiya Tirunāvukkaraiyan, a devotee of the Lord of the stone temple.[50] Though the figures are worn by the lapse of time, still the features and postures of these two persons give evidence of the realistic reproduction of facial traits practised by the artists of the tenth century. Piccan has a bag of sacred ashes slung on his left arm while the other devotee has set it on a stand near by.[51]

A beautiful bronze of a woman 'whose beauty is disturbing' (XV, fig. 31) is preserved in the Freer Art Gallery, Washington D.C. and published by A. K. Coomaraswamy who considers that it may represent Lakṣmī or Pārvatī, or even be the portrait of a queen, say Śembiyan-mahādēvi;[52] its pleasing proportions and workmanship certainly make it an early Cōḷa bronze. We shall notice presently other instances that hover between being a portrait and an icon.

The only portrait known of the reign of Rājēndra I is an excellent bronze statue in the Kālahasti temple representing Cōḷamadēvi, the queen of Rājarāja I (XV, fig. 32). The age and identity of the statue are alike most satisfactorily attested by an inscription on its pedestal saying that it was cast under the orders of Rājēndra-Cōḷa-dēva by Niccapaṭṭālagan, obviously the sculptor.[53] We have here the first definitely dated South Indian metal image—an excellent portrait and fine specimen of the art of the time.

An inscribed metal statuette (fig. 33) of a boy with a dagger in his right hand, the left being held in *kaṭaka-mudrā* at about chest height, is a figure of Kulōttunga III, a gift of Uḍaiyanambi to the temple of Kāḷatti-Uḍaiyār in Kālahasti;[54] the image may have been made about the time of his accession; the figure wears many ornaments and the face is expressive of youthful energy and eagerness. The image is important as perhaps the only authentic contemporary portrait of a Cōḷa monarch so far known, and its date is most probably somewhere about 1180.

Three statues, one of stone from Śrīnivāsanallūr, and two of metal from the South Arcot and Tanjore districts are, like

the female figure noticed above, on the borderland between portraiture and iconography. The statue from Śrīnivāsa-nallūr (fig. 35) stands in a niche on the north wall of the Koranganātha temple; the presence of other portrait statues in other niches here makes it likely that this too is a portrait much better preserved than the rest; but its position and the garland betweeen the palms held in *añjali* lead us to think of Ādicaṇḍēśa.[55] The metallic statue from Tirunāma-nallūr (S. Arcot) believed to be that of Narasinga Munaiyadaraiyar (fig. 36), the Milāḍa Chief famed as the patron of Sundara-mūrti; and another from Kōḍikkarai (Tanjore district) said to represent Gōḷakamaharṣi (fig. 34), the founder of a well-known line of Śaiva Ācāryas, are both more icons of the types of royal patron and spiritual leader, than portraits proper.

Icons

We may now turn to the icons, first stone, and then metal. The Śaiva forms predominate in those presented here as in the Cōḷa period generally; Vaiṣṇava icons will not be treated separately, but as far as possible in their chronological order together with Śaiva forms. The reader will be left to gather iconographic details from a study of the reproductions and the specialised treatises on the subject as full details cannot find a place in a general historical account. The relative legends should also be gathered from these treatises.

We may start with two images of Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇā-mūrti enshrined in appropriate niches in the temples of Tiruk-kaṭṭaḷai (fig. 37) and Koḍumbāḷūr (fig. 38) in Pudukkottah; the difference in the shape and disposition of the Vīṇā in the two cases should be noted. It is possible, however, that the Tirukkaṭṭaḷai figure is that of Tripurāntaka, as may appear from a comparison with another figure found along with that of Tripurasundarī at Koḍumbāḷūr (figs. 39, 40). From Koḍumbāḷūr again we get a fine image of Ardhanārīśvara (fig. 41); though somewhat mutilated the excellence of the sculpture and the deft handling of the right male and left female half is apparent. The male half often has two arms, one resting on the bull and the other holding a symbol such as trident, so that the whole image has three arms; here we find, however, only two arms. Krishna Sastri reproduces a drawing of an unusual image from Tiruvadi (Tanjore district)

where the right half is the female part, and the left the male part with only one arm held akimbo, the elbow resting on the head of the bull.[56] From the Koranganātha temple of Śrīnivāsanallūr we have the sadly mutilated but superb renderings of a standing Śiva (fig. 44), probably resting his right foot on the shoulder of a *gaṇa*, and of a seated Dakṣiṇāmūrti (fig. 45) beneath a tree in a finely wrought *toraṇa* pavilion surrounded by pupils and characteristic animals, demi-gods and so on.

Tiruvāliśvaram icons.

The Śiva temple at Tiruvāliśvaram (Tinnevelly district) is a veritable museum of superb early Cōḷa iconography of the time before Rājarāja I. In the niches of the *pañjaras* of its *vimāna* and the recesses between them, there are magnificent sculptures of Śiva in his various forms. On the southern side, for instance, there is Naṭarāja in the centre (fig. 48), with Vṛṣabhārūḍha and Gangādhara on his proper left (fig. 47), and Vīrabhadra and Dēvī on the right. The western side has Lingodbhava with Viṣṇu and Brahmā on either side in the centre, Kālaharamūrti and Kirātamūrti on its proper left, and Yoga Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Umāsahita on its proper right (fig. 49). The northern side shows Gajārimūrti in the centre (fig. 50), Caṇḍeśānugraha and Sukhāsanamūrti on its proper right (fig. 51) and Somāskanda and an unidentified sculpture on its proper left. Elsewhere we get an *ardhanārī* of the usual type with three arms, and a group of Somāskanda (?) standing with Nandi and a *gaṇa* sportfully seated near by (fig. 46). Another seated Dakṣiṇāmūrti from Kāvēripākkam (fig. 52) with a book in left fore-arm and the right fore-arm (which was perhaps in *Jñānamudrā*) broken, furnishes instructive comparison with the Yoga Dakṣināmūrti of Tiruvāliśvaram, and the two Vīṇādharas from Pudukkotah mentioned earlier.

Other stone icons.

Other interesting early Cōḷa sculptures are the relief of an eight-armed Durgā—on a slab from the Viraṭṭāneśvara with two devotees kneeling on either side, the one on the left apparently about to offer his head in sacrifice to the goddess, and a group of Viṣṇu and his two consorts from the ruined temple of Viṣṇu at Olagapuram, South Arcot. The walls of the two Bṛhadīśvara temples of Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram con-

tain numerous icons of large size and forceful execution, of which only a few can be reproduced here. First may be placed an image of Sarasvatī (or Lalitā) from Tanjore, (XXIII, fig. 54), and a magnificent Naṭarāja on the south side of the *garbhagṛha* of Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram (XXII, fig. 55), a conception of Śiva in cosmic dance of which more will be said later when we consider metal Naṭarāja images. The fine Harihara (fig. 56) on the same side comes next. The Caṇḍēśānugrahamūrti (fig. 57) on the north side is well known as it has often been reproduced and admired by several writers, but cannot on that account be omitted here; it may be compared with the smaller panel of the same subject from Tiruvālīśvaram, (fig. 51) where the bull serves as the footstool for Pārvatī; the later sculpture is grander and perhaps more perfect in its technique. The Kāmāntaka panel on the north wall (fig. 58) is a fine composition whose correct identification is suggested by Pārvatī doing penance on one leg on right top corner, Manmatha and Rati represented to the proper right of the seated central figure of Śiva as flying, obviously after the command of Indra, to go and disturb Śiva's meditation; the panel is thus part icon and part narrative. We must also notice an image of Viṣṇu with his two consorts facing him from the sides, all framed in a typical niche on the wall (fig. 59). There is a curious Sūrya stone in the form of a Kamala-yantra drawn by seven horses on the west face of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram temple (fig. 60); it contains all the paraphernalia of Sūrya, but no image of the deity who seems to be represented by the lotus form of the top of the stone. We shall conclude this rapid survey of Cōḷa iconography in stone with a reference to an image of Kankāḷamūrti (fig. 61) and a vigorous representation of Gajahāmūrti (fig. 62) with frightened Umā and Skanda by the side—both from Dārāśuram.

Metal icons.

'Bronzes' is a convenient and conventional term for metal images irrespective of the exact number or proportion of metals mixed in the amalgam out of which the images are cast. Most of the Cōḷa bronzes were made by the *cire perdu* process, and the Tanjore inscriptions give some indications of the technical details, and mention images which were made solid, hollow, or semi-hollow with thick sides. They also describe many iconographic

groups of images representing the stories of the lives of the Śaiva saints, but none of them seems to have survived. But what we now possess of Cōḷa bronzes from different parts of South India is enough by quantity and quality to bear undying testimony to the great height reached by metal-casting in those days. The Naṭarāja image in its various forms naturally holds the first place among the Cōḷa bronzes. Some fine stone images of this form have been mentioned above; the best bronzes of this type are not only spread over the museums of the world, but are still under worship in the live temples of South India. The Naṭarāja image in the Nāgēśvara temple, for instance, which has never been photographed, is one of the largest and finest images known. We have reproduced an image of the usual classical type from Tanjore (fig. 63), another with eight arms in Kālikā-tāṇḍava from Nallūr (fig. 66), and a third in Catura-tāṇḍava from Tiruvarangulam in Pudukkottah (fig. 67). Two other figures belonging to the Madras Museum and got from Tiruvālangāḍu (Chittoor, fig. 65) and Vēlāṅgaṇṇi (Tanjore, fig. 64) are also given. The conception of the Divine Dancer and its cosmic significance, and the excellence of the Cōḷa sculptor's presentation of it have often won the highest praise from discerning critics including great modern sculptors like Rodin. This is what Grousset writes :

Naṭarāja.

'Whether he be surrounded or not by the flaming aureole of the *tiruvācci* (*prabhāmaṇḍala*)—the circle of the world which he both fills and oversteps—the King of the Dance is all rhythm and exaltation. The tambourine which he sounds with one of his right hands draws all creatures into this rhythmic motion and they dance in his company. The conventionalized locks of flying hair and the blown scarf tell of the speed of this universal movement, which crystallizes matter and reduces it to powder in turn. One of the left hands holds the fire which animates and devours the worlds in this cosmic whirl. One of the God's feet is crushing a Titan, for "this dance is danced upon the bodies of the dead", yet one of the right hands is making the gesture of reassurance (*abhaya-mudrā*), so true it is that, seen from the cosmic point of view and *sub specie aeternitatis*, the very cruelty of this

universal determinism is kindly, as the generative principle of the future. And, indeed, on more than one of our bronzes, the King of the Dance wears a broad smile. He smiles at death and at life, at pain and at joy alike, or rather, if we may be allowed so to express it, his smile is both death and life, both joy and pain.....From this lofty point of view in fact, all things fall into their place, finding their explanation and logical compulsion. Here art is the faithful interpreter of the philosophical concept. The plastic beauty of rhythm is no more than the expression of an ideal rhythm. The very multiplicity of arms, puzzling as it may seem at first sight, is subject in turn to an inward law, each pair remaining a model of elegance in itself so that the whole being of Naṭarāja thrills with a magnificent harmony in his terrible joy, and as though to stress the point that the dance of the divine actor is indeed a sport (*līlā*)—the sport of life and death, the sport of creation and destruction, at once infinite and purposeless—the first of the left hands hangs limply from the arm in the careless gesture of *gajahasta* (hand as the elephant's trunk). And lastly as we look at the back view of the statue, are not the steadiness of these shoulders which uphold the world, and the majesty of this Jove-like torso, as it were a symbol of the stability and immutability of substance while the gyration of the legs, in its dizzy speed would seem to symbolize the "vortex of phenomenon."'

Other forms of Śiva.

We have a fine early Cōḷa Śiva—two armed, and his consort (fig. 68) recently discovered from Tiruveṇkāḍu. A four-armed image of standing Śiva, most probably Vṛṣabhārūḍha though the bull is missing, from Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram (fig. 69), and a seated (*sukhāsana*) figure from the Pudukkottah Museum (fig. 70) may be noted. The first is an early Cōḷa image of this great God whose cult was promoted so much by the Cōḷa rulers; the other is perhaps of the late Cōḷa period. The episode in the *Mahābhārata* celebrated in Bhāravi's great poem *Kirātārjunīya* seems to have been very popular in those days. Its incidents are sculptured in stone in several places in stone including perhaps Māmallapuram, and metal images of the Kirātamūrti of Śiva are some of the finest among the South

Indian bronzes. Here Śiva is shown standing and with two arms, a bow in one and arrow in another; a really early image with an ovoid *prabhāmaṇḍala* and the left arm raised to it in position to hold the bow comes from Tiruvēṭkaḷam, (fig. 71) near Cidambaram, one of the sites where, as the name shows, the Kirāta incident is localised; though this bronze has been thought to be Pallava,[57] there is no conclusive reason for placing it earlier than the early Cōḷa period—the period of transition as we have called it. Another slightly later image is a perfectly wrought bronze which comes from Rādhā Narasimhapuram (Tanjore district, fig. 72) and we give two views of this fine bronze showing details of *Jaṭāmakuṭa* and the ornaments of the neck besides the expressive facial features. An *ālinganamūrti* with a *prabhāmaṇḍala* is a fine piece of early Cōḷa work from Tiruvāḍuturai (Tanjore district, fig. 73); the proportion of the figures, and their stances are very pleasing, and the details of coiffure, ornamentation and drapery worth careful study. Another popular Śaiva legend is that of the deity wandering as a naked beggar (*bhikṣāṭana*) in expiation of the sin of *Brahmahatyā* incurred by his cutting off one of the heads of Brahmā. All the wives of the sages of Dārukavana except Arundhatī, the wife of Vasiṣṭha, are said to have been entranced by the overwhelming beauty of the naked god's form, and this episode has given rise to many sculptures in stone and metal of the Bhikṣāṭanamūrti and the closely allied form of Kankāḷamūrti reproduced above from Dārāśuram. We have a very pretty metallic image, a really early one, from the Śiva temple at Tirunāmanallūr, (fig. 74), which by its boldness and simplicity offers a striking contrast to a later, more ornate image from Tiruccengodu (Salem district, fig. 75) which has a deer to the right of the God and a *gaṇa* bearing the alms-bowl on his head and is therefore more complete and equally pleasing with the earlier icon. The Tiruccengodu figure is a Bhikṣāṭana. The earlier image has no symbols in its arms as seen now excepting the adhering skull of Brahmā in the upper left arm. Skanda or Subrahmaṇya, the younger son of Śiva and Pārvatī, is a very popular deity, held by some to be an original Tamil god—Muruga, though, as in the case of many other members of the pantheon, modern criticism has recognised here also a syncretism of Aryan and pre-Aryan elements

in the attributes and achievements of the deity; an early Cōḷa bronze of this god with an ovoid *prabhā* comes from Tiruviḍaikkaḷi (Tanjore district, fig. 76); a much later image from Tiruvarangulam, Pudukkottah (not reproduced) with circular *prabhā,* the peacock-mount and the two wives of the god standing on the sides may be compared with advantage for two different representations of the same concept; the earlier image with only one head and four arms, two of them bearing the characteristic attributes, is much more pleasing as a work of art, though devotees of the cult may see many reasons to prefer the later image and others of its class.

Four Vaiṣṇava bronzes, all early Cōḷa, from a ruined temple in Śērmādēvi (Tinnevelly district) next claim our attention.[58] Here are two figures of Viṣṇu, (fig. 77, 78) one of Rukmiṇī (? fig. 79), according to Ajit Ghose, and the last of Lakṣmī (fig. 80). Both the Viṣṇu images are in *samabhanga* pose, with the body in perfect equilibrium, and both on a *padmāsana* supported by a *bhadrāsana.* The symbols on the hands and gestures are the same in both. The larger image is simpler and bolder and may be of the time of Rājēndra I; it is 3 feet 2 inches high, the largest South Indian bronze of Viṣṇu known. The figure of Rukmiṇī (or is it also Lakṣmī?) is also remarkable for its severe simplicity and must be earlier than the Tanjore stone Sarasvatī mentioned above, or the Lakṣmī bronze now noticed. Both Rukmiṇī and Lakṣmī stand in *tribhanga* pose and, being early images, lack the breast-band (*kucabandha*); the former has her left leg slightly bent, and the latter the right, and there is a corresponding difference in the pose of the rest of the body resulting from the respective postures, Of these figures it has been said: 'Lakṣmī is a slender young goddess; Rukmiṇī is a matron in the full glory of maturity. Both are idealized but not exaggeratedly so.' As regards the dates of the four bronzes, the same writer observes: 'The Rukmiṇī is the oldest, next comes probably the smiling Viṣṇu and then the Lakṣmī, while the large Viṣṇu is later than these. All the images may be dated between A.D. 875 and 1032.' But their order in dates is not so sure. A group of three bronzes of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā from Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Tanjore district) with Hanumān in an attitude of worship (fig. 81) is

obviously one of the finest products of the best age of Cōḷa bronze-casting, the time of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra, and is representative of a large number of similar groups many of which luckily are still extant in temples and museums. A unique group representing Pārvati's marriage with Śiva (fig. 82) is also a recent discovery made at Tiruveṇkāḍu.

This brief study of the metal art of the Cōḷas may be concluded by a notice of the many finely executed seals borne on the big copper rings which bind the sheets of the copper-plate grants of the Cōḷas. One of the best preserved is also one of the most recent discoveries, and it is one of the two seals on the Kārandai plates from Tanjore (fig. 83).[59]

The last division of sculpture in stone that remains for consideration is that of decorative *motifs*. Half-way between portraits and icons on the one side and pure decoration on the other are the *dvārapālaka* figures at the sides of the gate-ways and entrances to temples and shrines. Perhaps it was the rule of old to make effigies of conquered rulers serve as gate-keepers in palaces and temples as suggested by certain epigraphic references of early date. But soon this gave place to the habit of employing conventional figures of semi-divine beings, at first with two arms, then with four, in that capacity. The symbols borne in the hands of the *dvārapālakas* differed with the cult followed in the shrine or temple. *Dvārapālikās* (women door keepers) also came into vogue especially for shrines of goddesses, sometimes even more generally. A *dvārapāla* from Vijayālaya-Cōḷēśvaran (fig. 84) and a female door-keeper (?) from the Kamparharēśvara of Tribhuvanam (fig. 85) may be seen to mark the features of this type at the beginning and end of the period covered in this survey. Besides figural sculptures like the *dvārapālakas* and icons which adorn niches on the exterior of temple walls, many other features contributed to the decorative effects of the structure. There were the mouldings often heavy and impressive in the larger temples broken by string courses of animals or birds, of which a good example of a frieze of alternating elephants, lions and *yāḷis* comes from Nārttāmalai (fig. 86). Other friezes of *yāḷis*, and *gaṇas* and birds below and above cornices have been noted in the descriptions of individual temples given above. The plinth was also often broken by niches (*devago-*

ṣṭhas) of varying sizes and designs so as to produce a pleasant relief in the great length of uniform mouldings; three examples of these are reproduced from the last great Cōḷa temple of Tribhuvanam (XXXV, figs. 89-91), and attention may be invited to the absence of the lion pillar in one of them, to its presence in another, and to the presence besides the lion pillars of another larger set of rearing lions on either side of the entire niche in a third—an anticipation of many later developments under Vijayanagar. Flights of steps and the balustrades on their sides were other ornamental features of note. Two balustrade sides—one from Dārāśuram depicting a lion attacking an elephant in the open (fig. 87), and the other from Tribhuvanam showing a more usual pattern of the proboscis of *yāḷi* forming the top of the curved balustrade with sculptured scenes beneath (fig. 88) are fairly typical. On the balustrade of the steps leading to the southern entrance to the transept in the Tanjore temple we have panels of Buddha's enlightenment used as decoration, which is interesting in more ways than one. Lastly, there are panels of *purāṇic* stories figuring as decoration at suitable places on the plinth, especially on the broad flat member which in large temples is about a foot or foot and a half in height, and provides an admirable field in the open circumambulatory for devotees to study them at leisure and be pleased and instructed. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, Śiva's sports, the lives of the Saints and other edifying topics furnish the subject-matter for this type of sculpture. Ranking very high as skilful works of art, these narrative panels are not without their own interest. One of the Rāmāyaṇa scenes from Tribhuvanam (fig. 97) shows Rāvaṇa with many hands and heads carrying off Sītā in his chariot, and the bird Jaṭāyu which fought Rāvaṇa, was mortally wounded in the fight, and gave up his ghost later. Much smaller panels, in positions not so readily accessible to the devotee unless he cares particularly to look for them, sometimes covering small rectangles of about six inches by four, are tucked away underneath the pilasters of the exterior of the *garbhagṛha* in some temples, e.g. Nāgēśvara, Puḷḷamangai, Puñjai. From the Rāmāyaṇa panels of Nāgēśvara, are reproduced, (1) Agni presenting *pāyasa* to king Daśaratha, (fig. 92), (2) the King distributing the *pāyasa* to the queens, (fig. 93), (3) birth of Rāma, (fig. 94), (4) his fight with Tāṭakā, (fig. 95) and (5) Hanumān's meeting with Rāvaṇa in Durbar (fig. 96).

From the Puñjai temple we get the Varāha-avatāra panel, (fig. 98) and that of Kṛṣṇa sucking milk out of Pūtana's breast along with her life (fig. 99). The Periya-Purāṇam sculptures on the Dārāśuram temple are well known. Above all there are many interesting patterns, floral and vegetal, sometimes even geometrical as in Muslim art, too numerous for detailed treatment here. In fact, Cōḷa architecture and sculpture have remained neglected fields, and comprehensive monographs on the best extant temples are an urgent desideratum.

Painting

Cōḷa painting, like all other forms of Cōḷa art, was a continuation and development of Pallava-Pāṇḍya work in the field. Literary evidence on the extent and excellence of early Tamil murals is both authentic and extensive; but no specimens have survived, and we have no means of forming any close idea of the nature of the art as it was practised then. In fact paintings are delicate products of art and are the first to suffer by the action of time and weather, not to speak of chemical changes in rocks or in the materials used. Often excellent early paintings have been overlaid, as at Tanjore, by later work not so good. In the midst of many gaps and much uncertainty, there remains no doubt about the continuity of a painting tradition in the Tamil country.

The fragmentary Pallava paintings still traceable in the 'Cave temples' of Tirumayam and Māmandur, and in the structural temples of Panamalai and Kāñcī and Māmallapuram as also in the *rathas* of Māmallapuram date from the seventh and eighth centuries, while the outer layer of paintings in Śittannavāśal, often mistaken to be Pallava, and those in the Tirumalaipuram cave temple in the Tinnevelly district are both Pāṇḍya in origin and belong to the ninth century.[60] Of the Cōḷa paintings, the most important are those in the *pradakṣiṇa* passage round the sanctum of the Tanjore temple, most probably coeval with the temple and belonging to the time of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I.

From the standpoint of the technique employed, the South Indian paintings stand apart from the better known paintings of Ajaṇṭā, Sigiriya, Bāgh, Bādāmi and Ellora. Here the ground-plaster is of coarser lime mortar below with a

finer coat of lime wash above it on which the pigments have been laid in accordance with the 'fresco' or 'lime medium' technique. The absence of any adhesive such as gum or glue in the laying of the pigments is the important feature that distinguishes them from the painting in the Deccan and Ceylon. There the ground-plaster is of mud—clay or alluvium, and sand mixed with very small quantities of lime and containing organic materials like cowdung and husks or vegetable fibres acting as 'binding medium'; this ground-plaster is covered by a lime wash of egg-shell thickness and painted with mineral colours mixed with glue or gum as a fixitive; the technique is 'tempera' and the painting could be done after the lime wash had dried up. In Śittannavāśal on the other hand, the ground-plaster is a mixture of lime and sand forming a coarse ground with a thin layer of fine lime-plaster over it; on this the paintings have been executed in mineral colours without the mixture of any adhesive. Since on examination the colours appear to have been mixed in lime water and applied on the dried up surface, this is strictly 'fresco-secco', different from true fresco work where the paint is applied on the still wet lime surface, a very good example of which we find in the Tanjore Cōḷa paintings. All the other paintings in the South Indian series found in the temples of Mamandur, Tirumayam, Kāñcī, Nārttāmalai, Somapālaiyam, Lepākṣi, Tirugōkarṇam, Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi, Travancore, Cochin and elsewhere belong to the class of fresco-secco.[61]

Kāñcī.

In Tanjore, as elsewhere, the coat of fine plaster seems to have been laid when the coarse plaster below was still wet. The painting (in true fresco method) was also applied when the surface was still wet. In this process the pigment penetrates the surface, and soon, the wet calcium hydroxide in the lime, as the water-content evaporates, reacts with the carbon dioxide of the air forming a thin protective and transparent film over the surface. The same thing happens even where the pigments are laid in lime medium on the dry surface; though there is no penetration of the pigment, the glassy protective film is still there. This is the merit of the fresco process. In Tanjore old and well-slaked lime burnt over a wood fire and derived perhaps from shell or lime-stone seems to have been used; no marble dust has been found in

analysis. The pigments with the exception of black are found to be of mineral origin, the principal colours used being black, yellow, brown, red, blue, green, yellowish green and light blue; the materials employed are lime for white, wood charcoal or lamp black for black, ultra-marine for blue, toned down with lime or fine sand for light blue, ochres for yellow, brown and red, terreverte for green, ultramarine and yellow ochre for yellowish green, ultramarine and terreverte for bluish green. The technique employed has restricted the palette to material which will not react and change when mixed with lime—a limitation of the fresco process. Since again in the fresco all the pigments dry out lighter and that gradually in a few week's time, the artist must have a good idea of the relative warmth of the tones to be ultimately expected. The Tanjore artists have understood this so well as to achieve a fine harmony of colour. In some places the colour films do not adhere so firmly as in general they do, and here the pigments seem to have been applied in lime medium. Apparently the paintings were begun in fresco, and were finished or retouched in lime medium. True fresco work demands greater swiftness and precision of execution than the lime medium technique. This means the execution of the work panel by panel and the careful jointing of the panels to match in tone and colour. In the Cōḷa frescoes at Tanjore the joints are so well concealed that it is not quite possible to estimate the rate at which the painting was done and the area covered by an artist in a day. The plaster coats are so thin that they could not have retained their moisture for more than a very short time. The artists seem to have completed one wall per day or during such time as it remained wet, in which case no joint would be visible. This would not have been impossible, since the wall is conveniently divided into horizontal panels by patches of colours and each panel may have been worked by a single artist or a group. As a matter of fact the themes are made up of many small scenes on each panel; each scene may have been painted by one artist, a number of them working simultaneously. The area of the panels varies from 24 square feet to 60. It is not also impossible that the joints are concealed by the horizontal patches of colour. To put in so much detail of dress and orna-

ment, and to achieve so much general decorative effect even in the disposition of the figures under such limitations of time as the fresco process imposed required great skill of the artists indeed.

The paintings in the Tanjore temple in the walls and ceilings of the *pradakṣiṇa* underneath the *vimāna* were originally lighted by three doorways in the middle of the exterior walls of the *garbhagṛha* on the south, west and north; these openings were closed by Vijayarāghava Nayak between 1653 and 1659 by rubble walls which have now been demolished by the archaeological department. The openings correspond in position to the *devagoṣṭhas* (niches) in the central bay on each side on the inner walls enshrining large sculptures appropriate to them. Vertical pilasters corresponding to the system of bays and recesses of the outer wall divide the *pradakṣiṇa* passage into fifteen chambers each separated from its neighbour by a constriction which is really an opening composed of joists, lintel and sill. There are two chambers on either side of the main entrance on the east, five each on the north and south, three behind on the west. The first three chambers, starting in *pradakṣiṇa* order from the south of the main entrance, are entirely covered, walls and ceilings, with the Nāyak series of paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which do not seem to cover any Cōḷa paintings underneath. The fourth, eighth and twelfth chambers, those with the openings on the outer wall, are dominated by the large sculptures on the inner wall, and the last three chambers (13-15) have again only Nāyak paintings with no Cōḷa layer underneath. The remaining six chambers have excellent Cōḷa paintings, visible where the Nāyak layer overlaying them has pealed off, and the biggest problem facing the archaeologist is to find a successful way of stripping the Nāyak layer elsewhere without damaging the underlying Cōḷa paintings.[62]

The theme of the Tanjore Cōḷa paintings is religious, drawn mostly from the hagiology that was later worked up into the *Periya-Purāṇam*. The episodes of the life of Sundaramūrti form the subject of some of the best panels. On the top of the panel on the west wall (chamber 7) is the Kailāsa scene—Śiva seated in *Yogāsana* on a tiger skin with the couchant Nandi (bull) in front and a group *ṛṣis* with a couple

of *apsara* maidens dancing at the opposite end; Śiva is painted red and one of the *ṛṣis* blue. Just below is the picture of Sundaramūrti and his friend Cēramān Perumāḷ, another *nāyanār*. The scene depicts the journey of the two friends to Kailāsa at the invitation of Śiva; the youthful Sundara is seated on the fast moving elephant sent to fetch him, and Cēramān on his horse speeded by his whispering the *pañcākṣara* (Śaiva credo) into the ears of his horse which, as a result, soon mounted the sky and overtook the divine elephant ridden by Sundara! The white elephant of Sundara is the centre of the picture, and right in front is the prancing steed, its rider looking back and beckoning to Sundara. The king wears a long moustache, a close beard, and a large tuft of hair behind his head. He is bare-bodied except for the *dhoti* round his waist. Round the neck he has a tight necklet and a dangling cord with a *rudrākṣa* bead strung in it. The harness and trappings are well worked out on the body of the white horse. At the right and left top corners are a group of celestial beings half hidden by the clouds—the right group consisting of *apsara* maidens and *gandharvas* showering lotus petals, dancing, and playing on musical instruments. The left group seems to comprise *ṛṣis*. Right in front of Cēramān's steed is the most elegant of the dancing *apsara* maidens, her body bent in rhythmic curves and her right arm stretched out in front and left bent in *abhaya* pose, her face turned back. Her diaphanous clothing and the elaborate coiffure, jingling anklets and wristlets add charm to her graceful form (frontispiece).

Below this panel is the scene of dispute between Sundara and Śiva on the eve of his marriage (*ante*, p. 474). On one side we see Śiva as a bearded old man, sitting in front of Sundara, clutching the palm-leaf document, and speaking to the *sabhā* with raised arm and uplifted face. Again on the other side is the old man producing the palm-leaf deed executed by Sundara's grandfather, the bewildered Sundara standing before him in eager expectation of the verdict. On the faces of the members of the *sabhā* is depicted a varying conflict of emotions. The right side of the picture depicts the culmination of the episode—a temple entered by the whole lot of them. The lower panel showing some women engaged in cooking may be part of the portrayal of preparations for Sundara's marriage.

Elsewhere on the west wall (chamber 9) we get a grand scale painting of Naṭarāja and his devotees, and the subject is apparent though much of the original painting is still overlaid with later work. There are many women of high rank included in the scene.

But the grandest composition in the whole series is the Tripurāntaka panel on the north wall (eleventh chamber). It is a battle scene. Śiva is standing on the deck of the chariot in *ālīḍha* pose, his left knee bent, and the whole weight of his body thrown on the right leg which is placed forward; his eight arms carry different weapons, one of them, holding a long bow in front. His vibrant frame and defiant expression suggest vigorous action. On the driver's seat is the four-headed Brahmā holding the reins and the whip. This is the centre of scene. In front are the horses of the *asuras* facing Śiva and his *gaṇas*, the whole foreground depicting fights with different weapons between the two groups. On the top is seen Durgā on her lion thrusting her spear into the body of an *asura* while her lion is holding another by the neck.

Another panel on the western wall of the shrine recently uncovered depicts Naṭarāja in Kanakasabhā worshipped by a royal devotee attended by his many queens and retinue. There is no difficulty in identifying the royal figure as Rājarāja I, the founder of the temple, who called himself *Śivapādaśēkhara* and named every unit of measurement Āḍavallān, indicating his intense devotion to the Lord of the Dance—Naṭarāja. His principal queens and consorts are portrayed on a large scale as standing behind him, while the other queens and also the retinue are smaller.

There is a second circumambulatory over the one in which the Cōḷa paintings have been discovered. The inner walls of this circumambulatory contain traces of old Cōḷa plaster and painting showing that it was also painted as the one below. Running round the inner wall at almost eye-level are bas-relief sculptures depicting the *tāṇḍava* poses of Śiva. Though there is provision for 108 sculptured panels, only 82 have been completed and the rest are blank. These rather crude sculptures were perhaps covered by painted stucco and illustrate the poses described by Bharata.

The lines of the figures are drawn in light red or brown and deepened by forcible blacks and reddish browns. The other colours used for flesh and drapery are defined by delicate brush work in different colours. There is a conscious attempt at modelling here. Though there is not much diversity in the poses of figures, yet they are far from being stereotyped. The celestial beings, *apsaras* and *gandharvas* 'have a certain bend of the body as if they had floated into shapes on waves of an invisible sea.' The lines of the seated figures of women have more grace and charm than the standing ones. The dancing forms are full of action and expression. The faces are drawn in three quarters front and profile visible and square in outline with pronounced chin. The hair is done into elaborate coiffures of different patterns with small ringlets falling in front on the face, and decked with flowers, buds, and ornaments shaped like crescent and star. The eye brows are set low in human forms and high in celestial beings; the eyes themselves are linear and pisciform and the eyelids are not pronounced, but none the less expressive of emotion. The noses are long, straight, and sensitive, very rarely curved, the nostrils wide and mobile. The variety of ornaments worn by women is a study by itself. The drapery consists of a *sārī* of diaphanous muslin worn round the waist and covering down to the ankles and thrown into graceful folds decorated by floral patterns or horizontal lines, and held in position round the waist by sashes of different colours, their ends hanging in folds. The bust is generally bare except for a piece of cloth worn over the left shoulder and passing between the ample bosoms under the right arm. The men are of strong build, with beard, moustache and knots of hair on the head.

The panels in the Cōḷa layers exposed so far do not suggest any grouping except in the Tripurāntaka and Sundaramūrti panels, and till the entire Cōḷa layer is exposed, one cannot say definitely that the figures in the other groups are not inter-related.

The fragments of paintings in the Vijayālaya-Cōḷēśvaram are much faded. The two large ones are on the north wall of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. The two large figures are those of Bhairava and Naṭarāja; the stiff pose of the figures indicates

a late age when the mural art was decadent; but the fragments of plaster revealing a few pretty cherub-like faces on the south wall are strongly reminiscent of the Tanjore School, and these paintings may tentatively be assigned to the late Cōḷa period—late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

1. *EI.* xvii pp. 14-7.
2. *Studies.*
3. *Archeologie du sud de l'Inde,* i. p. 116.
4. 167 of 1894; *JMU.* xiv p. 28.
5. 392-4 of 1924.
6. 36 of 1931; 91 and 92 of 1895.
7. See drawings reproduced from J. Dubreuil at the end of the chapter for an idea of the technical terms of South Indian architecture.
8. *Indian Art and Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu*), p. 98.
9. Name in 282 of *Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions* (*PSI*) of Yr. 11 of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1227). Original construction by Śāttan pūdi alias Iḷangoḍi-araiyar and restoration by Mallan Viḍuman alias Tennavan Tamiḻadi Araiyan after damage to temple (*karṟaḷi*) in storm and rain—both mentioned in a recently found inscription on the basement of the central shrine underneath the *dvārapālaka* to the north of the entrance. *JOR.* viii pp. 208-9. See also *JISOA.* v (Coomaraswami vol.) p. 85.
10. For all the Pudukkottah temples discussed here see generally K. R. Venkataraman—*Manual of Pudukkōṭṭai,* the reports of the State Museum for faslis 1349-51, *JOR,* vii-xii and *JISOA* (Coomaraswami volume)—articles by Venkararanga Raju and S. R. Balasubrahmanyan.
11. 310-11; and 316 and 319-320 of 1903.
12. *JISOA.* vii pp. 113-5.
13. 586, 589 and 605 of 1904.
14. 148 and 155-8 of 1919.
15. 141 of 1904 (*SII.* vii 154) of Yr. 5 of Rājakesari (Sundara Cōḷa).
16. 104 of 1914, *EI.* xix p. 86.
17. 558 of 1921.
18. 199 of 1907; *SII.* iii. No. 124.
19. 364 and 378-80 of 1924.
20. 335 of 1902, *EI.* vii p. 133.
21. 348, 359 of 1903.
22. *JISOA,* vii, pp. 113-5.
23. 192 of 1925.
24. *PSI.* 24; trn. pp. 24 and 30 ff.
25. *PSI.* 14.
26. Such instances, among others, are, the Uttarakailāsa in the Pañcanadeśvara temple of Tiruvadi (Tanjore) built by Rājarāja's queen Dantiśakti (219 of 1894); the Vaidyanātha of Tirumalavāḍi (Trichinopoly) rebuilt in the last years of Rājarāja I and completed under his

son Rājendra I (91 and 92 of 1805); the twin shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu at Dadapuram (S. Arcot) built by Rājarāja's sister Kundavai about 1016 (8 of 1899); the Ariñjigai-Īśvara, now called Cōḷēśvara at Mēlpāḍi (Chittoor) built by Rājarāja I as *paḷḷipaḍai* in memory of Ariñjaya who fell at Aṟṟūr (ante p. 187); the Śiva Devāle No. 2 at Polonnaruva in Ceylon (*ASC.* Report 1906 pp. 17-22); the Irungōḷeśvara, now Nīlakaṇṭheśvara of Laddigam (N. Arcot) which bears an inscription of the ninth year of Rājarāja (551 of 1906); the Haratīrtheśvara at Tiruvaranguḷam (Pudukkottah state); the Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷēśvara of Kūḷambandal (S. Arcot) built before 1034 (414 of 1902); and Tripurāntakēśvara of Kūvam (Chingleput district) built about 1050 (328 of 1909).

27. *JISOA*, ii, p. 4.
28. Ante, p. 184.
29. *JISOA*, ii, p. 4.
30. *Ante*, p. 235.

31. This is the reason why the ground plan of this temple given by Percy Brown can no longer be held to be accurate or complete; there is no ground plan or section in existence for Tanjore—a state of affairs that calls for the early and serious attention of the Archaeological Department.

32. *JISOA*, ii, p. 5.
33. *SII.* ii, No. 61; Intr. p. (13).
34. 22 of 1895 (*SII.* v. No. 578).
35. 335 of 1917.

36. 65 of 1890 (*SII.* iii, No. 22) from Karūr (Rājēndra II); 307-8 of 1901, from Dharmapuri (Kulōttunga I); 70 of 1911 from Śrivāñjiyam Rājarāja II) and so on.

37. See 429 of 1912 (Vallūru, Tanjore), 577 of 1905 (Vijayamangalam Coi.), 504 of 1912 (Ūṭṭattūr, Trichi), etc.

38. *Ācāryapuṣpāñjali*, p. 6.
39. 47 of 1918.
40. 227 of 1921.

41. The account of these temples that follows is based on K. R. Srinivasan's paper 'The last of the great Cōḷa temples', *JISOA*, xvi. (1948), pp. 11-33.

42. *ARE.* 1920, pp. 102-7 and pls. I-VI; also 1908, II, 66-7.
43. *Hindu Iconography*, T. A. G. Rao, ii, pp. 171-4.
44. *ARE.* 1908, p. 81, para 68.
45. *OZ.* (N. F. 29), 1933, p. 5.

46. H. K. Sastri in his *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses* draws attention to several instances of iconographic variations in images of the same deity.

47. IV. ll. 157-8.
48. *OZ.*, 1933, p. 165.
49. 132 and 136 of 1925; *ARE.* II, 10.
50. 131 of 1925.

51. Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan (the mad man of the stone temple) is a title rather than a name, and was borne later by Parāntakan Śiṟiyavēḷār, the general of Parāntaka II (291 of 1908), and Ārūran Kamban of Tirumaṇañjēri (A.D. 991, No. 9 of 1914). Other portraits in Tiruvāḍuturai, similar to that of Piccan, are that of Ambalavan Tiruviśalūran Tirunāvukkaraiyan (133 of 1925) and some others of less certain date (106 and 141 of 1925). See *SII.* iii, plate xi for images (artistically not important now) of Gaṇḍarāditya worshipping the deity of Tirunallamuḍaiyār at Kōnērirājapuram (Tanjore district), built by his queen Śembiyan-mahādēvi (*SII.* iii, Nos. 146 and 147 = 450 of 1908 and 626 of 1909); the king's head-dress, simple and elegant, with strings of pearls, and his ornaments on the arms, neck, and chest, in a way recall the similar decoration of the so-called Cōḷa-*pratima* of the Bhōganandīśvara temple in Nandi (*MAR.* 1914 and 1915), which is a good example of the type of idealised portrait mentioned above in the text.

Epigraphical references are found in inscriptions to portrait bronzes of (1) Śembiyan Mahādēvi (A.D. 1020) in a village of the same name—*ARE.* 1926, II, 24, (2) Parāntaka II and his queen Vānavan Mahādēvi, mother of Rājarāja I, and of Rājarāja I himself and his queen Lōkamahādēvi, all solidly made, in the Tanjore temple—the inscribed image of Rājarāja I now in use there is obviously a much later substitute—*ARE.* 1925, II, 12, *ante.* pp. 168, 189 *n.* 3.

Some stone portraits, not well preserved, are: (1) a king and queen worshipping a *linga* in the Śiva temple of Tiruviśalūr (Tanjore district) below which is a record of the *tulābhāra* and *hiraṇyagarbha* performed there respectively by Rājarāja and his queen Lōkamahādēvi (42 of 1907, *EI.* xii, p. 121, n. 2); (2) a king or noble seated cross-legged on the floor and worshipping a *linga* in a ruined Śiva temple at Olagapuram (S. Arcot)—129 of 1919; (3) Anantaśiva worshipping a *linga* in a *maṇḍapa* built by him in the temple of Tiruviśalūr (T. G. Aravamudan, *Portrait Sculpture,* fig. 10); and (4) Kundavai dancing before Śiva in the temple built by her at Dādāpuram (S. Arcot)—17 of 1919.

T. G. Aravamudan (*op. cit.,* pp. 38-9 and fig. 13) identifies a Cōḷa general Kēttan Ādittan and his sister Kaliyavvai—of 168 (a) of 1922—in a couple of bronze statuettes from the Kālahasti temple. In the Śiva temple of Śrīmuṣṇam (S. Arcot) is a portrait of Tambirān-tōḻan Mānakkañjāṟan who used to recite *Tiruppadiyam* in the temple (255 of 1916). At Anbil the people set up (c. 1250) an image in the Prēmapurīśvara temple of a certain Paḻudaiyāṇḍān who, at the cost of his life, protested against unjust revenue demands on the villagers (596 of 1902).

Popular local tradition identifies a large stone figure in the Śrīrangam temple with poet Kamban; two damaged stone figures at Tēraḻundūr with Kamban and his wife; and a large well preserved loose stone image in Ēkāmranātha temple at Kāñcīpuram with Karikāla Cōḷa.

52. *Rūpam,* 1930, No. 40, p. 1.

53. 168(b) of 1922.

54. 168(a) of 1922.

55. H. K. Sastri, *South Indian Images*, p. 162.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 125 and fig. 80.
57. *Annamalai University Journal*, vol. iii, p. 43.
58. *OZ.* (N. F. 10) 1934, pp. 176-86.

59. The plates are still unpublished as already noted (p. 15, n. 1 *ante*), and the seal is reproduced by the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist, Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao. The details of the seal are described elsewhere.

60. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vii, (1944), pp. 168-76.

61. The technique of Indian paintings has been studied by Dr. S. Paramasivan, Archaeological Chemist, and the details are to be gathered from his valuable papers of which the following may be mentioned in particular:

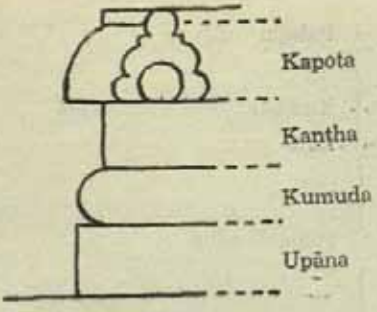
(1) Indian Wall Paintings, *JMU.* xii (1940), pp. 96-128, and xiii, (1941), pp. 1-15;

(2) Annual Reports of Hyderabad Archaeology Department, 1936-7, pp. 25-38 on Ajaṇṭā and Ellorā;

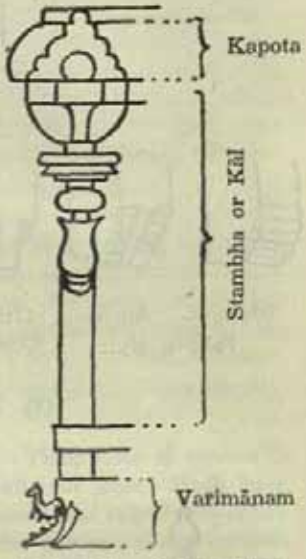
(3) Technical Studies, Harvard; v. 4, (1937) pp. 222-39 on Tanjore, viii, 2, (1939), pp. 83-9 on Śittannavāśal;

(4) Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Sciences:
vii, 4, (1938), pp. 282-90 on Vijayālaya-Cōḷēśvaram;
x, 2, (1939), pp. 77-84 on Kāñcīpuram;
x, 9, (1939), pp. 85-95 on Bāgh.

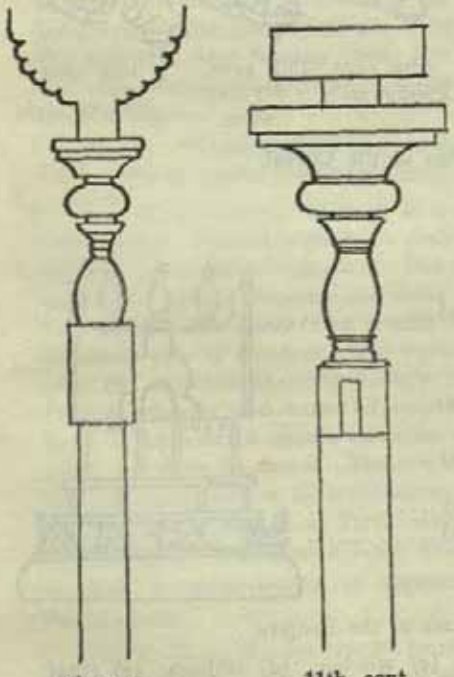
62. S. K. Govindaswami described the subject-matter of these paintings first in the *Annamalai University Journal*, ii, (1933), and in *JISOA.* i, (1933), pp. 73-80, but he went wrong over the technique of the paintings. See also C. Sivaramamurti in *Triveṇi*, vi, (1933), pp. 227-34; O. C. Ganguly in *IAL.* (NS. ix), 1935, p. 86, and Dr. Paramasivan in *JOR.* ix, (1935), p. 363.



(1) Parts of the plinth (*upapīṭha*).



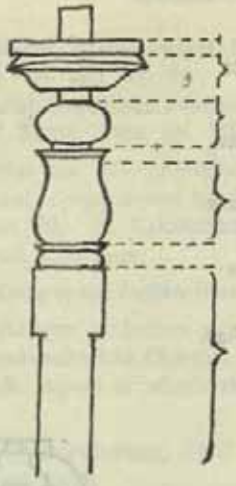
(2) Parts of the Pillar.



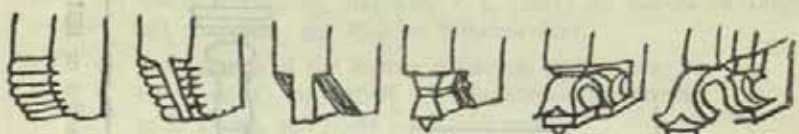
7th cent. Pallava style

11th cent. Cōḷa style

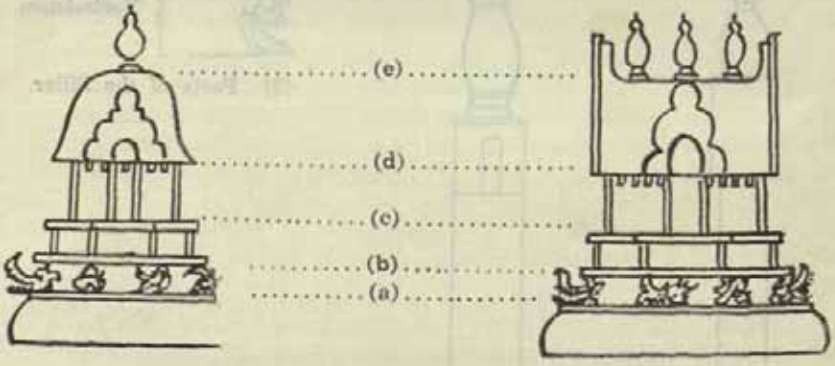
(3) Evolution of Palagai.



(4) Parts of the Capital.



(5) Evolution of the Corbel.



(6) Two forms of the Pañjara.

(a) varimānam (b) balustrade (c) window (d) śikhara (e) stūpi

Drawings according to Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archeologie du sud de l' Inde*

DESCRIPTION OF FIGURES IN THE PLATES

BY

P. R. Srinivasan, M.A.

Frontispiece.—(a) Panel of painting showing a group of celestial musicians—Gandharvas and Apsarases. The one on the right is playing on cymbals. The other three hold their hands in *vismaya* pose. They are in the posture of flying through the air which is suggested by their being hidden below their waist in the cloud-*motif*, which is called "Chinese". This panel is placed between the panel above showing Śiva in Kailās and the panel below showing Sundaramūrti Nāyanār on Airāvata and Cheramān Perumāl on horse proceeding to Kailās, to demarcate the two different regions. The *bhangas*, the head-dresses and ornaments and colour compositions are wonderful. That the artists of Tanjore were masters of line is easily borne out by the sure and suave *rekhās*.

(b) Apsaras dancing. It occurs in the same scene mentioned above. Here the Apsaras is exhibiting a difficult pose of dancing. There is a suggestion that she is whirling. Being a celestial, she is not bound by gravity. The mastery of the artist is easily seen here especially in the powerful and flowing lines, the beautiful decorative details and the charming *bhangas*. The cloud-*motif* all around her suggests the celestial region.

Fig. 1. Vijayālayacōlēśvara temple, on Mēlamalai, Nārttāmalai, 'Puddukkottah State.' *Circa* 9th century A.D.

It has a circular *garbhagṛha* in a square. Third floor of *vimāna* is also circular. Cupola with *kuḍu* designs on all four sides. Walls have simple mouldings and pilasters. Heavy cornice runs round the entire structure. Linked *kōsthas* and *śālas* form the parapet above cornice. Two-handed *dvārapālakas* of slender and beautiful form in the niches on either side of entrance. The ruined *prākāra* had perhaps a *gōpura* over the entrance at north-eastern side. Six single-storeyed shrines (*ekatalaprāsāda*) and traces of another, are found inside the *prākāra*. Each of these has a square sanctum with bulbous *śikhara* and rectangular *maṇḍapa* in front. They were probably dedicated to Sūrya, Saptamātṛkas, Candra, Subrahmaṇya, Jyēṣṭhā, and Caṇḍikēśvara as in the case of the temple at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai where, however, an additional contemporary shrine and a later Amman shrine are also found.

Fig. 2. Main temple of Vijayālayacōḷēśvara on Mēlamalai *Vide* fig. 1. above.

Fig. 3. Agastyēśvara temple, from north-west. Panangudi, 'Pudukkottah State.' It is one of the many simple and beautiful single-storeyed (*ekatalaprāsāda*) shrines occurring in the 'State.' Transverse platform

in front of sanctum was perhaps a pillared *maṇḍapa*. Simple mouldings and pilasters, corbels with chamfered corners. Probably there was a *prākāra*. Elegant couchant *nandis* on the corners.

Fig. 4. Śiva temple. Enādi, 'Pudukkottah State.' It is simpler, more beautiful and probably earlier than the above temple. Has cubical sanctum topped by a square *śikhara*. Pilasters simple with bevelled corbels above. Finely worked *kūḍus* with *kīrtimukha* apexes are found one on each face of *śikhara*. *Mukhamāṇḍapa* is borne by two heavy and squat pillars. One end of terrace rests on the cornice of sanctum. No niches on the sanctum walls but outlines of a niche on the walls below *śikhara*, which recalls the roof of the 'Draupadī Ratha' of Mahābalipuram.

Fig. 5. Śiva temple, from north-east. Koṛkai Tirunelveli District Its sanctum is similar to that of fig. 4. Here, however, the basement is high; a short parapet with a frieze of animals in high relief all along the cornice is seen and the niche-*motif* is pronounced. Pillared portico has given place to a walled up *antarāḷa*. Other structures are of later date. The frieze of animals became a recurring *motif* in temples from now on.

Fig. 6. Main shrine of Nāgeśvara temple, Kumbakonam, Tanjore District. It is a beautiful example of two-storeyed (*dvitalaprāsāda*) shrine. Heavy indentations on plan. Sharp light and shade effect on elevation due to projections at the corners and the centres of each side. *Karṇakōṣṭhas* on corners and *śālās* in the centre of parapet with the frieze of animals in bas-relief, which occurs again above. This *motif* has not yet been employed for the base also as in still later temples. Square *śikhara* with *kūḍus* on its sides. Figure sculptures in the niches and below *kūḍus*. Mouldings and pilasters are simple. The corbels are rounded, survival of an earlier feature.

Fig. 7. Mūvarkovil, No. 1, south view. Koḍumbāḷūr, 'Pudukkottah State,' Tiruchirapalli District. It is one of the two shrines that now survive of the group of originally three shrines which stood within a *prākāra*. Has roll-moulding in the plinth, above it the *yāḷivari* occurring for the first time, projecting central niches on three sides of *garbhagṛha* with sculptures, heavy cornice with *yāḷivari* above, square *karṇakōṣṭhas* and central *śālā* of which the top is taken up to the second floor, *nandis* in corners, square *śikhara* with prominent *kūḍus* on its faces. Taller and simpler than the Nāgeśvara temple (fig. 6).

Fig. 8. Agastyēśvara temple, Mēlappaḷuvūr, Tiruchirapalli District. Roll-moulding and *yāḷivari* in plinth and arrangement of the *kōṣṭhas* and *śālā* above cornice shows a combination of elements occurring in Mūvarkovil No. 1, and Nāgeśvara. Bulbous *śikhara* with a prominent *kūḍu* containing beautiful sculpture on each of the four sides is distinctive of this shrine but would recall the *śikhara* of Vijayālayacōḷēśvara.

Fig. 9. Inscribed lion pillars in the above temple. These pillars are similar to the pillars in the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñcīpuram.

But their later date is clear from the stylised form of the manes of the lions, panel-like flutings above their heads, petal decoration on the *kumuda* portion, unpronounced abacus (*palagai*) above cushion and the bevelled corbels above *palagai*. Introduction of *yāḷi* as base of pillar is also in support of the late dating.

Fig. 10. Koranganātha temple, from south-west, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Tiruchirapalli District. Larger than the temples noticed above, but has a combination of elements found in them. Here is found a repetition of the ground floor in the first floor. Above this are the *kōṣṭhas*, *śālās* and also *pañjaras* which occur for the first time here. Square *śikhara* on the summit with arched niches on its sides. Beautiful sculptures adorn the niches in both the tiers. Tier repetition here is an anticipation of the same feature in the famous temples at Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram. A *mahāmaṇḍapa* is attached in front. Like the Nāgēśvara temple, this also is found to rise from below ground level.

Fig. 11. Bṛhadīśvara temple. Tanjore. A magnificent example of South Indian temple architecture, built by the great Rājarāja. Its elevation, sculptures and frescoes have evoked universal admiration. In the pavilion in the fore-ground is the big *nandi*, the second largest in India. Has a single *prākāra* with closed verandah lining the interior. Smaller shrines are located at intervals in the verandah. It has two entrances with stunted *gōpuras*, not seen in the figure.

Fig. 12. Bṛhadīśvara temple. Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, Tiruchirapalli District. Another beautiful temple. Built by Rājēndra Cōḷa I. The two tiers are distinctly seen here. *Kōṣṭhas*, *pañjaras* and *śālās* are well marked. The niches contain beautiful sculptures. Unlike the elevation of the *vimāna* at Tanjore, the elevation here is concave in shape and the contour rather rugged.

Fig. 13. North doorway in the above temple. The *śurul* balustrade is simple unlike in later examples at Dārāśuram and elsewhere. Roll-moulding is fine. Pilasters are developed in their section. Dvārapālas, as usual in Cōḷa temples of this period, are fierce-looking and vigorous with their firm stances and the *tarjani* and *vismaya mudrās* of their hands.

Fig. 14. Entrance *gōpura*, Laddigam. It is a simple and beautiful *gōpura* and is one of the very early examples of its kind. It is single-storeyed (*ekatala*). *Kīrtimukha* designs one each over the ends of the vault is all the decoration that the *gōpura* has and it is clearly the prototype for the later day elaborately worked *yāḷi* heads of the *gōpuras*.

Fig. 15. Airāvatēśvara temple, general view from south-east. Dārāśuram, Tanjore District. This is another example of the style in which the temples at Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram are constructed, but later than those temples. Development of details evident in the pillars, mouldings, niches and balustrades. New addition is the open pillared *maṇḍapa* in front of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* with which the earlier temples stopped. More significant and interesting are the horses

attached to the *maṇḍapa* to make it a chariot, a novel idea given concrete form. (*Cf.* examples of this kind at Cidambaram and Kumbakonam). Simple *śuruḷ* balustrades occur side by side with balustrades showing figures of elephants alone and figures of elephant being attacked by lions. It is in this temple that there is a series of carvings in bas-relief representing the lives of the famous Śaiva saints according to the *Periya-purāṇam* of Sēkkiḻār. Lives of a few of the saints have not been carved but the original sketches in red ochre of the scenes to be carved are still to be found. As usual the *gōpura* is stunted although it has become ornate. But the *vimāna* here shows signs of diminishing size.

Fig. 16. North-east view of the above temple. Brick and mortar miniature *śālās* etc. on top all along the cornice, the large and heavy pillars with composite designs, the projecting cornice (*koḍungai*), the deep niches with sculptures and the lotus petals with pointed ends on the *upapīṭha* are innovations here.

Fig. 17. South-west view of the *Alankāra maṇḍapa,* in the above temple. The pillars show interesting developments of *motifs.* The corbels have foliage designs instead of simple earlier ones. The *palagai* is thin and very broad. *Yāḷis* and lions on the bases are in a variety of postures. *Pañjara* design is found applied to the basement. The wheel and horse suggest that the *maṇḍapa* is a chariot. The elephant design on the balustrade is exquisitely carved.

Fig. 18. Devanāyakī Amman shrine, south-east view, in the above temple. It is one of the earliest examples of separate shrines dedicated to Amman as consort of the main deity. Prior to about A.D. 1100 it was not customary to build a separate shrine for Amman in the compound of a temple. New and interesting features met with here are the projecting *kūḍus* of the *adhiṣṭhāna;* the pilasters with rampant lion bases; cornice (*koḍungai*) with prominent *kūḍus* in pairs; three-storeyed *vimāna* with a prominent projection in front and the long covered *ardhamaṇḍapa,* all employed tastefully so as to render the shrine beautiful.

Fig. 19. Kampaharēśvarasvāmi temple, north-west view, Tribhuvanam, Tanjore District. It is another of the last great temples of the Cōḷa period. Its plan and elevation are on the model of the temple at Tanjore. But here the repetition of the ground tier above it, is absent. The mouldings, the pillars, cornice and the arrangement and decoration of the miniature shrines above show further development.

Fig. 20. (A) Basement frieze of the Ta-hsiung-pao tieu hall. Zayton (Chuan Chou) in China. The basement has the *padmapīṭha* as well as the *vyāḷavari motif,* both characteristic of South Indian temples of the Cōḷa times. Instead of the continuous *yāḷi* frieze of the South Indian temples, here a *yāḷi* or *simha* or a composite figure is enclosed in a separate panel.

Fig. 20.(B) Elephant worshipping Śiva-linga, same place. Śiva-linga is shown under a tree and amidst creepers which suggest that the *linga* was hidden under creepers in a forest. The elephant accidentally came

upon the *linga* and began to worship it. Here the elephant is placing a lotus flower on the top of the *linga*. Although the general features of the figures are in South Indian style, the details of the elephant and of the tree and creeper show unmistakable local influence.

Fig. 20. (C) Cow worshipping a Śiva-linga, same place. The modelling of the cow and the workmanship of the tree suggest that the sculptor was of local origin but influenced greatly by traditions of the art of South India.

Fig. 21. Devotee, in a niche in the temple at Śrīnivāsanallūr, Tiruchirapalli District. Stands in the *samabhanga* pose on the double lotus pedestal. Hands crossed across the chest and kept in the attitude of reverence and obedience. *Karaṇḍamakuṭa* and other ornaments are seen. Right leg of the figure is broken. The modelling is fine, proportions of limbs are excellent, the decoration is restrained and the general treatment is highly realistic and aesthetically of high order. These are characteristic of sculpture of the 9th-10th centuries in South India as exemplified at Kumbakonam, Koḍumbāḷūr, Śrīnivāsanallūr and other places. The figures are, as a rule, slender and beautiful and placed in niches on the walls of sanctum. Flanking the niche is a pair of beautiful pilasters.

Fig. 22. Princess or Apsaras(?), in the same temple. It is a marvellous example of sculpture of a woman. Her left leg and arm and right hand are broken. The workmanship is similar to fig. 21. She stands on *padmāsana*. *Karaṇḍamakuṭa* and *hāras* and lower garment are beautiful. Full breasts, slender waist and broad hips are executed with consummate mastery and with an eye on canonical formulas relating to feminine beauty. Sharply bevelled corbels above pilasters are noteworthy.

Fig. 23. Princess or Apsaras(?), in another niche. Similar to above. Here the left hand and right leg are broken. The sculptures from 21 to 23 are distinctive of the Śrīnivāsanallūr school, and are different from examples of sculpture from Kumbakonam and other places.

Fig. 24. Woman, in a niche in the Nāgēśvara temple, Kumbakonam. Here the figure stands on simple pedestal, wears *dhammilla* head-dress decorated with flowers, pendant *hāras*, closefitting lower garment with beautiful folds, *valayas* and *nūpuras*. Prominent *vājībandha* below the arm and triple folds (*trivali*) on stomach. The elongated face, the slender form and decorative details and fine feeling expressed by facial features evident in this sculpture are characteristic of all the sculptures of this school.

Fig. 25. Another woman, in another niche, in the same temple. Similar to above with minor differences in regard to ornamentation, hand poses and stance only. She also wears *dhammilla* head-dress with usual flowers, gem-set *kuṇḍalas*, jewelled necklaces and armlets and close-fitting lower garment with beautifully folded ends. They reveal the high degree of careful finish of details coupled with classical restraint. The *bhanga* and the more than three-quarter profile endow the figure with a rare charm.

Fig. 26. Another woman in another niche, in the same temple. Similar to above. Noteworthy are *kuṇḍalas* and the beautiful lily in her left hand.

Fig. 27. Another woman. Here the beauty and charm inherent in these sculptures are high-lighted. Details of decoration such as the Chandra and Surya *prabhās* on the head, hair falling in graceful curls over the shoulders and the *kuṇḍalas* and necklaces show the remarkable delicacy of treatment. Added to these is the splendid modelling as evidenced by the full bosom, slender arm and waist, and broad hip.

Fig. 28. Man standing, in another niche, in the same temple. Workmanship similar to above figures. The hand poses, the slight *bhanga* and other features are beautiful and realistic. The modelling is fine. The figure probably represents a monk.

Fig. 29. Man standing, in another niche in the same temple. Here probably a prince is depicted. He wears *keśabandha* with a jewelled fillet below. Holds a lotus flower in his right hand. The treatment of eyes and nose, the full lips, the rounded face, the disposition of the legs, the three-quarter profile and the general softness of finish distinguish this figure from others here, and suggest that this is by a sculptor trained in a different school, probably of that of Śrīnivāsanallūr.

Fig. 30. Two devotees, in the Śiva temple. Tiruvāḍuturai, Tanjore District. The figure on the left is in *añjali* pose. A bag is hanging from his left arm. Wears a very simple loin cloth. The other devotee on the right holds his hands in *añjali* above his head. Wears a rosary of beads around his neck. His bag is kept on a stand behind him. These figures, in bas-relief, are beautifully done. They display, by the expression on their faces a calmness and devotion that distinguish men of this class. (See p. 725). The Tamil characters are of the early Cōḷa times.

Fig. 31. Goddess or Queen?. Bronze. Locality unknown. She stands in *tribhanga* pose on *padmāsana*. Wears *karaṇḍamakuṭa*, a broad necklace, *nāgavalayas* on arms, *vājībandha*, *valayas*, *yajñōpavita*, beautifully arranged lower garment and *nūpuras*. Right hand is in *kaṭaka* pose and the left is in *lōla*. The expression in the face is calm and meditative. The modelling and decoration suggest an earlier date than that of Sītā from Vaḍakkuppanaiyūr in the Madras Museum. But the unusually slender limbs, the drooping shoulders and the style of the lotus pedestal point to Ceylon.

Fig. 32. Cōḷamādēvī. Bronze. Kāḷahasti, Chittoor District. The figure stands in the *tribhanga* pose on *padmāsana*. Wears elaborately worked ornaments and dress. *Dhammilla* head-dress, realistic lotus bud in her hand, the tasselled *kēyūra* and *vājībandha* are interesting. It is intended to be a portrait of a great Cōḷa queen of the 11th century A.D.

Fig. 33. Kulōttunga III. Bronze. Kāḷahasti, Chittoor District. Stands erect on the two *pīṭhas*. Curly hair. Elaborate ornaments and dress. Holds a dagger in his right hand. Expression is smiling. The general treatment of the figure is excellent and of late Cōḷa times.

This is a fine example to show that the art continued to maintain its high level for a long time.

Fig. 34. Gōḷakamaharṣi. Bronze. Kōḍikkarai, Tanjore District. Being almost a nude study, it shows bare the excellent modelling and realistic delineation of features. *Jaṭābhāra* of a peculiar shape, the thick fillet of beads, and the stance are particularly interesting. This is one of the figures which provided the model for later ones.

Fig. 35. Caṇḍikēśvara, in the Koranganātha temple. Śrīnivāsanallūr, Tiruchirapalli District. Similar in workmanship to other figures from this temple noticed above. The *jaṭāmakuṭa* and the *añjali* hands with flower in between show this as Caṇḍēśa, though it has been held by some to be the portrait of a prince. Lotus pedestal and the fine pilasters add beauty to this figure. It is another beautiful example of sculpture of the period.

Fig. 36. Described usually as Narasingamunaiyadarayar, but possibly Rāma. Bronze. Tirunāmanallūr, Tanjore District. It stands in the *tribhanga* pose. Hands in position of holding bow and arrow. Wears usual ornaments. The high *kirīṭa*, broad necklace and loin cloth are beautifully worked. The fine facial expression radiating supreme grace, the beautiful *bhanga* of the body and the wonderful plastic quality, the Cōḷa ideals of bronzes, are well exemplified here. Nevertheless elaboration of details etc., makes it definitely later than the Rāma of the Vaḍakkuppanaiyūr group in the Madras Museum as well as the Gōḷakamaharṣi fig. 34 above.

Fig. 37. Śiva, in a niche on the south wall of central shrine. Tirukkaṭṭaḷai, 'Pudukkottah State.' It stands on simple pedestal. It is slender and perfectly proportionate. Wears *jaṭāmakuṭa*, broad necklace, *udarabandha* and beautiful waist-band. Holds a bow in his left hand and an arrow(?) in the right hand. The two other hands are not clearly seen. The face, looking down, has the expression of *vismaya*. Described as Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the Pudukkottah Manual. But the features noted above may warrant identification as Tripurāntakamūrti. (*Cf.* similar features in the Tripurāntakamūrti fig. 39 below).

Fig. 38. Vīnādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti, in a niche in Mūvarkovil No. 1. Koḍumbāḷūr, 'Pudukkottah State.' A magnificent example of the icon. Characteristically, the face expressing complete absorption, is lifted up. Wears high *jaṭāmakuṭa*. Ornaments and waist-bands are pronounced. Holds the *vīṇa* in the two front hands. The back hands are not clear here. The *bhanga* and the general treatment of the figure enhance its grandeur.

Fig. 39. Tripurāntakamūrti. From the same place. Now in the Government Museum, Madras. It stands gracefully in the *tribhanga* pose. The back hands are in *patāka hasta*. Beyond them are quivers. The front right arm is in *vyākhyāna* pose, while the left hand is holding the long bow. The *jaṭāmakuṭa*, *channavīra*, *hāra*, the upper garment tied in two loops and with beautiful bows, and the *yajñōpavīta* are executed in a splendid manner. Here too, as in the Tirukkaṭṭaḷai

example, the facial expression is suggestive of *vismaya* caused by the Lord's destroying the Tripurāsuras. The swaying rhythm, the wonderful modelling and the supple as well as realistic delineation of the limbs make this figure a superb specimen of the art.

Fig. 40. Tripurasundarī. From the same place. Now in the Government Museum, Madras. It forms a group with figure No. 39 above. The *samabhanga* (erect) pose here is unusual in figures of goddesses. Right hand holds a flower and the left is on the thigh. Decorated with elaborately worked *karaṇḍamakuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas* and necklace. *Yajñōpavīta* prominent. Lower garment is beautifully worked with tassels and folds. Unlike her consort, she looks in front with her face beaming with divine grace and splendour. Stylistically akin to the previous figure this is also the work of the same master hand.

Fig. 41. Ardhanārīśvara, in a niche in Mūvarkōvil No. 2. Koḍumbāḷūr, 'Pudukkottah State.' Stands in the *tribhanga* pose. Only one hand on the right side, which is Lord's. Pārvati's side has one hand which holds a mirror. A grand conception is given a wonderful form. Prakṛti and Puruṣa here combined to form the substratum of the cosmos. This figure almost achieves the impossible, and combines high aesthetic qualities with strict rules of iconography. The workmanship bears a remote resemblance to the Ardhanārī figure at Mahābalipuram. The designs of the flanking pilasters lend charm to the figure.

Fig. 42. Ardhanārīśvara, in a niche in the Nāgēśvara temple, Kumbakonam. Similar in conception to the Koḍumbāḷūr figure; but here the execution is marvellous and unsurpassed. Perhaps 9th-10th centuries A.D. in South India witnessed the arts reaching their zenith of development. This is the finest of all the figures in this temple. The great mastery of the Cōḷa sculptor is evident in each limb of the figure. Its style of workmanship is apparently of local origin and quite distinct from the styles that were in vogue at Koḍumbāḷūr and other places. Here the pilasters are not interesting.

Fig. 43. Brahmā, in the same temple. The youthful figure with three faces, radiating divine wisdom stands on *padmapīṭha*, in the *samabhanga* pose. The upper hands hold rosary of beads and *kuṇḍikā*, his cognizances. Workmanship same as in the previous figure.

Fig. 44. Śiva as Kaṅkāḷamūrti, in a niche in the Koranganātha temple. Śrīnivāsanallūr, Tiruchirapalli District. Stands right side to front. Right leg broken but must have been placed on the head of the dwarf Apasmāra. *Jaṭāmakuṭa* and other ornaments are as usual worked very beautifully.

Fig. 45. Dakṣiṇāmūrti, in a niche on the south, in the same temple. A magnificent figure but badly mutilated. The immense *jaṭābhāra*, delicate carving of the ornaments and splendid modelling of the figure make it a great master-piece. Branches of the tree above form an effective setting. The beauty of the figure is enhanced by the figures of animals, such as deer and lions as well as the Vidyādharas, Ṛṣis and Apasmāra. The workmanship of these is apparently the same as that

of the main figure. Architectural features such as the roll-moulding, *yāḷivari*, the graceful pillars, the fine *tōrana* and the characteristic bevelled capital make the scene really attractive.

Fig. 46. (Pl. xx) Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara, and Śiva as an Anugrahamūrti, on the *vimāna* of Vāḷīśvara temple. Tiruvāḷīśvaram, Tirunelveli District. This temple dates probably from the early years of the 10th century A.D. Architectural details, although developed, have affinities with those of the Pallava temples at Panamalai and Kāñcīpuram. Ardhanārīśvara stands in the *tribhanga* pose beside a marvellously carved bull and in front of the *karṇakōṣṭha*. The representation is vigorous and its features are somewhat rugged. (*Cf.* beautiful Ardhanārīśvara sculptures figs. 41, 42 above). The other figure of Śiva is shown in the attitude of pacifying some one of the attendant figures. Beautiful creeper designs are found on *kūḍus*. The *yāḷis* are in high relief as at Nārttāmalai, which is an early feature.

Fig. 47. (Pl. xx) Śiva as Vṛṣabhāntikamūrti and Śiva as Gangādhara, in the same temple. Vṛṣabhāntika stands with Pārvatī beside the finely executed bull. Both of them are shown in graceful *tribhanga* postures. The facial expression of both indicates supreme bliss. The fine modelling and the flowing beautiful flexions and the attractive stances enhance the merit of this composition.

The Gangādhara group is also beautifully done. Śiva is engaged simultaneously in receiving the Ganges on his locks of hair and in pacifying Pārvatī who took objection to that action of her Lord. This icon has been a favourite with Śaivites in all ages. A magnificent and unparallelled representation of this theme is found in the Mahendravarman's cave temple at Tiruchirapalli.

Fig. 48. (Pl. xix) Naṭarāja, on the *vimāna* of the same temple. It is one of the earliest dancing Śiva figures in South India. Its posture is *bhujangatrāsita*; but better known as *ānanda tāṇḍava*, as it gave supreme joy to all the *dēvas* and *Ṛṣis*, men and beasts. Its other names are *sandhyā tāṇḍava* and *Gauri tāṇḍava*. Dance of Śiva gave the artists of all periods a great opportunity to display their mastery. When it is coupled with unshakable faith and rare devotion to the Lord, the creation gives joy for all and becomes an object of wonder for ever. The Cōḷas were ardent Śaivites and *Āḍavallān* or Naṭarāja was their patron deity. Hence the Naṭarāja figures of this period are marvels of art. This figure has all the features commonly met with in such figures of later date, except the whirling locks of hair. Its movement is rhythmic and graceful and the general treatment vigorous and dynamic. Unfortunately the left hand is broken. The elephant, among the animals on the frieze below, is a splendid study.

Fig. 49. (Pl. xxi) West side of *vimāna*, in the same temple. A beautiful Yōganarasimha, with four hands, seated on lotus pedestal is seen in the niche at top. Couchant *nandis* with garland of bells around their necks are placed over the corners. A frieze of animals is seen below.

Seated lions here may have been intended as humourous studies imitating the posture of Narasimha above. (*Cf.* the cat's penance in the sculpture of Arjuna's penance at Mahābalipuram).

In the lower storey the following sculptures are found from left to right. (1) Kankāḷamūrti accompanied by Pārvatī and a *gaṇa*. Pārvatī is done in a charming manner. (2) Dakṣiṇāmūrti seated on a hill. (3) Lingōdbhava on *padmāsana*. Quite unusually Viṣṇu, of the same size as of Śiva, stands on the left while similarly Brahmā stands on the right. Both of these are in *añjali* pose which indicates their defeat. Icons of this kind, of later date, show Viṣṇu in the form of a boar or a man with a boar's head burrowing down to see Śiva's feet and Brahmā either in the form of a swan or riding it going up to see Śiva's head. (4) Kālārimūrti with many hands. His left foot is raised in the *ūrddhvajānu* pose and his front hands are in the posture of destroying Kāla (not distinct here). This type is simplified in the examples at Tanjore and Koḍumbāḷūr. The figure at Koḍumbāḷūr is superb. (5) Tripurāntakamūrti at the extreme right. This is a splendid representation. The pose recalls that of the Rāma figures and Tripurāntaka figures from Tanjore and Māyūram. As mentioned above this icon is a great favourite of the Cōḷas. Rājarāja the Great was particularly struck by this and therefore had not only filled a number of niches on the exterior of the walls of the sanctum of the Tanjore temple with Tripurāntaka figures but had dedicated the entire wall space of a room in the temple's ambulatory for a magnificent representation in painting of the complete scene depicting Śiva's great fight with the Tripurāsuras.

The frieze of animals, in high relief, the stone construction and the simple *śālas* etc., are early features.

Fig. 50. (Pl. xix) Gajāntakamūrti, in the same temple. Śiva has eight hands. His left leg is placed on the elephant's head. Its hide is spread by Śiva behind him. The representation is vigorous and awe-inspiring. The decoration is, as usual, fine. Pārvatī is shown on the right, running away from the gruesome scene.

Fig. 51. (Pl. xxi) Śiva and a devotee and Siva as Caṇḍēśānugrahamūrti, in the same temple. The first sculpture shows Śiva seated in the *sukhāsana* pose, holding his emblems *paraśu* and *mṛga* in his upper hands. The lower right hand is in the pose of pointing to the devotee to his right. *Apasmāra* is not distinct. Devotee in the *atibhanga* pose holds a vessel in his hands. He wears *karaṇḍamakuṭa* and other ornaments.

In the second sculpture Śiva is shown in the very easy posture commonly seen in the Dakṣiṇāmūrti sculptures. He is seen decorating Caṇḍeśa's head with a garland. Caṇḍeśa is shown kneeling and his hands are in *añjali* pose. Pārvatī with *karaṇḍamakuṭa* and wearing other ornaments including *channavīra* and beautiful garment, and holding a flower in her right hand is seated on the pedestal in the *utkutikāsana* pose. Her left foot is placed on the vigorous couchant

bull shown below. The workmanship of the entire composition is such that it is unsurpassed for beauty by any other example of its kind. (*Cf.* less vigorous but more ornate and larger representation of this at Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram fig. 57 below).

Fig. 52. Dakṣiṇāmūrti, in the Angāḷamman shrine. Kāveripākkam, North Arcot District. Śiva is seated in the *utkuṭikāsana* on a pedestal. A pair of deer and a serpent are carved on the pedestal. Points of interest in the sculpture are the big *jaṭābhāra* in curls or knots, the *vastrayajñōpavīta* and the leaves of the book of Cosmic Wisdom (Vedas) in the hand. The general treatment of the figure is characteristic of figures of earlier period. At Kāveripākkam there was a vast quantity of antiquities of Pallava and Cōḷa times.

Fig. 53. (Pl. xix) Śiva as Bhikṣāṭana, in the Nāgēśvara temple. Kumbakonam. Śiva wears a high *jaṭāmakuṭa* and other ornaments. A serpent forms the waist-band. A *ḍamaru*, a *kapāla* and a staff are held in three hands, the fourth is reassuring the deer. A rare masterpiece, it possesses all the charming features of a perfectly handsome person, correctly answering the textual description of Bhikṣāṭana as he appeared before the wives of the *ṛṣis* of the Dārukāvana.

Fig. 54. (Pl. xxiii) Sarasvatī?, in the niche on the north side of ambulatory around the sanctum in the Bṛhadīśvara temple, Tanjore. The goddess is seated in the *ardhaparyankāsana*. Right hand broken and the left holds the book of Universal Knowledge. Wears *jaṭāmakuṭa, kucabandha,* other ornaments. Beautiful umbrella and branches of a tree above. A *cāmaradhāriṇī* is seen on either side, and a *gandharva* hovering above. Facial expression suggests sublime spiritual feeling. All the classical qualities are marked here. Its wearing a *kucabandha,* occurring in a temple avowedly dedicated to glorify Śiva's sports, and its answering a verse in the *Laḷitāsahasranāma* may suggest that it represents a form of Umā rather than Sarasvatī.

Fig. 55. (Pl. xxii) Naṭarāja, in an exterior niche in the temple. Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram. This sculpture is one of the most beautiful dancing Śiva figures in this pose, in which the Cōḷa sculptors revelled. (*Cf.* the earlier figure from the Vālīśvara temple at Tiruvālīśvaram, Tirunelveli District fig. 48). Here the figure is more evolved and fully standardised. The following subsidiary figures in bas-relief are not only beautiful but also interesting as they complete the entire scene. Behind Naṭarāja is Kālī in the *catura* dancing pose. Beyond the niche on the right side is Pārvatī standing and leaning against the fine bull. Beautiful Gaṇeśa and Subrahmaṇya figures are shown on the left. Below them is a magnificent representation of Viṣṇu playing on drum and upper hands in *vismaya* pose which suggests his great admiration of Śiva's cosmic dance. Apasmāra is large. Below him on the pedestal are shown a *gaṇa (Taṇḍu?)* playing on drum and Kāraikāl Ammaiyār, the woman-saint playing on cymbals. On either side of this is a panel with *gaṇas* in various dance postures.

Fig. 56. (*Ibid.*) Harihara, in a niche in the same temple. The figure stands in the *samabhanga* pose. Śiva's *paraśu* and his *jaṭāmakuṭa* are seen on the right side of the figure. Viṣṇu's conch and *kirīṭamakuṭa* are on the left side. The treatment of this figure appears to be a little stiff, unusual in the sculptures of this period. On the contrary the indistinct bas-relief sculptures on the base are fine.

Architectural details of this niche and of the niche of Naṭaraja (fig. 55 above) when compared show interesting differences occurring side by side in one and the same structure.

Fig. 57. (*Ibid.*) Śiva as Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti, in the same temple. Śiva seated in the *sukhāsana* posture is tying the garland on to the head of Caṇḍēśa shown kneeling and in *añjali* pose. Pārvatī is seated beside in the *utkuṭikāsana* with her hand in the *āhūyavarada* pose. The group is reputed for its beautiful modelling, fine plastic sense, and interesting decorative details. (*Cf.* more beautiful figure from Tiruvālisvaram fig. 51 noticed above). The fine bas-relief group with beautiful rhythm and dynamic action on the left obviously depicts the scene of Caṇḍēśa attempting to cut off the legs of his father who prevented his son from worshipping Śiva, in his own way. This sculpture is interesting because it confirms the story of Caṇḍeśa. Its rendering is effective and forcible.

Fig. 58. (Pl. xxiv) Śiva as Kāmāntaka, in the same temple. Iconographically rare sculpture. Śiva is seated on *padmapīṭha* in the *sukhāsana* pose. Wears *jaṭāmakuṭa, muktā-yajñōpavīta* etc. The emblems in the upper hands are not clear. The lower right hand is in *sūcīhasta*, pointing to a scene occurring below. The left hand is on the lap. The facial expression is terrifying. The modelling and treatment are fine. Around the niche are sculptures in bas-relief. On the left side Manmatha or Kāma with his consort Ratī is flying towards Śiva in the niche. On the corresponding left side is a sculpture showing them standing with hands in *añjali* pose, which indicates their defeat at Śiva's hands. The other figures one of them being Parvatī in penance also relate to the episode. All of them are rendered with vigour and liveliness and are beautiful examples of sculpture in bas-relief, a technique although discontinued long before, was still lingering on, and occasionally, as in these examples, employed very successfully.

Fig. 59. (Pl. xxiii) Viṣṇu, in the same temple. The figure represented is Śrinivasa and it stands erect on *padmāsana*. Śrīdēvī and Bhūdēvī stand on either side. The figures show signs of conventionalisation.

Fig. 60. (*Ibid.*) Navagraha stone, in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the same temple. It is one of the unique representations of the Planets. The conception and execution here are grand. The disposition of the planets around the open lotus which represents not only the Sun but also the universe itself, is quite interesting. Usually the Sun would dominate the panel, but here he is one among others. But his grandeur is however evident in his chariot etc.

Fig. 61. (Pl. xxiv) Kankāḷamūrti, in the Airāvatēśvara temple. Dārāsuram, Tanjore District. Now removed to the Art Gallery at Tanjore. Śiva wearing sandals stands in the *tribhanga* pose. Front hands play on a kettle-drum, the lower right hand is engaged with the deer and the upper left hand holds the bundle of bones across the shoulders. Wears high *jaṭāmakuṭa* and other ornaments. These are elaborate and combined with the acquiline nose indicate the beginnings of stylisation. There is a *gaṇa* on Śiva's left side. The modelling is excellent and the execution delicate. These go to make this figure imposing and one of the very fine specimens of the art of sculpture of the 12th century A.D.

Fig. 62. Gajāntakamūrti, from the same place. Now removed to the Art Gallery at Tanjore. This is a wonderful representation of another great theme, and the treatment is powerful and energetic. Though it is in high relief, the execution of the limbs and the *atibhanga* posture is such as to make it appear in the round. The controlled dynamism of this figure recalls the Mahiṣamardinī sculpture at Mahābalipuram but with this difference that here the face expresses introspection while Mahiṣamardinī's face beams with divine grace and unruffled tranquillity. Pārvatī is shown in all her tenderness on the left of Śiva, but her face expresses mingled feelings of terror and *vismaya*. This representation differs from that at Tiruvālīśvaram (fig. 50) noticed above. The deviation shows the freedom of the sculptors to render a theme according to their genius but within canonical bounds. The elephant's head, the legs, and the *padmāsana* are highly realistic.

Fig. 63. Naṭarāja. Bronze. In the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore. It is installed in the *sabhā* in the temple and offered worship to this day. It was called, as is known from the inscriptions in the temple, *Āḍavallān*. This is one of the most magnificent Naṭarāja figures so far known. Śiva's dancing on Apasmāra is exquisitely poised. The face radiates supreme bliss and spiritual splendour. The swings and pulls of the limbs are highly rhythmic, the balance being sought to be maintained by the whirling locks of hair arranged schematically and by the gracefully flowing ends of the *udarabandha*. The arch of glory, with beautifully worked *makara* heads on it, encompasses the figure and adds beauty to the figure. Rarely this kind of *makara* motif occurs in such figures.

Fig. 64. Naṭarāja. Bronze. Velāṅganṇi, Tanjore District. Now in the Government Museum, Madras. This is another complete and beautiful example. Has become widely known through the writing of the great French artist A. Rodin. It is very similar to the one from Tanjore noticed above. But here the details such as the *prabhā*, the *padmāsana*, Apasmāra Puruṣa and ornaments are simpler than in the Tanjore Naṭarāja. This fact may suggest that this figure is earlier than the Tanjore one, by a few decades or years.

Fig. 65. Naṭarāja. Bronze. Tiruvālangāḍu, Chittoor District. Now in the Government Museum, Madras. By far the best known *ānanda tāṇḍava* Naṭarāja image. No *prabhā*. It is acclaimed as a wonderful

specimen of the 'art of bronze.' What a stone carver could not achieve, the image caster has achieved here. The movements of the limbs are rhythmic and the posture graceful. The little exaggeration of the limbs evidently adds poetic flavour to the sculpture and thus makes it a splendid piece. The rounded limbs, the details such as head-dress in high relief, and the long necklace may not indicate a late date but show the depth of knowledge in his art and capacity of the master sculptor to render the details clearly and effectively.

Fig. 66. Naṭarāja. Bronze. From Nallūr, Tanjore District. It has eight hands and is in *catura* pose. This is another rare icon. The features of the figure, both on the front side and on the back may indicate that this is an early figure. The treatment of the *prabhā*, of Apasmāra and of the pedestal would support an early dating.

Fig. 67. Naṭarāja. Bronze. From Tiruvaraṅguḷam, 'Pudukkottah State,' Tiruchirapalli District. Here Śiva dances the graceful *catura tāṇḍava*. It is a rare figure, not only because of its posture but also because of its classical qualities such as the smiling facial expression, restrained ornamentation including the characteristic *vājībandha* and the beautifully worked *jaṭāmakuṭa*. Added to these are the fine figure of Apasmāra and the nicely worked pedestal. It is one of the grand specimens of bronzes.

Fig. 68. Vṛṣabhāntikamūrti with consort. Bronze. Tiruveṇkāḍu, Tanjore District. Now in the Art Gallery, Tanjore. These, along with Kalyāṇasundara (fig. 82) and two other figures were discovered recently while ploughing in a field at the village. All these figures are done by one and the same master *sthapati* and belong to the early Cōḷa period. As usual in this group, Śiva with only two hands, stands, leg crossed, as if leaning against the bull which is missing. His left hand is in *kaṭyavalambita* pose. The *jaṭābhāra* here is simple but beautiful the like of which is not found in any other bronze so far. The modelling is excellent and its beauty is enhanced by the fine finish and the delicate details. Pārvatī also is equally beautiful. She is rendered life-like and as the very embodiment of feminine tenderness, grace and beauty. The workmanship of *karaṇḍamakuṭa*, necklaces, *yajñōpavīta*, *kaṭaka* and *lōla-hastas*, *vājībandha*, broad hip and the beautiful lower garment enhance the charm of the figure.

Fig. 69. Vṛṣabhāntika. Bronze. In the temple at Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram. This figure has four hands and it stands leaning to the left. A *makarakuṇḍala* is present in the right ear. The necklaces and other ornaments are simpler than in the previous example. This figure is also executed in a beautiful way characteristic of the Cōḷa times. But comparing this with the previous one, the different styles of workmanship between them are apparent, due to the difference in the localities, they come from.

Fig. 70. Śiva as Sukhāsanamūrti. Bronze. In the Pudukkottah Museum. Śiva is seated in the *sukhāsana* pose on the *padmapīṭha*.

Upper hands hold *paraśu* and deer. The lower right hand is in *abhaya* and the lower left hand is in *āhūyavarada* poses. The general treatment of the entire figure is characteristic of late figures.

Fig. 71. Kirātamūrti. Bronze. In the Pāśupateśvara temple. Tiruvēṭkalam (modern Annamalainagar), near Cidambaram, South Arcot District. Śiva stands in the *tribhanga* pose on *padmāsana* over a large *bhadrāsana*. He has two hands which are shown in position to hold an arrow and bow. A graceful ovoidal *prabhāvalī* encloses the figure. The beauty of the figure is apparent. The fine modelling, the delicate decorative details, the elegant stance and subtle way of suggesting that the figure is the source of power and energy, are all qualities which are characteristic of figures dating from not later than A.D. 900.

Fig. 72. Kirātārjunamūrti. Bronze. Rādhānarasimhapuram, Tanjore District. Two views of the figure are seen. It is another example of the same theme. But compared to the previous item, here the modelling is heavy and the ornaments and other features are pronounced which proclaim it to be of a later date than the previous figure. Nevertheless this image may belong to 11th-12th centuries A.D.

Fig. 73. Śiva as Pradōṣamūrti. Bronze. Tiruvāḍuturai, Tanjore District. Śiva standing in the beautiful *tribhanga* pose, embraces Pārvatī on his left who is also shown in the same pose. Both of them stand on a common *padmāsana* over a *bhadrāsana* to which is attached a *prabhāvalī* of beautiful form. In spite of the late date suggested by the workmanship and elaboration of the *prabhā, jaṭāmakuṭa*, the flexion and of other ornaments and drapery, the sculptor's attempt to emulate the ideals of earlier models has remarkably succeeded.

Fig. 74. Bhikṣāṭanamūrti. Bronze. In the Śiva Temple at Tirunāmanallūr. Śiva wears, as usual, a pair of sandals and is naked. The arrangement of *jaṭas* with the locks standing on their ends and forming a halo behind his head is beautiful. A skull and a serpent are seen on the head. The upper right hand holds a *ḍamaru;* the lower one is in *simhakarṇa* pose; the upper left is in *kaṭaka* pose (the trident which should have been held here is missing) and the lower left holds a *kapāla*. A simple broad necklace (*kaṇṭhī*), prominent *yajñōpavīta, udarabandha* and a *nāga* waist-band are seen on the body. The nude study shows bare the fine quality of the modelling. The grandeur of the image is accentuated by the realistic features, the beautiful expression and the restrained but finely worked details. All these make the image a superb example in bronze.

Fig. 75. Bhikṣāṭanamūrti. Bronze. Tiruccengoḍu, Salem District. Here the features are completely stylised. Additional figures of a deer and a *gaṇa* each standing on a *padmāsana*, are also seen. A late specimen.

Fig. 76. Subrahmaṇya as Dēvasēnāpati. Bronze. Tiruviḍaikaḷi, Tanjore District. He stands in the *tribhanga* pose on *padmāsana* over

bhadrāsana. A beautiful *prabhāvalī* encircles him. The ends of *prabhā* show the beginning of the *makara motif* which develops into a significant decoration for the *prabhā* of the Naṭarāja image in the Tanjore temple (fig. 63) noticed above. Of the four hands the two front ones are in position to hold a bow and arrow which suggests his being Dēvasēnapati. His characteristic emblems *śakti* and *vajra* are held respectively in the upper right and left hands. His *karaṇḍamakuṭa, channavīra* and other ornaments are simple and beautiful. It is a fine example of the art at its best during the Cōḷa times. Its style has definite affinity with that of the Kirātamūrti image from Tiruvetkaḷam (fig. 71) noticed above, although the latter is earlier.

Fig. 77. Viṣṇu. Bronze. Sermadevi; Tinnevelly District. Stands on *padmāsana* over *bhadrāsana* in the *samabhanga* pose. Holds discus and conch in the upper hands. The lower right hand is in *abhaya* and the left is in *kaṭyavalambita* pose. High *kirīṭa* on head. The elaborate lower garment with bows on either side reaches to the ankles. The treatment and decorative details show that this is a Cōḷa work.

Fig. 78. Viṣṇu. Bronze. Same place. Similar to above but of a later date.

Fig. 79. Śrīdevī. Bronze. Same place. She stands on the usual *āsanas*. Wears *karaṇḍamakuṭa, channavīra* etc. but no *kucabandha*. Holds a lotus in her left hand. Its style suggests relatively a late Cōḷa date.

Fig. 80. Śrīdevī. Bronze. Same place. Similar to above, but with difference in workmanship, e.g. the less pronounced lotus pedestal.

Fig. 81. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa with Hanumān. Bronze. In the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkaḍaiyūr, Tanjore District. Rāma stands on *padmāsana* in the *tribhanga* pose. Wears a high *kirīṭamakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas*, a number of necklaces etc. Holds a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right hand. The execution of the figure is excellent and the details, although elaborate, are pleasing and effective. The flexion is especially fine. Lakṣmaṇa is similar to Rāma; but the headdress here is *jaṭāmakuṭa*, and the figure is smaller. Sītā also stands in the beautiful *tribhanga* pose on *padmāsana; jaṭāmakuṭa, patrakuṇḍalas, channavīra* and the lower garment are all excellently done. Hanumān is very small, but shows all the details in a beautiful manner. The group may be dated to about the 12th century A.D.

Fig. 82. Śiva as Kalyāṇasundara. Pārvatī is being given in marriage to Śiva by Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. Tiruvenkāḍu, Tanjore District. Now in the Art Gallery, Tanjore. This is a unique group and was discovered only recently along with images of figure 68 *ante*.

Śiva, the dominating figure in the group, holds the right hand of Pārvatī, to his right. The form of marriage called Pāṇigrahaṇa, is the most commendable of all the forms of marriage. Pārvatī's shyness and modesty are indicated skilfully by her looking down a little. That

she is very young (*kanyā*) is suggested by the softness of treatment. The graceful *bhanga* in which she stands supports this.

Viṣṇu stands in the *ābhanga* pose. Holds his front hands in the significant position of giving away Pārvatī to Śiva. The other hands hold discus and conch. He wears his usual *kirīṭa* and *makarakuṇḍalas*. Lakṣmī or Śrī, Viṣṇu's consort, is shown to his left and is in the attitude of encouraging shy Pārvatī to approach Śiva.

The workmanship of all the figures is exquisite and unsurpassed. The group is a magnificent one and is the only one of its kind in metal so far met with.

Fig. 83. Seal on Karandai copper-plate grant of Rājēndra Cōḷa I. The tiger, the Cōḷa emblem, with gaping mouth, is seated on its haunches, with its tail brought forward. It faces proper right. A pair of fish, the Pāṇḍyan emblem, is seen in front of the tiger. At the end on proper right are a lamp stand, a standard and a stand. At the opposite end, behind the tiger, are seen a lamp stand, a standard, a dagger in scabbard, and an *aṅkuśa*. All these are shown on a thick straight line. Below the tiger are seen a boar with head lowered and a *svastika* sign. In front of the boar is a low chair probably representing a *simhāsana* and beyond it is a drum. Except the boar, the other symbols indicate auspiciousness. The boar shown just below the tiger, when taken together with *aṅkuśa* above, suggests the subjection of the Cāḷukyas whose emblems they are. There is a five-petalled lotus shown lowest in the field. Above the tiger and fish is a pair of *cāmaras* flanking an umbrella, the emblem of royalty, worked like a lotus in blossom in its upper part. These figures are enclosed within a circle. Along the periphery of the seal is a legend in Grantha characters which reads:

Rājad-rājanya-makuṭa-śreṇi ratneṣu-śāsanam /
etad-Rājēndra Cōḷasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ / /

Fig. 84. Dvārapālaka, on the right side of entrance to central shrine in the Vijayālayacōḷēśvara temple. Nārttāmalai, 'Pudukkottah State.' He stands in the usual *atibhanga* pose and has only two hands, a feature met with in early *dvārapālakas*. His hair is arranged like a halo behind his head. Tasselled *muktā-yajñōpavīta* and other ornaments are seen. The terrifying expression is characteristic of images of its kind. The workmanship is fine and shows the mingling of the late Pallava and the early Cōḷa traditions of the art.

Fig. 85. Śālabhanjikā (female door-keeper) in the Kampaharēśvara temple. Tribhuvanam, Tanjore District. This *motif* goes back to very early periods. It has been cleverly adapted to decorate the colossal monolithic pillars that support the huge towers over the main entrances of South Indian temples. The woman stands gracefully with her right foot and back resting on a tree behind, whose branch she holds in her hands. Her figure is a splendid example of the art of

the period, and this is emphasised by the tasteful workmanship of the *koṇḍai*, the ornaments and drapery. Although the acquiline nose, the profusion of ornaments and the emphasis on the details show the beginings of stylisation, yet in this case they tend to add grace to the figure.

Fig. 86. Platform with a frieze of animals. In front of the Samanakuḍagu. Nārttāmalai, 'Pudukkottah State.' The portion of the frieze here shows three beautiful little elephants in interesting postures, two lions with *yāḷi*-like faces and a *yāḷi* with elephant trunk. The lion with looped-tail motif is found on the coins of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and of the Pallavas, and on the seals of copper-plate grants of the former dynasty. Its occurrence here indicates a very early date for the platform. The high relief and the beautiful workmanship also support the early dating.

Fig. 87. Lion attacking an elephant, on the balustrade of the *maṇḍapa* in the Airāvatēśvara temple. Dārāsuram, Tanjore District. It is another common *motif* which is worked in a variety of ways in Indian art. Here it is magnificently executed in spite of the defect in showing the lion larger than the elephant. For vigour and dynamic action this piece is remarkable.

Fig. 88. *Śarul yāḷi* on the balustrade, in the temple at Tribhuvanam, Tanjore District. The animal is a composite one, with a lion's body and head and with an elephant's trunk which forms the wavy balustrade. The combination of two animals into one shows the development of a *motif* from period to period. In the previous example the powerful lion symbol of royalty is represented as attacking an elephant whose trunk was required to serve as the balustrade. The sculptor here has dispensed with the elephant's body, but has retained its trunk only to which is added the lion's body which is dominating in the Dārāśuram example. This device indicates the desire on the part of workmen to economise labour and time to which the kings of this period also gave their assent. The incongruous nature of the combination of the two animals and the tameness of the lion are proof positive for the weakening of the royal power and for the consequent deterioration of art and culture from now on.

Fig. 89 (Pl. xxxv) Ornamental niche, on the north basement of *vimāna* of above temple. It is a representation of a miniature *gōpura* with a single-storey (*ekatala*). Noteworthy features here are the *padma motif* at the base, simple pillars and lack of floral and other designs.

Fig. 90. (*Ibid.*) Ornamental niche, on the south wall of *mahāmaṇḍapa* basement of the same temple. Similar to above, but details differ. Here are seen a roll-moulding at the base, rampant lions at the base of pillars, carved *kūḍu* on the *śālā* and finials, which are absent in the previous example.

Fig. 91, (*Ibid.*) Ornamental niche, in the same temple. It is called as *kōṣṭhapañjara* which is different from *kumbhapañjara*. All the de-

tails met with in the previous examples are seen here except the *śālā* which is replaced by a single *kūḍu*. The architectural design within the top *kūḍu* and the terrifying rampant *yāḷis* on either side of the *pañjara* are interesting.

Fig. 92. (Pl. xxxiv) Agni presenting *pāyasa* to Daśaratha. Nāgēśvara temple, Kumbakonam. The sculpture, in bas-relief, is reminiscent of sculptures in the same technique, of very early period and maintains still the high standard. The scene shows on the left Daśaratha with his queen, and *ṛṣis* and others on the right. From the *agnikuṇḍa* appears the *divya* Puruṣa who hands over the vessel containing *pāyasa* to Daśaratha. The sculpture is lively and each figure is beautifully executed making the entire composition a fine one.

Fig. 93. Daśaratha distributing *pāyasa* among his queens. From the same temple. Daśaratha, seated in the beautiful sit-at-ease posture, is in the attitude of pouring *pāyasa* from one vessel to another. He wears *jaṭāmakuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas*, other ornaments and a thick waist-band. Two of his queens are seated in front of him while the third is seated behind him. Their postures, and their *koṇḍais* are interesting. The minister, is seen in the back-ground. That the tradition of doing sculpture in bas-relief with delicacy and beauty, as in earlier periods, was lingering on for a long time in South India is exemplified by this and other examples of this kind.

Fig. 94. Birth of Rāma. From the same temple. Kausalyā is reclining on a cot. The two other queens are behind her. An attendant woman is seen on either side. Baby Rāma is seen lying near Kausalyā. Her posture is significant and it bears a striking resemblance to that of Māyādevi in sculptures from Amarāvatī and other places. This composition is another proof to show the continuity of artistic traditions.

Fig. 95. (Pl. xxxvi) Rāma's fight with Tāṭakā. From the same temple. The demoniacal Tāṭakā is shown on the right rushing towards the young brothers. She wields a trident. The sage Viśvāmitra is found between them. This scene is full of vigorous action. The whirling locks of hair of Tāṭakā may be contrasted with the *jaṭāmakuṭas* of the Princes.

Fig. 96. Hanumān in conversation with Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa, with only a single head, is seated in the *sukhāsana* pose, on a large throne. His left hand is in *sūcīhasta* pose, pointing to Hanumān in front of him. Rāvaṇā's regal splendour is remarkably suggested by his beautiful figure, his posture and by the workmanship of the throne. Hanumān is seated on the coils of his own tail. His hands are placed on his knees. Between these is a figure holding a bow, probably Vibhīṣaṇa.

Fig. 97. Rāvaṇa's encounter with Jaṭāyu, while carrying away Sītā. In the temple at Tribhuvanam, Tanjore District. Rāvaṇa with all his heads and arms stands within his divine chariot as suggested by the hiding away of his legs below knees. He is in the attitude of

fighting. Sītā is seated in front of him and is in the attitude of mourning for her plight. Jaṭāyu, the king of the birds, with a gigantic body and a stylish but beautiful beak is shown on the right side. This bas-relief is comparatively later than the ones from Kumbakonam, but still the sculpture is remarkable for its composition as well as for the vigorous depiction of the scene.

Fig. 98. Varāhāvatāra of Viṣṇu. In a temple at Pūnjai, Tanjore District. It is one of the beautiful representations of the theme. It is also dynamic. Viṣṇu with boar's head, is running away from the ocean with Bhūdevī on his lap. This way of depicting the theme is rare. The Nāga king with a bow in his hand is hurrying to follow Varāha but is held back by his queen. (*Cf.* static but beautiful representations of the theme at Mahābalipuram and other places).

Fig. 99. (Pl. xxxv) Kṛṣṇa and Pūtanā from the same place. Pūtanā, the demoness was sent by Kamsa to destroy baby Kṛṣṇa. She came to Kṛṣṇa as a foster mother and wanted to suckle him with the poison in her breast. But divine Kṛṣṇa, while drinking from her breast, sapped her very life. Here the baby is beautiful quite in contrast with the ugly and uncouth Pūtanā whose abject condition is apparent. The head-dress of Kṛṣṇa is interesting.

PLATE XXXVII—COINS

Fig. 1. Circular disc of sheet of pure gold. Diameter about 3·3 cms.; thickness about ·29 mm. Weight about 4·35 grammes or 67·2 grains.

Obverse: Seven punches along the periphery with Tamil legend in Tamil and Grantha characters of 11th century A.D. The legend in six punches reads: *Kan gai ko ṇda co ḷan.* Seventh punch shows 4000 over 32 in Tamil characters. The latter number stands for the regnal year. The large central punch shows the Cōḷa emblem: Tiger with gaping mouth and with a parasol above its head seated on its haunches with tail lifted up, facing a pair of fish (Pāṇḍyan emblem) to proper right. Lamp stands flank them. Tamil letter *Ca* above fish.

Reverse: Convex and blank.

Fig. 2. Same as above but with the significant difference in that the syllable *Rāja* occurs above the pair of fish instead of a single letter as in above.

Fig. 3. Coin shape and measurements etc. similar to above but with a difference in legend and workmanship.

Obverse: Eight punches are seen here. Seven of them have Tamil and Grantha letters with the Tamil legend: *Ma la ṇāḍu ko ṇda cō ḷan.* Eighth punch has 4000 over 34 the latter standing for the regnal year. The central punch shows the tiger seated on its haunches with the tail lifted up.

facing a pair of fish to proper right. A lamp stand is on either side. Above tiger is an umbrella, the sovereign's symbol. Above fish is a letter probably *I*.

Reverse: Blank.

Fig. 4. Similar to above. Here the regnal year is 35 and the letter above fish in the central device is probably *Ca*. The central design is not clear.

Fig. 5. Similar to above in shape and measurements. This and the following are coins of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty.

Obverse: Six punches with the legend in five of them in old Telugu characters viz. *Śrī Rā ja Rā ja*. The sixth one has *Sa* 33, i.e. *Samvat* 33 the number standing for the regnal year. The central device has a boar standing facing proper left and *ankuśa* above it which were the Eastern Cāḷukya emblem. An umbrella is seen above.

Fig. 6. Similar to above. Here only four punches are seen along the periphery. The legend is *Śrī Rā ja Sa*. 33 (*Samvat* 33). The central device is the same as in the above example but here it is clearer. This coin is one of the four from the hoard with this legend.

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INDEX

Abbasid Khalifat, 604
Abhaya (the Cōla contemporary of Nambi Aṇḍār Nambi), 637
Abhaya (Kul. I), 305, 330, 347
Abhaya alias Vīrarājendra, 293
Abhidhammāvatāra: Buddhadatta, 101
Abhimanottunga Samanta, envoy sent by the king of Kadaram to Kul. I, 318
Abhimanyu, 286
Abu Zaid (Hasan), 459, 460, 482n, 605
Acaryabhoga, 642
Ācāryas, Vaiṣṇava, 681
Āccan (Ādittan) Vikrama Kēsari, 165n
Acca-tari, 533
Accuta Kalabha alias Accutavikkanta of the Kalabhrakula, mentioned by Buddhadatta and said to have kept the three Tamil kings in confinement, 102, 107
Accutavikkanta, 102
Acyutadevaraya, 438
Ādanūr (Tj.) birth place of Nanda, 12, 568
Āḍavalam gadyāna, 618
Āḍavallān (weight), 620, (measure) 622
Adeisathros (of Ptolemy), 28n.
Adhikāri (official of the government), 513
Adhikārikal Pārāśaryan Vāsudeva-Nārāyaṇan alias Ulagaḷanda-śōḷa Bramamārāyan, guru of Rājādhirāja I, 259
Adhirājēndra, Parakēsari, 247, 267, 274, 285, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297; chosen heir apparent (1067-8), 285; his legitimacy was recognised by Kul. I, 296; Jayangoṇḍār does not mention him, 293; troubles of his reign, persecution of Rāmānuja, 294, 295; Rājiga come to the south after his demise, 296; 303, theory of a war with Kul. I highly improbable, 304, 306, 310, 472, 482n, 533, 561, 643, 644
Adhyayana-pāṭha-śāla (Veda school), 632
Adicandesa, 727
Ādicca, Tamil general sent against Rāmanna-dēśa by Parākramabāhu I, 216
Ādicca-Pidāri, 136n.
Adigal Kandan Marambavai, queen of Nandi-Pottaraiyar of the Pallavatilaka race, 114
Adigaimān of Kūḍalur, 404
Adigaimāns of Tagadur, 326, 393, 405, 406
Adigan, 105
Adigariccis (wives of adigaris), 463
Adigāri (gaḷ), 462, 463, 539, see Adhikāri
Ādil Shah of Bijapur, 143
Aḍimais (slavery), 555-557
Ādimandi, 35
Ādinagar, fight at, and defeat of Indraratha by Rājēndra I, 207, 208
Ādittapura (Maṇigrāmam), 488
Āditya I Rājakēsari, 110-116; duration of his rule, 111; accession, 113; overthrow of Aparājita, relation to the Gangas, 113, 114; conquest of Kongu, 114; relation to Cēra, 115; temples erected by Ā., 115; his death at Tondaimanad 115, 120, 135, 466, (a temple builder), 641, 697, 701, 703
Āditya II, Parakēśarī 'who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya', 144, 146, 147; perhaps identical with Pārthivēndra Varman, 149, his part in the battle of Cēvūr, 154; his assassination and Uttama Cōla's part in it, 157-158, 479, 558, 581, 602, 618, 707
Ādityavarman, son of Vikrama Kēśari by Karrali, 155
Āditya of Mūvalur, father of Kamban, 671
Ādityēśvara temple (at Toṇḍamānāḍ), 115, 453, (at Kalandai), 678
Adiyama, Cola Samanta, 326, 327
Aḍiyārkku-nallār, 665, 683, 686
Āḍu (Lit. sheep), 623
Aḍuturai (Tri.), 45, 327, 559, 594
Advaitism, of Sankara, 647
Aelius Gallus, Arabian expedition of, 84
Africa, 604
Agambadi mudali, 401, 404
Agapparivāram (personal retinue), 346
Agarapparru, 505
Agastya, released the Kaveri, from his water pot, 18, 31, 201; hill, 202
Agastyēśvara temple, 697, 701, 706; of Melappaḷuvūr, 703
Aghora śivācārya, 688

Agil, 82, 83
Agnikunda (fire-pit), 551
Agnīśvaram, the temple at Cittur, 704, 707
Ahalyā, 90
Ahamārgam system of music, 653
Ahanānūru (Aham), 3; Moriyar, 20, 67, 667
Ahapporul, of Nambi, 684
Ahavamalla, W. Cāḷukya, 224, 225, 246, 256, 257, 264, 270, 273; see Somesvara I.
Ahavamalla-Kulāntaka, title of Rājādhirāja I, 259
Ahavamalla-Kulakāla, title of Vīrarājēndra, 274
Ahavamalla Kula Kālapuram alias Āyirattaḷi, 318
Ahicchatra, 20
Āhitāgni, 465
Ahmad-ibn Majid, 460
Aihole, inscription, 105
Aimperungulu, 69
Aiñnūṟṟuvar, 595
Airāvatēśvara, the temple of Dārāsuram, 717-720, 721
Aitareya Brāhmana, 687
Aiyai, daughter of Tittan, 50
Aiyar (sages), 93
Ajanta, 736
Ajivakak-kasu, 532
Ājīvakas, 532
Āṇāikrayam (sale by royal order), 479, 601
Akalanka, title of Kul. I, 330
Akitti, 23
Akkam, 618
Āl, 531
Alagerudu-kāśu, 588
Alagiya Pallavan, father of Kōpperunjinga, 402, 403, 404
Alagiya Śīyan (Kōpperunjinga), 403, 424
Alangudi, 296
Alankāra, Artha, 683, Śabda, 684
Āḷappiṟandān Alagiya Pallavan alias Kāḍavarāyan of Kūḍal, 402, 403-404
Āḷappiṟandān Virasēkharan alias Kāḍavarāyan, 402, 403
Alatti, 307, fight at 308
Ālattur-kiḻār, 40, 41
Alexander the Great, 183
Alexandria, centre of Indo-European trade, 84
Ālinagar, 636
Allahabad, 233
Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta, 104
Aludaiya Nambi (Sundaramurti), 640
Alunda, battle of, 52
Āḷunganam, 494
Alupa, king, 273
Ālvār Parāntakan Śrī Kundavaip-Pirāṭṭiyār, 186; see Kundavai.
Ālvārs, 13; Vaiṣnava, 635, 636, 637, 641, 644, 647
Amanji, 531, 594
Amaṇkuḍi, 188, 493
Amarābharana Śīya Ganga, Pavaṇandi's patron, 401, 684
Amarabhujanga, the Pandyan king captured by Rajaraja, 169, 170
Amaravati, Greco-Roman influence in, 87; Yuan Chwang at 102
Ambalam, 513
Ambalavan Paluvur-nakkan of Kuvalalam, 160
Ambalappuram, 576
Ambanavar, 504
Ambar, 53
Ambaṭṭar, 528
Ambikāpati, father of the author of *Daṇḍiyalangāram*, 683; Kamban's son, 683
Amitasāgara, 13, 102, 682, 685
Amma II, (945-70); Eastern Cāḷukya king, 179; fled to Kalinga, 180
Ammaiyappan Sambuvarayan, Sengeni, 373
Ammangadevi, daughter of Rajendra I and queen of E. Cāḷukya Raja Raja I and mother of Kulottunga I, 228, 260, 285
Ammanna Dandanayaka (a Mahapradhani of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana Vira Narasingadeva), 428
Anaimalai, 583
Anaimangalam, grant of, 185, 220, 460, 466, 504, 602
Āṇaiyāṭkaḷ (elephant corps), 454
Āṇaimērrunjinā(r), title of Rājādhirāja I, 258.
Ānandatāṇḍava Nambi, erected a gopura in Madura in, A.D. 1227, 677
Ananta, grand-father of Aniruddha, Minister of Parantaka II, 638
Anantapalayya, the Dandanayaka of Vikramaditya, 329
Anantapur, 2
Anantaśambhu, 240n, 642
Ananta-varman, Coda-ganga, Eastern-ganga, 289, 322, 323, 328
Ananteśvara, the temple at Udaiyargudi, 721
Anapāya, title of Kul. II, 349; (who covered the Perambalam with gold), 676, 684
Aṇatti, 466, 468
Anbil, copper-plate, grant of Sundara Cola, 8, 53; 113, 115, 141, 145, 153, 465, 469, 480n, 483n, 577, 602, 638, 641
Ancient Accounts: Renaudot, 192n.
Andādi: Nambi-Andar-Nambi, 61n, 106

Andhra Bhārata, 225
Andhra-patha (Andhra road), 594
Angāḍikkūli, 509
Angkor, Temples of, 722
Aṇikanga, 412n
Aniruddha, 465; (Brahmadhiraja), 577, 638
Aṇiyadigāram (Daṇḍiyalangāram), 683
Aniyanga Bhimadeva Rahuta; Kalinga ruler, 431
Aṇiyilakkaṇam, *Aṇiyiyal* (Daṇḍiyalangaram), 683
Annan Pallavarāyan alias Palaiyanūr-Uḍaiyān, Veda-Vanam-Uḍaiyān, Ammaiyappan, 369-371, 373, 378
Anniyāya-vāva-daṇḍa-iṟai, 535
Anrāḍu-naṟkāśu, 614
Antarāyam, 531, 532, 533
Antarvedi, 551
Anubogap-parroḷugu, 580
Anuloma (Castes), 549
Anumakonda (territory), 329
Anupamā, daughter of Parāntaka I, 134
Anuradhapura, fiery battle near, 310, 311, 315
Aparajita, Pallava king, 110; overthrown by Aditya, 113, 120, 466
Āpastaṁba sūtra, 468
Appanna Dandanayaka, 423, 424, 428
Appar, 51, 185, 703
Appimayya, Dandanayaka, Governor of Maharajavadi (7000), 259
Aprameya, Cola general, 190n
Ār, a Cola emblem; Karikāla fighting with the garland of ar, 23, 32, 38
Arabia, 84, 85, 604, 607
Arab(s), the, 603, 604, 607, 610
Araccūlābhoga, 507
Aragalur (Salem), 401
Aragalurudaiyan, 401
Aragandanallur (S.A.), 401
Araisur, 674
Araiyam(r), 462, 490, 584
Araiyan Āḍittan, Viman, 152
Araiyan Kaḍakkan-goṇḍaśōḷan, Senāpati, 266
Araiyan Rajarajan alias Vikrama Cola Coliya-Varaiyan, the Cola general of Rajendra I, 205
Araiyan Rajarajan alias Virarajendra Jayamuri-nadalvan, Senapati, 266.
Arangērrukādai, of the *Silappadikāram*, 77
Arangu, 91
Aranilaiviśākhan Trailokyamallan Vatsarajan of Arumbakkam, 664
Araśanārāyanan Ēḻiśaimōgan alias Jananātha Kacciyarāyan, 402, 403
Araṭṭamukkidāsan, 490
Aravanavadigal, 95
Aravōlai (Charity deed), 467
Arāyirappaḍi, Commentary on Nammālvār's *Tiruvāymoli*, 681
Arcana, 575
Ardhanarisvara, image of, 727
Ardra, festival, 640
Argaru, 22
Arikulakesari, son of Parantaka I, 125, 134, 142, 151, 153
Arimukkai 532
Arindama, 141, 144, 152, 551
Arindigai, 134
Arinjaya Parakesari, son of Parantaka, 134, 142, 145; reign, 152, 453
Arinjigai-Caturvedimangalam, 539
Arinjimadevadigal, 552
Ariṣṭanēmibhaṭāra, 655
Arrur, death of Arinjaya at, 142, 153, 453
Arinjigai-isvara built by Rajaraja at Melpadi, 187, 453
Arinjigai Varman, who died at Arrur, 142. See Arinjaya.
Arinjigap-pirāṭṭiyār, daughter of a Prince Arikulakesari and wife of a Bana King, 153
Arisil, battle of, 112
Arivuḍai Nambi, 45
Āriyak-kūttu, 575
Āriyam, 653
Arjuna, 160, Kulottunga I, compared to, 312
Arkadu, merchant community of, 595
Arkatos, of Ptolemy, 22
Ārkkāḍu of *Narriṇai*, 23, 28n.
Arkonam, 131
Arpakkam (Chingleput Dt.), 332, 368, 373
Arpisi (October-November), months of, 640
Ārṟuppāṭṭam, 531
Ārṟuppaḍai, 76
Ārṣa, form of marriage, 65
Arulala Perumal, deity of Little Kancipuram, 645
Arumbakkam, 664
Arumbait-toḷḷāyiram, 670
Arumoḷidēvan, 552; liquid measure, 622
Aruṇācaleśvara, aspect of Siva, 707
Arunandi, author of *Śivañāna-śittiyār*, 679, 680
Arthaśāstras, 66, 223
Arumoḷideva-Iśvara (at Paḷaiyāṟu), 449
Arumoḷi-nangai, queen of Vīrarājēndra, 274
Arumoli-nangaiyār Pirānār, daughter of Rajendra I, 228
Arumoli-Varman, Rajakesari, 158, 169, 186. See Rajaraja I.
Arundhati, 78

Aruvāḷar, 33
Aruvanadu, the lower valley of the Pennar, 35
Aryan culture, 63, 64, 89
Aryavarta, 116
Āścarya-Cūḍāmaṇi, by Śaktibhadra, 687
Asela, 24
Asita-Vaktra ascetics, 648
Asoka, and the Colas, 20, 21
Aṣṭādhyāyī, provision for the study of, 630
Aṣṭāngahṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa, 632
Asura, form of marriage, 64
Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra, 687
Asvamedha, performed by Rajadhiraja I, 259, 451, 671
Atakur, inscription, 130, 131
Atharvaveda, provision for the study of, 630
Atavi (troops), 457
Ātci, 474
Ātkolli, 403
Ātkolli Kāḍavarāya, 416n
Atreya Nambi Kada Nambi, 679
Āṭṭan Atti, Cera Prince, 35
Attivarana, elephant, 228
Attur (Tanjore), 372
Augustus, 84
Auvaiyar, 48
Avai, Sabha, 70
Aval, rice-flakes, 89
Avani (Mys), 400
Avanimulududaiyal, queen of Rajaraja II, 351
Avani-Narayana title of Kopperunjinga, 424
Avanti, 36, 88
Āvēṇika (Gotra), 465
Avur, 42, 66, 92
Ayalār-tangaḷ-kāṭci (testimony of eye-witnesses), 474
Āyam, 522, 531
Ayana-Sankranti, 580
Āyirattaḷi (alias Āhavamalla-kula kālapuram), 318, 332, 353, 356, 398
Āyirattaḷi (alias Mudigoṇḍa-śōḷapuram), 386
Ayirattali (alias Nandipuram), 525
Ayodhya, 251
Āyōgavas, 549
Āyturai (Salt pans at), 593
Ayyappa, father of Gannarasa, 175
Ayyapulal, 597

Babylon, 234
Bācaladevi, queen of Madhurāntaka Pottappiccola Manumasiddharasa. 413n; 428
Badami, Calukyas, 126
Badapa, 179
Baddema, powerful chief of Jata-coda Bhima, put to death by Saktivarman, 181
Baghdad, 604
Bāhūr (Vākkūr), 473, 583
Balarama, 94
Balasubramanya, The, temple of Kannanur, 701
Bali, the demon King, 90
Ballala I, 326
Ballala II, Hoysala, his titles, his southern conquests, 396-397, 406
Bāṇas, 100, 120, 126, 127, 128, 153, 188, 401, 430 505
Bānādhirāja, title conferred on Pṛthvīpati II, by Parāntaka I, 125
Baṇapuram, 556
Banavase (12000), 131, 197, 198, 306, 308, 309
Bandon, 216
Bapatla, 593, 615
Bastar, 208
Bauddhas, the, 644
Baudhāyanagṛhya, 630
Bayal Nambi, Western Cāḷukya general, 182
Belagamve, The inscription of Calukyajayasimha (1019 A.D.), 204
Bellary, 277
Belur, 396
Belur copper-plate grant, 326
Belvola (300) 131, 256, 258
Bengal, 209, 210
Benjamin of Tudela, Jewish traveller, 606, 609
Bennevuru (12), 255
Beta, the younger son of Erasiddhi, 388
Beta, father of the Kākatīya Prola, 329
Betarasa, son of Nallasiddha, 389, 413n
Bezwada, battle of, 270, 292, 303, 595
Bhadra (Mysore), 265
Bhāgavata, the, 687
Bhagavati, 596
Bhagiratha, 206
Bhaktajanesvara, The, temple of Tirunamanallur (S.A.), 707
Bhaktiraja, 438
Bhārata, Provision for the study of, 631
Bharatap-Pangu, 512
Bharatasvamin, Commentator on the Samaveda, 687
Bhāratavenbā of Perundevanar, 662
Bhargava, 201
Bhaskara Ravi Varman Tiruvadi (978-1036), 169
Bhāṣya-Vṛtti, 640
Bhaṭṭas(r), 478, 487, 490, 494, 504, 514, 549, 579
Bhāṭṭa school, 631
Bhattan Gandaraditti, 552

Bhaṭṭa-Vṛttis, 576
Bhavaprakāśa, work on rhetoric, 688
Bhaviṣya (*Sutra*), 513, 519n.
Bherundas, 420, 428
Bhikṣāmaṭha, of Vārāṇasi, 642
Bhikṣātanamurti, image of, 702, 732
Bhima, Coda, 180, 181
Bhima II, Calukya, Vengi ruler, 128 152
Bhima, Kota chief, 323
Bhima (Viman) of Kulam 321; Telinga Bhima, 342
Bhīmeśvara, (Bhagavān in Drākṣārāma), 309, 329
Bhogadeva, 183; another name of Jatā-Cōḍa Bhīma, 192n
Bhogam, 570, 575, 585
Bhogavati-Pura-Varesvara, 208
Bhoja, of Dhara, 208
Bhoja, Samanta, 435
Bhojaraja, adigurigal descended from, 463
Bhrgukula, 202
Bhrtaka (mercenary), 457
Bhujabala-madai, 616
Bhujabalaviran, of Gangamandalam, 616
Bhujabala-vira, Nallasiddhanadeva, Cola Maharaja, 390, 413-414n
Bhujagavara-bhūṣanamahārājulu, title of Nagavamsi rulers, 308
Bhumidevi, image set up, 526
Bhūpēndra Cōla, title of Rājādhirāja I, 222
Bhutadeya-nayaka of Dorasamudra, 428
Bhutamangalam, the hub of Colarattaha, 102
Bhūtapandya, 91
Bhuti Aditya Bhattarika, queen of the Cola Prince Arikulakesari, 703
Bhuti-Vikramakesari, 155
Bhuvana-mulududaiyāl, queen of Rajaraja II, 351
Bilhana, 255, 258, 270, 272, 287, 294, 295, 303, his account of Vikramaditya's digvijaya, 306, 307, 308, 309
Bilvamangalasvami alias Lila-suka, the author of *Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta*, 688
Bindusara, 21
Birudamadas, 615-16
Bittiga Viṣnuvardhana, Talakāḍugonda, 326
Brahmadesam, 226
Brahmadeya, 531, 536, 570, 573, 576, 577, 578-580, 664
Brahma-Vaisya, 549
Brahmādhirāja (title of distinguished brahman Senapatis), 456, 465
Brahmendra, an official, 499
Brahma-mīmāmsā bhāṣya by Sri-Kantha, 688
Brahmapurīśvara, The, temple of Pullamangai (T.J.), 706
Brahmesvara, temple of, in Brahmadesam (S.A.), 696
Brhannāyaki, The temple of, 715
Brhat-kathā, the Original of *Perungadai*, 665
Brhadīśvara-māhātmya (= *Colavamśacarita*), 14
Buddhadatta: on Accutakalabba and Kaveripattana, 101; 107
Buddhaghosa, 101
Buddhasiha, 102
Buddhamitra, author of *Vīra-Śoliyam*, 13, 275, 683
Buddhavarma, 104
Buddhism, 19, 93, 101, 275; its influence on the Indian outlook, 445, 446; (its main features absorbed by Hinduism) 635; (Buddhist deities) 641, 643; its vestiges at Kanci, 645, 656-657, 679
Burma, 213, 214; Lower B., 216
Butuga II, 128, 130, 131
Byzantium, 447; (Rum), 460

Cagis, 387
Cakkarak-kottam, 270
Cakrakotiya, 208
Cakrakuta, 208, 269, 270, 292; 297, conquest by Vikramaditya, 303, 325
Calukki - Kula - Kala - Caturvedimangalam (The Sabha of Nemali, S. A.), 584
Calukyas (Western), 4, 103, 104, 110; the rise of later Calukyas, 175, 177, 178, 198, 224, 225, 269-70; 301, 305-8, 323, 326, 329-30, 343, 349, 352, 386, 393, 419
Calukya-Cola line, 2, 245, 386
Calukya-Narayana, a surname of Saktivarman, 182; title of Manumasiddharasa, 430
Calukya-Vikrama era, 273, 329, 330
Camara, of the Periplus, 22
Cāmaramādas, 615
Cambay, Plates of Govinda IV, 232, 233
Campa (Kavirippum-Pattinam), 31
Campa, in further India, 242n
Cāmuṇḍarāya, W. Calukya general, 263, 264
Candakauśikam: (Kṣemīśvara), 229, 230, 234
Candesanugrahamurti, The image of, 729
Candesvara, image of, 646, 728
Candesvara, 646; C. Peruvilai, 602
Candiran Suvarkki of Muranainagar, 673
Chandragupta, Maurya, 233

Candramaulisvara temple, at Tiruvakkarai, 642, 643
Cangalvas, 172, 227
Canganad, 227
Carakasamhitā, 632
Catural Caturi, a married courtesan, 554
Caturanana Pandita, 648, 649, 671-672
Caturvedatatparya Sangraha, work on Saiva philosophy, 688
Caturvedimangalam, 452, 492
Caturvedi-mangalam (Rd.) 412n
Cāvaṇarasa, the Western Cāḷukya general, 210
Cebrolu, Inscription, 178, 343
Cedi, Haihayas of, 405
Cedimandala, 434
Cedirayas, 426, 430, 671, 672
Cellur Plates (of Vira Coda), 288, 291, 319, 320, 349
Cengama (N. A.), 406, 406
Cennaya Balaya, 438
Cera, 7, 32, 169, 171, 172, 183, 203, 204, 221; power destroyed by Kul. I, 313, 380, 381, 383, 385, 406, 459, 596
Cera-Pandiyan-tambiran, 382
Cerobothra, of the Periplus, 22
Cevur, battle of, 151, 153, 154
Ceylon: 3, 23-25; Gajabahu synchronism, 53-54, 86, 121; unsuccessful invasion by Parantaka, 124, 132, 154; Rajaraja I's naval expedition, 172-3, 183, 196; conquest by Rajendra I, 199, 216, 223, 231; war of Rajadhiraja I, 248-53; Ceylon war of Virarajendra 271, 273, 305, 309; Ceylon war of Kul. I, 310-11; 314, 316, 323, 330, 333, 355, C. war under Rajadhiraja II, 366-372; under Kul. III, 378-385; 408n, 412n, 458, 465
'Ceylon type' coins, 11
Chandella king, Harṣadeva, 233
Chandogasāma, provision for study, 630
Chatras (senior pupils), 630, 631
Chau Ju-kua, 215, 216, 217; (on Cōla state banquet), 250; (on Cola system of justice), 480; (on products in the Cola counrty), 608-609
Che-li-fo-che (=Sri Vijaya), 214, 215
China trade, 84, 85, 194, 214; Cola missions to China, 219; Kul. I, relations with, 316-17, 459, 597, 598, 603-606, 607, 608, 609
Chinese writings as a source for the Colas, 15
Chryse, 85
Chuan-Chou, S. Indian sculptures of Indian puranic themes in, 608
Chulam (Quilon), 609
Chu-lien (= Cola), 219, 316, 606
Cidambaram, 106; Parantaka I, covered with gold the Siva temple of C., 132; Rajamahendra's fragmentary inscription at C., 266, 274, 312, 325, 331, 333, 342, 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 372, 379, 380, 381, 383, 395, 399, 423, 438, 473, 561, 585, 641, 643, 644, 651, 663; composition and publication of *Periyapurāṇam*, 675, 677, 679
Ciddanna, Cola-Maharaja, 258
Cittira-mēlip-periya-nāḍu, 490
Cittira-mēlip-periya nāṭṭār, the assemblage of, 595
Claudii, trade in the times of, 84
Coda, son of Gonka I, 343
Coda, Bhima, 181. See Bhima.
Codaganga, 320
Cola-ganga tank, 210, 227
Cōla-gangan, 261, 448
Cola-Keralan, 261
Colakulaikarakṣa (title of Vira Narasimha), 396
Colam, 19
Colamahadevi, queen of Ballala II, Hoysala, 400, 406
Cola-maharaja, 103, 104
Cola-maharajadhiraja Vikramaditya Satyaditya, 104
Cola-mandala Pratiṣṭhācārya, title of Narasimha II, 423
Cola-mārtāṇḍa, title of Rājarāja I, 186
Colana-Cakra, title of Araiyan Rajarajan, the general of Rajendra I, 205
Cola-narayana, title of Rajaraja I, 174, 182
Colandia, Indian boat, 85
Cola-Pandiyan-mandalam, 382
Cola-Pandya Viceroys, 196, 201, 203, 228, 261, 530, 573
Colapati, title, 395
Cōḷa-rājya-pratiṣṭhā-cāryam, title of Ballala II, 396
Colarattha (Cola country), 24
Cōḷasthāpanācārya, title of Narasimha II, 396; title of Tikka, 434
Colavamsa-Caritram, 1, 14
Cola-Varidhi of Sholingur, 583
Colchi, 22
Colendra, title of Madhurantaka, son of Virarajendra, 267
Colendrasimha, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Colendrasimha, title of Rajaraja II, 353
Coleroon, Kollidam, 18; Kolerun (river), 234, 423
Colesvara, Arinjigai-isvara at Melpadi, 187
Colombo museum, 200
Coorg, 171, 172, 227
Cora, Cola, 19
Cora(e)ya-deva's war, 225

Corayya Nolambadhi raja, 175
Coromandel (corruption of Cola-mandalam), 438, 459; (Ma'bar), 608
Cou-ku-lei, 219
Covelong (Komalam), 623
Cūḍāmani (Lexicon), 685
Cudamani Vihara, built at Negapatam by the Sailendra king, 185, 219, 220, 318, 466, 656
Culamani-Varama-deva, Sri, 214
Cu-li-ya, of Yuan Chwang, 102

Daiva of Deva, 689
Dakṣinalāḍa in Gauḍa-dēśa, 368
Dakṣināmūrti (Vināḍhara), image of, 646, 701, 702, 709, 727, 728
Daligapadi, 175
Damilas, 24, 155, 200, 249, 250
Damirica, 22, 85
Damodara, a Cola samanta, 327
Damon and Pythias, 45
Dāna, preferred to yajna, 451, 452, 650
Dānārṇava, Eastern Cāḷukya, 179, 180, 181
Danatonga, 454
Danda bhukti, 208, 209, 229, 231
Dandanatha, Commandant, 169, 368, 422, 423
Daṇḍanāyakan Narakkaṇ Kṛṣṇan Raman, 226
Dannada (Dhanyakataka), the battle of, 224
Dandapura, 643
Dakṣinameruviṭankan, (standard weight for jewel), 620
Damanakacceri, 595
Dandam, 521
Dandi, author of *Kavyādarśa*, 683
Dandiyalangaram, 668, 683, 684
Danma Vaniyar (the just merchants), 595
Dantisakti Vitanki alias Loka Mahadevi, queen of Rajaraja I, 186, 575
Dappula IV, 123
Dārukavana (sage), 732
Dasapanman, 257
Dasa-Vandam, 531, 532
Davanac-cettis, 595
Dekabbe, 553
Desi system of music, 653
Devadāna, 113, 529, 531, 532, 533, 541, 548, 570, 571, 572, 573, 576, 578, 580-582, 585, 595, 603
Devadāna-nāṭṭavar, 490
Devagosthas, 734
Devakala (or kulo) not correct restoration of Tia-hua-kia-lo, 316, 317
Devales, 200
Devakanmis, 506, 581
Devagiri, king of, 306
Devanatha, W. Calukya general, 268
Dēvaraḍiyār, 6, 490, 554, 556
Devaraja cult, 452
Dēvāram, 6, 54, 184, 638, 646, 662, 695
Dēvāranāyakam, Superintendent of Dēvāram, 638
Deyvaccilaiyar, 685
Dhananjaya-Varman, 103
Dhānuṣtra, 596
Dhārā, of Bhoja, 208
Dharaṇi-muluduḍaiyāḷ, queen of Rajaraja II, 351
Dharanendra, the serpent king, 20
Dharavarsha, king of Cakrakuta, 292
Dharmapala of Dandabhukti, 208, 209, 229
Dharma Pala of Pala dynasty, 232
Dharmapuri (Tagadur), (Sm.), 326
Dharmāsana, 473, 474
Dharmasana-bhattas, 474
Dharma-sastras, 5, 89
Dharma-sutras, 64
Dharma-Variyam, 511
Dharma Varma, 106
Dhvaja-Patas, 549
Digambara Jains, 655
Dinacintāmani, the surname of Madhurantaki, the queen of Kul. I, 332
Diṅnāga, 55
Dirghasi, Inscription of Vanapati, 289
Divākara, a restoration of Ti-hua-kia-lo, 316
Divākaram of Śēndan, 484n, 685
Divya Prabhandam, 695
Divya-sūri-caritra, 13, 106, 295, 636
Domitian, 21, 84
Donur (Bijapur dst.), 176
Dorasamudra, Hoysala capital, 423, 428
Drākṣārāma, 256, 309, 321, 329, 330, 352, 430
Dravidas, the five, 205, 306
Droham (treason), 427
Dulu country, 250
Durgā, 646
Durgā-Parameśvari, 646
Durvinita, Ganga ruler, author of the Sanskrit version of the *Bṛhat-kathā*, 665
Dutch, the 222
Duṭṭha gāmani, 24
Dvaraka (Tuvarai), 350
Dvārapālaka, figures in Cōḷa period, 734

Eastern Archipelago, 194
Eastern Calukya Copper Plates, 1, 10, 100, 179, 182, 245
Eastern Ganga Inscriptions, 10
East Indies, 194
Eccoru, 532

Eciga (Ecama), 326
Edagam (Elagam), 408
Ededore, 197, 205
Edirilisola, title of Kul. II, 349
Edirilisola, Rajaraja II's title, 353
Edirilisola Sambuvaraya (his part in the Pandyan civil war), 368, 478
Edirili Śōḷa alias Sengēṇi Ammaiyappan Sīyan Ammaiyappan, 373
Edirttavarkālan (Tam. death of opponents), title of Araiyan Rajarajan, general of Rajendra I, 205
Egypt, 84, 85, 86
Ekabhoga-iṟaiyiḷi, 373
Ekamresvara temple at Kanci, 399
Ekapada, 596
Ekavalli-Vadam (necklace of precious stones), 404
Ēkavīra, the great general of Bhima, killed by Saktivarman, 181
Elagam (Edagam), 408
Elagappadai, 382, 408
Elagattar, 370, 408n
Elara, 24, 25, 54
Eli-malai, rat hill, 222
Elini, Cera king, 406
Ēḷiśaimōgan alias Jananātha Kacciyarāyan, 402, 403
Ēḷiśaimōgan Maṇavāḷap-Perumāḷ Vāṇilaikaṇḍān Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan, Kūḍal, 405
Ēḷiśai-mōhan, a mandapa at Vṛddhācalam, 350
Ēḷisai-Vallabhi (with title Ēḷulagudaiyāḷ), Kul. I's queen, 332
Elleri, sack by the Hoysalas, 423
Eluppelupadu, 669
Eluttu, 468
Enādi, 72, 74, 462
Eniccēri, 49
Engaraya, one of the minsters of Kul. I, 322
Ennayiram (S.A.), 546, 559, 560, 598; college at, 630-631; strong centre of Vaiṣṇavism, 646
Enpērāyam, 69
Ereḷupadu, 672
Ereyanga, Hoysala king, 306; son of Vinayaditya, 326
Erama Siddharasa alias Madhurantaka Pottappicolan, 389, 430
Ēri-āyam, 531, 583
Ēri-īvu, 530
Ēri-mudal, 511
Ēri-paṭṭi, 523, 576
Erra siddha, son of Beta, 388, 390
Erumur, 585
Ēyarkōn-Kalikkāman, 106

Fo-che, 214
Foulkes, 17n

'Four Thousand Hymns' (Nālāyirap-Prabandam), 662

Gadilam, 423
Gadval Plates, 105
Gadyakarṇāmṛta, a historical romance, 421, 422, 424
Gadyāṇa, 611, 617, 618, 619
Ganapati, icon presented to Tanjore temple, 646, 703
Gajabāhu I, synchronism, 3, 53, 54, 55
Gahadvalas, The, of Kanauj, 325
Gajari, image of, 709
Ganam, 494
Ganapati, Kākatīya ruler, 391, 435, 436
Gaṇḍagōpāla (alias Tikka), 430, 433, 436
Gaṇḍagōpālan-māḍai, 616
Gaṇḍappayya, 224
Gaṇḍadarādittan, Madurāntakan, an official of Rajaraja I, probably the son of Madurantaka Uttama Cōḷa, 158, 161, 188
Gaṇḍarāditya (dēva), Rāja Kēśari, son of Parantaka I, 134, 141; alias Mummaḍi Cōḷa, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151, 152, 153, 158, 161, 187, 453, 522, 641
Gaṇḍarādityarasa, lord of Mahiṣmatipura, 255
Gandharan, art, 87, 657
Gangādhara, image of, 709
Gangas, 110, 114, 115, 120, 121, 126, 127, 128; conquered by Rājarāja I, 174, 175, 176, 177, 268, 319, 326, 347, 401, 403, 430
Gangaikoṇḍa-Cōḷa, title of Rājēndra I, 227, 293
Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḷa: Dr. S. K. Iyengar, 229
Gangaikoṇḍa-Cōḷa-milāḍuḍaiyār, 226
Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷapuram, 19; a 19th century description of 234-35, 325, 332, 345, 346, 349, 357, 449, 450, 571, 642, 694, 695, 710; description of, 713-717, 719, 720, 722, 728, 729
Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷēśvara, temple, 449
Gangai-koṇḍa-cōḷapuram, 143; not Mudigoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, 227, 267, 268, 274, 398, 438
Gangai-koṇḍa-soḷa, Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy, 267
Gangai-kula-tilaka (Sekkilar), 675
Gangamadeviyar, wife of Vīra-soḷa-Ilangovelar, 553
Ganga-mandala, 172, 177, 187, 307, 308, 342, 352, 372, 616
Ganga-nadu, 406
Gangapadi, conquered by Rajaraja I, 174, 176, 263, 264, 265
Ganga-Perumanadi, 258

Gangapuri, 227, 260, 274, 332, 353, 448
Gangaraja, Hoysala general who captured Talakad, 326, 327
Gangarasayira, 174
Gangāśūrapperumbaḷḷi of Rājēndrapuram, 655
Gangavadi, loss of G. under Kul. I, 325-28, 330, 343
Ganges, 20, 83, 86, 196; Gangetic expedition of Rajendra, I, 206-10
Gangeya, a chief, 455
Gangeyan, Kuttan's patron, 669
Gannarasa Nolamba, 175
Gauda-desa, 368, 642
Ghatika, at Vembarrur, 633
Ghatti-nulamba Bhujabalavira Ahomallarasa Cōla Mahārāja, 372
Ghola-mukha, 596
Girindraja (Sivakami), (of Cidambaram temple), 399
Goa, Kadambas of, 618
Godavari, 206, 207, 270
Golakamaharsi, Saiva Ācārya, 727
Gomadattu Arulala Bhattan, 648
Gonka I, 320, 343
Gonka II, Velanānṭi, 387
Golaki matha, 651
Gopayya Dandanayaka, 424, 428
Gopracarabhumi (grazing common), 532
Gotami, 322
Govinda IV, the Cambay Plates, 233, 234
Govinda Candra, of Vangala, 207, 209, 232
Govindanahalli, 396
Govindaraja, shrine in Cidambaram, removal of this shrine by Kul. II, 349
Govinda Vallavarayar, 134. See Viramādevi.
Grahi (Kia-lo-hi), 215
Grāmadrohis, 501
Grāmakāryam (village executive), 500
Guhai, 650, 652
Guhai-idi-kalaham in the 22nd year of the reign of Kulottunga III, 652
Gunabhadra, author of *Uttara Purāna*, 666
Gunadhya, 665
Gunamudita, 103
Gunasagara, (the Guru of Amita Sagara), 682
Gunavira Pandita, author of *Nēminādam*, 684
Gurjara-Pratihara empire, 229-233
Guru-devar of Rajadhiraja I, 452
Guru-Paramparai, 13, 106, 107, 143
Gururaja Rudradeva-Sola-Maharaja, Mahamandalesvara, 438
Guttas, of Guttal, 101
Gutti, 272

Haihayas, The, 309, 405
Halahalasya temple, at Madura, 399
Hālāsya-māhātmya, 677
Halebid, some images sought to be carried to, 327
Hangal, 226
Haradattacārya, 688
Harihara, image of, 729
Harihara-tāratamya, a sectarian polemic, by Haradattacarya (d. 1119), 688
Harnahalli (Mys.), 424
Harsadeva, Chandella King, 233.
Hasti-giri-alvar or Arulala Perumal at Kanci, 645.
Hastimalla, Ganga King, 121, 126.
Hemagarbhas, performed by Parantaka I, 135.
Hemavati (Mys.), 400.
Himalayas, the; Karikāla's expedition to, 10, 36, 44, 93
Hinduism (its relation to Buddhism), 635; (beginning of sectarian intolerance, 636, 643, 647
Hipparchus, 84.
Hiranyagarbha, 186, 452.
Hoogly, 232.
Hottur, inscription of Satyasraya (1007 A.D.) 176, 182, 197, 198.
Hoysalas, 5, 7, 10, 172, 301, 306; rise of 325; win Gangavādi 328, 352, 378, 386, 393, (begin to intervene for Colas against Pandyas), 396-397, 406, 417, 418, 419, 420, 422, 424, 425; (influence in Cola country); 428-429, 432; (change sides), 433; (relations to Rajendra III), 436, 437.
Hulimadda, 478.
Huzur Treasury Plates of Tiruvalla, 139n.
Hyder Ali, 593.

Ibn Hawqal, Arab writer, 604
Icons, of the Cola period, 727-736; Stone I., 728; Metal I., 729.
Iḍaikkādar, 668
Idavai, 112.
Iḍiturai-nāḍu, conquered by Rajendra I, 197.
Iḍangai (class), 454.
Ilāda (chiefs), 535
Iladaraya, late chiefs of N. Arcot district, 188.
Ilakkaruṅgāśu, 617
Ilaiya Tirunavukkaraiyan, portrait of, 726.
Ilak-kāśu (Ceylon Kāśu), 617, 618
Ilam (Ceylon), 152, 172, 249, 372, 377, 380, 382, 384

Ilamandalam (Ceylon), conquered by Rajaraja I, 172; by Rajendra I, 199, 249.
Ilampūraṇar, 685
Ilāmuridēśam, 213, 217
Ilandaṭṭan, a minstrel, 40
Ilangāśōkam, Lankasoka, 211, 216, 217.
Ilanjēṭcenni, father of Karikāla, 31, 37.
Ilanjēṭcenni, Neydalangānal; Śerup-pāliyerinda, Cōḷa Princes, 49
Īlas, 490
Ilavandigaip-paḷḷi, where Nalangilḷi died, 39.
Ilavas, 548, 578.
Indaladeva of Talaigrama, 226
Indala-devi, wife of Vallaraiyar, 226.
Indo-China (Hindu Colonies in), 459, 604.
Indra III, the Rastrakuta King, 232. 233.
Indraratha, 208.
Indravati, river, 208.
Ingallur-nadu, 188
Iṟai, 331, 522, 528, 536, 537, 571-572, 577, 582, 585.
-dravyam, 509
-kāval, 509, 524, 577, 586, 603
-kuḍigaḷ, 568
-kaḍan (land-tax), 531
Iṟaiyanār Kaḷaviyal, 64, 686
Iraiyili, 491, 534, 535, 536, 540, 550, 664.
-devadana, 495, 536, 540
-kasu, 531-532, 534
Irāmakuḍam, Rāmaghaṭa, 221, 222
Irangal, 535.
Iraṭṭan, 272
Iraṭṭapādi, 268
-Praśastis of Rājēndra II, 260
Iraṭṭarāja-kula-kālan, a title of Vīra-rājendra, 262
Iravu, 522.
Īrāyiravan, 552
Īrāyiravan Pallavaraiyan, alias Mummadi Sola Posanar of Araisur, an officer of Perundanam rank of Raja Raja I, 189.
Ireccayan, 263.
Irugaiyan, 262-3.
Irumadi-solan, a title, 261.
Irupā-virupahdu, 680
Īśāna Śiva, Rājaguru of Rājarāja I, 4[illegible]2.
Istakhri, Arab Writer on Siraf, 606.
Isvara Siva, spiritual Guru of Kul. III, 399.
I-Tsing, 186, 218, 604, 629.
Jagadalpur, 208.
Jagadekamalla Udayaditya Nolamba Pallava Perumānadi, a vassal of Jayasimha II, 224, 618.
Jagannātha Vijaya, a Kannaḍa Campu, 397.
Jagatipāla, of Kanauj, 250, 251, 311
Jaiminīya Sāma Veda, 640
Jainism, 93, 95, 535, 636, 644, 655, 657, 679.
Jaiya, 215.
Jambai (S.A.), 188.
Jambudipa, 121, 154.
Jambukesvara, temple, 53.
Jananatha, title of Rajaraja I, 186.
Jananātha, Western Cāḷukya, general, 270.
Jananātha - Caturvedimangalam, the sabha of, 575.
Jananātha Kacciyarāyan alias Araśanārāyaṇan Ēliśaimōgan, 402, 403
Jananāthamangalam, the old name of Polonnaruva after the title of Rajaraja I, 173.
Janapada, 457, 505.
Janapada-nivaha, 483n.
Janma-bhumi (Jivita), 529.
Jaṭā Cōḍa, 180-1; wrongly identified with Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 192n; J. Cola, 227.
Jātakas, 23, 51
Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan,
Jāti-dharma, 526
Jatilavarman, Pandya King, 166n.
Java, Sho-Po of the Chinese, 219; Influence on, 709
Javanese merchants, 605.
Jayabahu I, of Ceylon, 316.
Jayabhima temple at Tanjore, 450.
Jayadhara, title of Kul. I, 330.
Jayāditya, 688
Jayadratha, Sinhalese General, 368
Jayakesi I, Kadamba King of Goa, 273, 306.
Jayamāḍa, 615
Jayamuri-Nāḍāḷvān Senāpati, a feudatory of Rājēndra II, 266
Jayangonda, a name of Rajaraja I, 186, 682
Jayangoṇḍār, author of *Kalingattuparani*, Kavic-cakravarti, 13, 293, 304, 320, 668, 686.
Jayangoṇḍaśōla-maṇḍalam, 465, 470, 505, 538, 682.
Jayantamangala, 422.
Jayapalas, 595.
Jayasimha II, W. Calukya, succeeded Vikramaditya V, 204; war with Rajendra I, 205, 224.
Jayasimha III, younger brother of Vikramaditya VI, 273, Viceroy of Banavase, 306, 308; his revolt

against his brother and his seeking Kul. I's help, 309.
Jayasinga Kula Kala, title of Araiyan Rajarajan, the General of Rajendra I, 205.
Ji-lo-ting of Chau Ju-kua, 215
Jinagiripaḷḷi, 655
Jinālayas, erected by Ganga Perumanaḍi and destroyed by Cōḷa King, 258.
Jina - Kāñcī (Tirupparuttikkunṟu), 645, 656.
Jīvaka, 666, 667
Jñānarāśi, 649
Jīvita, 464, 529, 570, 575, 580
Jīvitapaṟṟu, 505
Jnāna Śivācārya of Sūryanārkoyil, 688.
Julii, 84.
Jus Connubii, of the rich Vellalas with royal families, 88.
Jvala, Skt. form. of Salai, 190n.

Kacci (Kāñcīpuram), 386, 649
Kaccip-pēḍu-ninṟān, a measure, 623
Kacciyum-Tanjaiyum Koṇḍa, title of Kṛṣṇa III, 130, 132
Kadagams (Cantonments), 456
Kaḍai--irai, 532
Kadaladaiyāḍilangai Koṇḍa - śōḷa-Vaḷanāḍu, 284n.
Kaḍamai, 499, 502, 505, 522, 523, 526, 532, 585.
Kaḍamaik-kāriyam, 500
Kadambas, 198; 306, 618.
Kadamba-mādevi, 115
Kadambavanesvara, the temple of Erumbur (S.A.), 707.
Kaḍāram: eastern limit of Rājēndra I's conquests 196; the Kaḍāram Campaign of Rajendra I, 211-21; identified by Kanakasabai with Sri Khettara, ancient Prome 241n; conquest by Vīrarajendra 271-2; Kulottunga I, relations with 317-19; (building of Buddhist Viharas by King of Kadaram at Negapatam), 318, 606, 656.
Kaḍaiśiyar, 87
Kādavarāyas, the, 268, 349, 353, 373, 401-405, 419, 420, 422, 423, 424, 426, 428, 437, 534, 663.
Kādavarāyadiśāpaṭṭa, title of Vīra Narasimha Hoysala, 420.
Kāḍavan Mahādevi, alias Śōḷan Śorudaiyāḷ, queen of Kul. I, 333.
Kaḍigaik-kaḷattukkōḷ, 621
Kaḍigai-mārāyan, 462
Kaḍiyalūr Rudrangaṇṇanār, 75
Kadungon, line of the Pāṇḍyas, 100
Kāḍupaṭṭigaḷ, a Cōḷa queen, 114
Kāḍupaṭṭigaḷ Nandipottaraiyar (Nandivarman II or III), 706.
Kāḍuveṭṭi, 352
Kahapana, 367.
Kaikayas, 380, 384.
Kaikkilai, uniliteral love, 64.
Kaikkolapperumbadai, 454, 456.
Kaikkolar, 454, 457, 574, 599.
Kailasanatha temple of Ellora, 695.
Kailasanatha temple at Kancipuram, 641, 693, 698.
Kai-vāśi, 527
Kaiyeḻuttōlai (Pro-note), 599
Kajaragama, 271.
Kakandan, 31.
Kākatīyas, 198, chief Prola, 339, 386, 387, 391, 419, 430, 435; Kākatiya Rudra, 672
Kāksandi, 31
Kalabhra interregnum, 64; their part in Political Unsettlement in South India and the rule of Accuta Kalabha, 101-2.
Kāladōṣam (bad time), 562
Kālagam, 83; Naccinārkkiniyar on, 218.
Kālaharamurti, icon of, 728
Kalahasti, 115, 120, 126, 226, 372, 388.
Kāl-alavu-kūli (toll on articles measured by capacity), 530.
Kāl-alavupāṭṭam, 599
Kālakalabha, auhtor of *Gadyakarnāmṛta*, 421
Kālāmukhas, the, 648, 649
Kalandai, 105; (birth place of Pugalendi), 673, 678; (birth place of Vaccanandi), 684
Kalanais, 490, 588.
Kalañju, 522, 529, 555, 557, 558-559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 672-573, 586, 587, 599; 600, 601, 613-618, 619, 624, 631, 653.
Kāla-piḍāri, 646
Kalappāḷan, a feudatory of Rājēndra III, 438.
Kalappāḷarāyan, royal official of Kul. III), 400.
Kālapriya, (temple at Kaveripākkam, built by Kṛṣṇa III), 641
Kaḷāttalaiyār, a Poet, 50
Kaḷatti-uḍaiyār, the temple fo, 726
Kalavali, 51, 52, 73, 94
Kalaviyal, Iṟṟaiyanār, 64, 686
Kalavu, 93
Kālidāsa, army leader of the Calukyas, 254.
Kalidindi, plates of Rajaraja Narendra, 210-11
Kāli-ganam, 489
Kaliṅgaḍinda-sōḷa, title of Kul. II, 349.
Kaḷikkōṭṭai, 382, 385

Kalinga(m) country, 13, 180, 181, 218, 270, 1st and 2nd K. war of Kul. I, 321-23; 328, 334, 342, 347, 366, 431, 668, 696.
Kalinganagara, 289.
Kalingaraya, title of Naralokavira, 314.
Kālingarāyan, name of the Cōḷa throne (at Ayirattaii), 319.
Kālingar-kōn, alias Naralōkavīra, 347.
Kalingattupparaṇi, a Poem, 13, 14, 31, 54, 75, 116, 171, 217-8, 246, 261, 266, 291, 293, 294, 296; its silence on Adhirajendra's reign, 295, 297, 303, 304; on Kul. I's fight with Vikramaditya VI, 308; on Kulottunga's destruction of the fleet at Śālai, 313; on Kul. I's destruction of Kadaram, 316; on the Kalinga wars of Kul. I, 320, 321; on the titles of Kul. I, 330; on the queens of Kul. I, 332; 333, 346, 668-669.
Kalittogai, 4, 50
Kaliyuga era, 9.
Kallāḍam, a Poem of Kallāḍanār, 667-668.
Kalliyūr-mūlai, sack by the Hoysalas, 423.
Kalpi, 232.
Kalumalam, 63; battle, 51, 74
Kalyāṇapura — Kalyāṇī made the Calukya capital, 198, sacked by the Colas, 224, 255, 259, 272; 306, 419 conquest by Rajadhiraja I, 562, great road to, 594
Kalyāṇapuran-goṇḍa-śōḷa, title of Rajadhiraja I, 259.
Kalyāṇasundara, an aspect of Śiva, 646.
Kalyāṇī, wife of Arinjaya, Vaidumba Princess, 142, 153.
Kamadavalli, Caturvedimangalam, constitution of, 500
Kāmakkūṭṭam, 64
Kamalāvati, mother of Śenganān, 53
Kamalālaya-bhaṭṭa, author, 664
Kammāṇaccēri (artisans' quarter), 535.
Kāmarasavalli (Tri.), 490
Kāmārṇava, the Eastern Ganga King of Kalinga, 181.
Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, 78
Kamban, 25n, 667, 670-672, his son Ambikapati, 683.
Kambhoja, 26n; 216; (gift by its King of a stone to Kul. I), 317, 325; 596
Kampaharesvara (Tribhuvana-viresvara), temple of, 398, 720-722, 723, 734.
Kampa-madevi alias Tribhuvanamadevi, queen of Kul. I, 333.
Kampili, Calukya palaces destroyed by the Cōḷas, 253, 272
Kanakasenabhaṭāra, 655
Kaṇakka-vari, 532
Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai, 51, 72
Kāṇam, 578
Kāna-nāḍu, capture of, by Daṇḍanāyaka-Ravi-deva on behalf of Vira Somesvara, 433.
Kāñcī - Kāncana - Kāḍavakulāntaka, title of Vira Narasimha, 420.
Kancipuram (Ch.) legend of conquest by Karikāla, 36, 95; Yuan-chwang's stay at K. 102; 105, 132, 159, 178; Rajendra residing at, 204; Saivas imported from the Ganges region, 210; 255, 273, 294, 309, 322, 1327, 333, 372, 373, 377, 382, 387, 389, 390, 399, 404, 420, 428, 430, 434, 435, 436, 448, 458, 467, 473, 489, 503, 505, 526, 530, 548, 552, 589; (nagaram of), 594, 598, 601, 616, 620, 641, Buddhist vestiges at K. 645; (a Jaina centre in its suburb), 656, 657.
Kāndai or Karandai, where the Cōḷa awaited the Calukya, 265, 268.
Kaṇḍan, (title of Rājarāja II), 353
Kaṇḍan, Kārivarman, alias Rāmakūḍa Mūvar, Tiruvaḍi, a Mūṣaka King, 223.
Kaṇḍan Mangalattevan, alias Tuvarā pativēḷān, 375
Kandan Madhavan of Kulattur, 642.
Kandan Maravan, a feudatory, 503, 528.
Kandan Sundarattolan, alias Tuvarapati-Velan, 375.
Kandar-dinakaran, 255.
Kandavura Nuvara, 173.
Kangāni-mā-nellu, 532
Kankālamūrti, image of, 729
Kannara-deva Kṛṣṇa III, 127, 130, 131, 140; who took Kacci and Tanjai, 649.
Kaṇṇāṭa, 173, 314
Kanni, land of (Pandya country), 312; 394.
Kanni (= Parvati), 31
Kannivana-Purānam, 664
Kāṇi (tenure), 473, 492, 504, 540, 570, 574-575, 576, 580.
Kāṇi (weight), 573, 624
Kāṇik-kaḍan, 581
-kāṇi-uḍaiyār, 523, 539
Kanimurrūṭṭu, 507
Kaṇkāni, 658, 470
Kanmālar, 550
Kannadiyas, 427
Kaṇṇaki, 75, 78, 91
Kannakucci, 223; -yar, 248
Kaṇṇan, Kṛṣṇan, 94

Kannanur, defeat and death of Somesvara at the battle of, K. (1264), 437
Kaṇṇappar, 646
Kanauj, 223, 233, 248, 311 325
Kaṇhadāsa, Buddhadatta lived in a monastery at Kaveripattanam built by K. 101
Kannara country, 272
Kāntan, 18, 31
Kaṇṭhikā, necklace, 272
Kanyakubja, 229
Kanyākumārī was held to absolve a woman from the sin of incest, 91; 121, 265, 267, 270, 274
Kanyakumari Stone Inscription of Virarājēndra, 8, 31; on the foundation of Tanjore, 113, 117n, 116, 141, 198, 245, 267, 274, 687
Kāpālika school of Śaivism, 641, 648, 651
Kapilar, a Sangam poet, 43
Karadigal, a pillar of victory, set up by Virarajendra I, 272
Karanattān, 475
Karandai (Tanjore), The Plates of Rajendra I, 8, 113, 141, 176, 183, 195, 220, 602, 734
Kārāṇmai, 577, 578
Karhad, grant, 132
Kārigai of Amita Sāgara, 682, 685
Kārigai-Kulattūr, 353, 682
Karikāla Cōḷa, 2, 8, 20; his effort to civilize the nomadic tribes, 23, 30-1; his accession, 32; battle of Venni and Vakaipparandalai, 33, personal life, religion and death, 35; legends about him, 36; attempt to fix the Sangam age on the basis of a fifth century date for him, 63, 74, 90, 102, 116, 227; origin of the classes Valangai and Iḍangai traced to, 550, 584
Karikāla Cōḷa, 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya,' 157. See Aditya II.
Karikāla Cōḷa, title of Virarajendra, 246, 274
Karikāla Cōḷa, title of Kul. III, 398
Karikāla Cōḷa-deva who took Madura and Ilam (Rajadhiraja II), 372, 504,
Karikala Cōḷa-deva, 504; (K. Parakesari who raised the banks of the Kaveri), 583
Kārik-kaṇṇanār, of Kavirippumpattinam, 49
Kariyārrut-tuñjiya Neḍungilli, 38
Kariyāru, battle of, 36
Karnātas, 347, 424
Karṇāṭas, of Mithila, 210, 231, 233
Karpu, 93
Karpuravilai, 535
Karrali, queen of Vikrama Kesari, 155
Karralip-piratti, wife of Tennavan Ilangō-Vēḷār alias Maravan Pūdiyār, 155
Kārttigai-ariśi, 532
Kārttigai-paccai, 532
Karumigaḷ, 463, 465
Karuṇākaramangalam, type of *ēkabhoga-brahmadeya*, 578
Karuṇākarat-toṇḍaimān, generalissimo of Kulottunga I, Lord of Vandai, 322, 323, 333, 347
Karungasu, 617
Karungulal-Adanār, 35
Karur, Cera capital, 36; siege and capture of, 41
Karuvur, 42, 49, 51, 105, 266, 267, 377, 382, 385, 391, 398, 400, 431
Karuvurdevar, hymn on the Tanjore temple, 184
Kāśāyam, 532
Kassapa V, sovereign of Lanka, 121,
Kassapa, son of Mahinda V; ruled under the title of Vikkamabahu, 200
Kāśu, 399, 400, 427, 478, 479, 502, 525, 532, 533, 534, 537, 540, 555, 557, 558, 561, 573, 575, 586, 587, 599, 600, 614, 619, 620
Kāśu-kaḍamai, 533
Kāśu-koḷḷa-iṟaiyili, 540
Kāśu-koḷḷā-ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili, 535
Kāṭci-erudu-kāśu, 531, 573
Kaśyapa Gotra, of Renadu Cōḷas, 2, 104
Kaṭāha, 185, 211, 213, 217, 231
Kaṭṭi, 50
Kattumannarkoyil, 346
Kāṭṭūr, an Ayyapuḷal changed into a Virapaṭṭina, 597
Kāval-kāran, 533
Kātyāyana, reference to the Cōḷas, 20
Kauṭilya, 67, 233; on Pranaya, 522
Kaveri, 18, 19; origin of the Kaveri, 31, 49, 87
Kaverik-karai-viniyogam, 527
Kaveripattinam (= Khaberis of Ptolemy), 22; a celebrated emporium according to Pali books, 23; probably the Kolapattana of the *Questions of king Milinda*, 23, 31, 39, 53; Buddhadatta, 101
Kāvidi, a title, 88
Kavi-Kumuda-Candra alias Tirunārāyana-bhaṭṭa, 664
Kavirippum-pattinam alias Puhar (= Kaveripatnam), 25n; earlier name Campa, 31, 35, 39, 49; description of K., as in Sangam literature, 80-82
Kāvyādarśa of Dandi, 683
Kerala, 124, 125, 134; Kerala princess, 142; Rajaraja I's campaign, 169, 173,

197; K. war of Rajendra I, 201-3, 221-3, 245, 251, 256, 267, 273; reconquest by Kul. I, 310, 312, 313, 379, 380, 384, 649
Keralāntaka, 816
Kesava, the Calukya general, 176
Kesava-dandanayaka, 263
Kesavasvamin in the service of Rajaraja II, 686
Kesi, 268
Kettarasan, 263
Khaberis of Ptolemy (= Kaveripattanam), 22
Khidrapur, identified with Koppam, 256
Khmer, kingdom of Kamboja, 317, 325
Kia-lo-hi (= Grahi at Jaiya), 215
Kiḍāk-kāśu (cess on each head of male cattle), 531
Kiḍāram, 217
Kie-tch'a, Chinese form of Kaṭaha, 218
Kie-t'o (later form of Kie-tch'a = Kedah), 218
Kilaippālōr, 69
Kiḷān, 464
Kiḷānaḍigal, queen of Rajendra II, 265
Kilenilaya, The battle of, 367
Killi (= Cōḷa), 19, 37, 72
Killi, a Cōla king, 8, 116
Killi—the king who settled in Tenkavira-nadu, a clan of Brahmins exercising the right of crowning kings, 350
Killi-Vaḷavan of the *Manimekalai*, 37, 77
Killi-Vaḷavan who died at Kuḷamuṟram, 40
Kil-iṟai-pāṭṭam (smaller taxes), 531, 533
Kil-mugaveṭṭi, 467
Kirātārjunīya, image of, 646, 731
Kish (Qais), entrepot of Indian trade, 606-607, 609
Kitti, 250; assumed the title of Vijayabahu, 253; freed Rohana of enemies, 310
K'iu-tz'i, envoys of, to China, 606
Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, assumed title Śembiyan, 105
Kōccenganān, 8, 30, 51-3, 117
Kōdai-Pirāṭṭiyār, queen of Arinjaya, 152
Kōdaṇḍarāma, surname of Āditya I, 113
Kodandarama, another name of Rajaditya, grandson of Aditya I, 134
Kodandaramesvara, temple at Tondamanad, erected over Aditya's remains, 115
Kodavasal, Kudavayir-kōṭṭam, 72
Kodikkarukku (scroll work), 720
Kodikkavi, 680
Kodumbai, 125; see Koḍumbāḷūr.
Koḍumbāḷūr, 101; Vēḷir chiefs of, 125-6, 134, 145, 154, 155, 156, 165n, 595, 648
Koḍungōḷūr, 170
Kokkiḷān, mother of Rājāditya, 134, 142
Kola (= Cōḷa), 19
Kola-paṭṭana, 23
Kolāla (Kolar), 326, 327
Kolanu (mod. Ellore), 321, 366
Kolerun, anikat, 235
Kolhapur, 256, 257
Kōḷi, 46; Gaṇḍarāditya calls himself lord of K. 152
Kōl-kūli, 599
Koḷiñjivādi Plates of Acyutadevarāya, 438
Koḷiyak-kuḍaiyār (?) of Kuhur, 479-80
Kollam, fight at 347, 379, 384
Kollam, Rajaraja I's expedition against, 171
Kollā-maṭha, at Vārāṇasi, 642
Kollāpuram, conquest of (by Rajadhiraja I), 562
Koḷḷidam, 18; see Coleroon and Kolerun.
Koḷḷippākkai, 197; destruction of 224, 225, 330, 343
Kōl-nirai-kūli (toll on articles measured by weight), 530
Komaran Kulōttunga-Śōḷa-Caturvēdimangalam, 372
Kommayya, W. Calukya general, 254
Kommuru (Guntur dist.), 329
Kōnāḍu, 457
Konas, The, 387
Koṇḍa-Paḍumaṭi, 329
Koneri, Ūr of, 601
Kongāḷvas, a dynasty sub-ordinate to the Cōḷas, 172, 227, 618
Kongapperuvaḷi, 594
Kongas, 347
Kongu (desa) country, 51, 109n, conquered by Aditya I, 114, 115, 120, 174, 175, 326, 352, 367, 382, 391, 398, 400, 594, 665
Kongudēśa-Rājākkal, 14, 114
Kongu-maṇḍalasātakam, 665
Kongu-Vēḷir, author of *Perungadi*, 665
Konkana, 172
Konkan Mauryas, 27n
Koppam, 246, 248; battle of K. described, 256-61, 264, 270, 393, 683
Kōpperuñjinga, 10, 402, 403, 404, 429; 422-424; 429, 430, 432, 434, 436; (tyrannical rule of), 573

Kopperuñjōlan, 45-7, 70
Koranganātha, temple of, in Śrinivāsanallūr, 705, 710, 724, 727, 728
Korkai, The Śiva temple at, 695
Korrandai, Śeñjiyarkōn, chief of Jingi, Pugaḷēndi's Kalambakam, 673
Korraval, 94
Kosala(i)-nadu, 207, 232, 263; Kamban's description of, an idealised picture of a Cōḷa country, 671
Kosalai Southern, conquest by Rajendra I, 208-9; Purvarastra, 228
Kosar, 21
Kōṭas, The, 387
Kōṭṭam, 465
Kōṭṭam Vagai, 472
Kōṭṭagāram (granaries), 578
Kōṭṭams (temples), 641
Kōṭṭalkkarai, 18
Kōṭṭār, 203 fights at, 347
Kōṭṭāru (fortress), burnt at 312; settlement at K., 313, 456
Kovalan, 75, 78
Kovalaraya, title of the Malaiyamans, 405
Kovilur (Tj.), 400
Koyil Tevarayan-pettai, 648
Kovil-venni, in Tanjore dist., identified with Venni where Karikala won a victory, 32
Kovirajamarayar, 149
Kōvūr-kiḷār, on Nalangilli, 37; his address to Nedungilli, 39, 40, 43, 65, 70
Koyattur (in Chittoor dist.), 327
Kōyiloḷugu, 266, 345, on Koyil kottu, 355-6
Kōyil Vāśalil pōnda kuḍimai, 532
Kra, isthmus, 216
Krmikantha, who persecuted Ramanuja, identical with Adhirajendra or Virarājendra, 295, 644
Kṛṣṇa legends, 90, 94
Kṛṣṇā river, 253, 256, 265, 269-70, 437
Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, 10, 121, 126-34, 137n, 138n, 140, 143, 148, 151, 152-4, 156, 174, 179-80, 419, 600, 641, 687
Kṛṣṇadevaraya of Vijayanagar, 143, 168
Kṛṣṇa-ganam, 489
Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta, a devotional poem, by Bilvamangalasvami alias Lila-Suka, 688
Kṛṣṇalilasuka, 689
Kṛṣṇan Rāman, Senāpati of Amangudi, 188
Kṣatriya-Śikhāmani, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Kṣatriya-śikhāmani-kongāḷva, title bestowed on Manija by Rajaraja I, 172, 227
Kṣattracūḍāmani of Vādībha-simha (ed. by T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri), 666
Kṣemīśvara, author of *Caṇḍa Kausikam*, 229
Kṣetrapala, 188
Kublai Khan, (exchanges of missions between him and S. India), 609
Kuḍakkō Neḍuñjeral-Ādan, 50
Kūḍal, the seat of Tamil learning, 149, 379
Kūḍal-āḷappirandār alias Kāḍavarayar, 404
Kudali, at the junction of the Tunga and Bhadra, 265
Kudal-Sangamam, Virarajendra victor, 246; the battle of Mudakkaru identical with Kudal-Sangamam, 262-66; 267; Somesvara's absence, 268-70; 274; 303, 683
Kuda-malai-nadu (=Coorg, Kielhorn identifies it with Malabar), 171, 174
Kūḍalūr, 350, 353, 402, 404, 405, 419
Kuḍavāyir-Kōṭṭam, west gate prison in Kumbakonam, 51, 72
Kuḍa-vōlai, use of, 496, 505
Kuḍi (cultivators), 577
Kuḍimai, 502, 522, 523, 532, 582
Kuḍiñaikal, 618
Kuḍinīkkā-devadānam, 582
Kuḍinīkki, 578
Kudiraic-ceṭṭis, 607
Kudiraiccevagar (Cavalry), 454
Kudlur, plates of Marasimha, 138n
Kudumbu (ward), 496, 502, 517n
Kudumiyamalai (Pd.), 457
Kuhur (Tj.), 480
Kulam, 320, 321, 328; 578
Kulamurram, 40, 43, 44
Kulaśekhara (ālvār) 658 n. 13, 687
Kulasekhara, Jatavarman, Pandya, acc. 1190 A.D., 385, 393
Kulasekhara I, Maravarman, Pandya King, 1260-1308, 674; his minister, Vanan is the hero of the *Tanjaivānan Kōvai*, 674
Kulasekhara Pandya (of the civil war), 366-371, 278-379, 383, 385
Kulasekhara-Pandya-Kulantaka, title of Kul. I, 330
Kulottunga I, 1070-1120, 2, 11, 13, 14, 100, 131, 177, third Cola mission to China in 1077, A.D. 219; 228, Ceylon became independent of the Colas under K., 253; 261; married Madhurantaki, 265; land revenue assessment in Kollimalai-nadu in Rajamahendra's days, 266; 269, 274, accession of K. 285-298; relations between him and Vijayaditya, 289; his position in 1063-70, 290; evidence

of his early Tamil inscriptions, 291, literary evidence, 292; recognised the legitimacy of Adhirajendra, 293; was K. adopted into the Cola family? ib; his share in the troubles of Adhirajendra, 293-5; Summary, 297-8; acc, marks a new era 301; his historical introductions, 302; his early wars, 303; anarchy at accession, 304; his war with Vikramaditya VI, 305-3; Vengi, 309; loss of Ceylon, 310; the Pandyan war, 311-13; Velaikkara revolt, 314-15; relations with China, 316; with Kadaram, 317; his Viceroys in Vengi; 319; 1st and 2nd Kalinga wars, 321; extent of his empire, 323; extensive Indian connections, 325; loss of Gangavadi, 325-7; trouble in Vengi, 328; Titles, Sungadavirtta, 330-1; Capital, Family, 332; his feudatories, 333, 342, 345, 346, 352, 365, 373, 387, 393, 403, 419, 452, 456, 457, 472, 478, 492, 504, 511, 538, 549, 556, 560, 561, 582, 599, 606, 614, 615, 616, 618, 656, 663, 664, 668, 676, 682, 686, 695, 701

Kulottunga II, 12; Ula on 14; his acc; his works at Cidambaram, growth of sectarian intolerance; his removal of Govindaraja shrine from Cidambaram, 348, 644-5; his Capital, titles, 349; his feudatories, 350; 351, 402, 403, 474, 478, 490, 518n, 586; Pillaittamil on, 669, 676, 682, 717

Kulottunga III, 143, Cola empire holds well together till his time, 301, 351, 354, 360, 365, 371, 372; his reign, 375-407; his accession, his Prasastis, 375-76; disruption of the empire delayed, 377; Pandyan war, three campaigns, 378-386; his northern war, 386; relations to Telugucodas and the north, 387-90; conquest of Kongu, 391; Pandyan invasion of Cola country, 393-95; Hoysala intervention, 396; his death, 397; his building activities, 398; famine and famine relief, administration, 399-400; his feudatories, 401-407; Gangas 401; Kadavas, 402-4; Malaiyamans, Adigaimans, 405-6; decay of central control, 407, 417, 418, 419, 425, 436, 452, 479, 490, 499, 527, 551, 535, 616, 619, 640, 641; Guhai-idi-kalaham in his reign, 652, 674, 684; (the *Nannul* was composed in his reign), 684, 715, 716, 719, 720, 722

Kulottunga-Cola-Caritai by Tirunarayana Bhatta, also called Kavikumuda Candra, a Pandit from Manakulāśaniscēri in Tribhuvani, 664

Kulōttungan Pillaittamil, a child poem on Kulottunga II, 13, 14; 313, 669

Kulōttunga-śōḷa-Caturvedimangalam (Nandalur in Cuddapah dist.), 323

Kulōttunga-śōḷak-kacciyarāyan, 350

Kulōttunga-śōḷa-kāḍavar-Ādittan, 350

Kulottunga-śōḷak-kāḍavarāyan, 349

Kulōttungaśōḷa-Pērilamalaināḍu, 491

Kulōttungaśōḷan-ulā, 14; 348

Kulottungankovai, 360, 376, 391, 673

Kulpak, identified with Kollippakkai, 197, 198, 343

Kulūtēśvara, a feudatory of Vimalāditya, 231

Kumāra-Gaṇam, 489

Kumāra-Kaccāṇam (a small cess), 531, 613

Kumara(komara) Kulottunga, 372, 376, 397, 675

Kumara-mahidhara, 376

Kumara-mangalam, 493

Kumara-mattandapuram, 509

Kumarankusa, Cola Maharaja, 104

Kumbakonam, 19; treasury of Cola Kings of the Sangam, age 67; defeat of the Colas as the allies of the Pallavas in a battle near K. with Sri Mara Sri Vallabha, 105, 112, 227

Kumbhapanjara, The, 718

Kundalakesi, a Buddhist *Mahakavya*, 667

Kundamayan, 257

Kundavai, elder sister of Rajaraja I, 162n; daughter of Vanavan Mahadevi, 156; Rajaraja's affection towards her, 169; K-ceri, 186, 226, 228, 449, 579, 643; K. *matha* at Uttaramerur, 647; her gifts to the temple at Tanjore, 653, 656

Kundavai, the younger daughter of Rajaraja I, and younger sister of Rajendra I, marriage with Vimaladitya, 182, 186, 285.

Kundavai, sister of Kul I, 333

Kunderu, river, 103

Kundukala, 366

Kunivalanallur (Chingalpet dist.), 346

Kunjiramallar (elephant corps), 454

Kunnandarkoyil (Pd.), 490

Kunrai-valanadu in Tondaimandalam, 675

Kunrak-kūrram, 503

Kunrattūr (birth pace of Sekkilar), 675, 676

Kunra-vattanak-kōṭṭam, 548

Kūraik-kāśu, 531

Kurakam-padi, 534

Kunris, 525, 620, 624

Kuntalas, 257, 303, 422

Kuppama, daughter of Narayana, makes a gift to the Bhimesvara temple of Draksarama in 1055-6, 225
Kupakas, King of the, a local chieftain of South Travancore, 222
Kural, on Polity, 66-68; no mention of Kuḷus and Āyams, 69; 71, 92; 522
Kuram grant, of Parameśvaravarman I, 105
Kurāppaḷḷi, 40, 49
Kurava, women (regular sacrifice of goat by), 646
Kuravan Ulagalandan alias Rajaraja Maharajan of the Revenue Survey, 189
Kuṟi, 502
Kurram, 465
Kurran-dōṣam, 530
Kurruva-Nāyanār, 105
Kurugaippirān Piḷḷān, Ramanuja's disciple, 681
Kurundogai, 667
Kusumanjali of Udayana, 688
Kuttalam, Rajendra II's inscription, 265
Kūttam, 472, 499, 501, 502
Kūttan, 669-670, 686
Kūttapperumakkal, 472
Kuvalalam (Kolar), 160
Kuvalala-nadu, 352
Kwantan river, 217
Kyanzittha, ruler of Pagan, 325

Lāḍa, southern, Raṇaśūra of, 209
Lāḍa, Uttara, 208
Lakṣādhyāya Irāvaḷar of the Kollāmaṭha, 642
Lambakarnas, 350
Lambri of Marco Polo (= Ilāmuri-deśam), 217
Lampsacus, silver dish of, 87
Lanka (= Ceylon), 200, 223, 248, 311
Lankapura, Ceylonese dandanayaka—his part in the Pandyan civil war, 366, 367, 368, 369
Lankasoka, 211
Lankasuka, 218
Lan-wou-li of Chau Ju-kua (= Ilamuri-desam), 217
Lāṭa, 327
Lata chiefs, 188. See Iladaraya
Lepākṣi, Paintings in, 737
Leyden (Larger) grant, 8, 116, 131, 135, 141, 147, 149, 151, 153, 157, 185, 189, 213, 217, 220, on offices of administration, 466, 467; 483n, 504, 505, 507
Leyden grant, smaller, 316, 318, 656
Līlā-śuka alias Bilvamangalasvami, 688
Lilavati, queen of Vijayabahu and daughter of Jagatipala of Kanauj, 311
Lingapuranadeva, 646
The Lingaraj temple (of Bhuvaneśvar), 710
Lingodbhava, image of 728
Ling-ya-sseu-kia of Chau Ju-kua, 216, 217
Loboe Toewa (Sumatra), 319, 596, 608
Loka-mahadevi alias Danti Sakti Vitanki, queen of Rajaraja I, 186, 453
Lokamahadevi, queen of Rajamahendra, 266
Lo-ts'a-lo-ts'a (= Rajaraja) first Cola mission to the Song rulers of China in 1015: 219, 605
Laxmi, Tiru, 201

Ma'bar (Coromandel coast), 608, 609
Maḍa-aḍimaigal, 556
Māḍai, 614-617
Madam (N.A.), 375
Maḍappuram, 505
Madavilagam (S.A.), 456
Madevadigal, a daughter of Rajaraja, the Great, 187
Mādhava, son of Venkataraya and Sundari, author of Bhasya on the Rg Veda, 686-687
Mādhavi, mother of Manimekalai, 23, 77, 91
Madhurantaka, donor of Rajapura plates from Bastar, 208
Madhurantaka, title of Parantaka I, 122
Madhurantaka, title of Rajendra I, 202, 206
Madhurantaka, title of Sundara Cola, 140; Udaiyar Madhurantakan Sundara Solan, 145
Madhurantaka, alias Colendra son of Virarajendra, 267
Madhurāntakan-māḍai, 586, 614, 616
Madhurantaka Pottappic-Cola alias Eramasiddha, 389, 430, 505
Madhurantakan Gandaradittan, son of Madhurantaka Uttama Cola? 158; 188
Madhurantaka Uttama Cola, 142, 614
Madhurantaki, daughter of Rajendra II and wife of E. Calukya Rajendra II, alias Kulottunga I, 265, 285, 288, 293, 332
Madhurantaki, sister of Kul I, 333
Madhurāpura (Southern), claim of capture by Visnuvardhana, 327
Madhyasthas, 510-511, 517n
Madras 547; quarrels between the *Valangai* and *Idangai* classes in, 550

Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktiraja, 438; of Uttama Cōḷa, 160, 516n, 530, 557
Madura 43, 75, 83, 89, 106; raided by Parantaka I, 121, 122, 124-5; captured by Rajaraja I, 170, 366, 367, 368-372, 378, 382, 383, 385, 393, 398, 399, 547, 583, 617, 618, 666, 674, 677
Maduraikonda, title to Parantaka I, 121
Maduraikonda Parakesari, 145
Maduraikonda Rajakesari, 140, 142, 144; identified with Sundaracola Parantaka II, 145, 153, 463
Maduraimandalam. destroyed by Rajendra I, 207; part of Māśuṇideśam, 208
Maduraiyum Īḷamumkoṇḍa, title of Parantaka I, 122
Maduraiyum Pandiyan mudittalaiyum Kondaruliya, Kul III's title, 377, 383
Madurantaka, title of Sundara Cola, 145
Madurantakan, title of Uttama Cola, 142; installed Arumoḷi as Yuvaraja, 158, 188
Maduvanan, Calukya general, 263
Magadai-mandalam, 401
Magadha, 347
Magadha country 36; artisans 88; no evidence of the rule of the Rastrakutas, 229
Magara Kingdom, 423
Mahabalipuram, 604, 641, 736
Mahābhārata 11; origin of human marriage, 93, 512, 629, 687; Panels 785
Mahadandanayaka, for the Ganga and Vengimandalas, 177
Mahadeva, temple at Tiruccendurai built by Bhuti Aditya Bhaṭṭārikā, 703
Mahaganga (= Mahawaeliganga), 24
Mahalanakitti, the mighty, 250
Mahālingasvāmi, The, temple of Tiruvidaimarudur, (910 A.D.), 706
Mahamandalesvara-Gururaja Rudradeva-sola Maharaja (1554 A.D.), 438;
Mahamatra, 472
Mahāmōḍi, 646
Mahanagakula, 311
Maharaja, the powerful chief of Jatacoda Bhima, killed by Saktivarman, 181
Maharajadhiraja, title of Virarajendra, 274
Maharajasimha, 422. See Kopperunjinga
Maharajavadi (7000), 259; (Padi), 390
Mahasabha, 489, 500, 501, 502, 532, 540, 645
Mahasabhai Elaimbadinmar, 550
Mahatittha, 121, 173, 311, 315; (Matottam), 369
Mahavamsa, 3; on the early intercourse between the Cola country and Celyon, 23-25, 53-55, 121-24, 154, 174, 199, 213, 216, 223, 249-53, 271, 310, 314, 350, 365, 366, 367, 368, 372
Mahaveliganga, 311
Mahavratins, 648, 649
Mahawaeliganga, ancient Mahaganga, 24
Mahendramangalam (battle between the Pandyas and the Hoysalas), 424, 495, 536
Mahendra mountain, 321
Mahendra Varman, Pallava, 105, 641, 723
Mahendra-Vikrama-Varman, Telugu-Cōḍa, 103.
Mahesi, 251
Māheśvaras, 427, 491, 526, 556, 603, 645
Mahinda IV, Ceylon King, 154
Mahinda V, Ceylon King; expedition of Rajaraja against Celyon in the reign of 172; invasion of Rajendra I, 199; deportation of, by Rajendra 200, 249
Mahinda VI, 384
Mahipala, the Gurjara ruler, 229-34.
Mahipala, Pala King, 207, Rajendra's victory over 208, and 229-34
Mahodai, Conquest by Rajendra I, 196
Mahodaya, 233
Mahratha smiths, 88
Mahrathas, feudatory of Vikramacola, 347
Maikal range, 228
Malabar (Coast), trade with Malaya in the hands of the Tamils, 85
Malada chieftain, a feudaotry of Colas, 161
Malainadu (= Malabar) 7; (mountain country or Kudamalai-nadu or Coorg), 172; 592, 601, 607
Malaiyalis, their influx into the Cola country, 134
Malanad, 458
Malayaman chiefs, 43; sons of 17 tried in the manram of Uraiyur, 70, 156
Malaiyamāns of Kiliyur, 405, 534
Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikkāri, 43
Malaiyanur, 406
Malaiyur, 211; 215
Malakka, straits, 217
Malamadesvarasa, 430
Malambi (Coorg), 272
Malari (Kuttan's birth-place), 669, 670
Malavvi, 172

Malaya archipelago, South Indian influence in the 319, 459, 604
Malaya mountain, abode of Agastya, 201
Malaya Peninsula, trade with India, 85-6, 194, 215, 216, 218, 220, 382
Malaya river, 215
Maldives, Rajaraja's conquest of old Islands of the sea numbering 12,000, 183, 194, 202, 459.
Malepadu plates, 15n, 36, 101; genealogy of the Telugu Colas, 103-4
Maleya (Malabar), 172
Māligai-kōl, 621
Malkhed (Manyakheta), 198, 231
Mallai, Kopperunjinga ruler of, 424
Mallapadeva, 328
Malli Cōḍa, a Mahamandalesvara Tribhuvanamalla, of Hemavati, 400-401
Mallikarjuna of the Kalamukha sect, 648
Malurpatna (Bangalore), 601
Malwa, 175, 198, 232
Māmūlanār, a Sangam poet on Moriyar, 20, 21
Mānābharanam, 221, 252; Pandyan M. decapitated by Rajadhiraja I was, according to Hultzsch, the ancestor M., the nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabahu I, 276n; 370
Ma-nagaram (of Kanci), 503
Manai-irai (house tax), 532
Manai-irai-śōru, 532
Manaik-kāṭcip-peru, 531
Mānakkavāram, 213 (= Nicobar), 217
Manali, assembly of, 471
Manalur, 307, 308
Manavāḷagan-gaḍandār of Tiruvadi, 680
Manavil, 333
Mandalams, 177, 186
Mandala-mudaliyar, 472
Mandala-Puruṣa, 685
Mandara-gauravanar Kundadeviyar, 226
Māndaran-jeral-irumporai, Cera, 48
Mandira ōlai, 467
Mangaiyark-karasi, 105
Mangalam (agrahara), 492, 493, 494
Mangalam (S. A.), 424; (Sm.) 480
Mangalambika shrine the (Kandiyur), 715
Manigrāmam, 459, 488
Manija, his heroism in battle of Panasoge rewarded, 172; title of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi Kongāḷva conferred on him, 227
Manimangalam inscription of Rajadhiraja I, 253, 256, 261; of Virarajendra, 267, 269, 270
Manimēkalai, 3, 31, 37, 55, 46 on five modes of disposing of the dead, 64; on Kulus and Āyams, 69, 78, 86, 88, 90-92, 94, 95, 107n, 238n; 667
Manimēkhalā, sea-goddesses after whom the heroine and the poem *Manimēkalai* are called, 23
Mañjāḍi, 525, 572, 599, 624
Manmasiddha (alias Nallasiddha), 388
Mannarkoyil (Tin), 511
Manrāḍis, 588; Kalanai of, 490
Mantra-Brahmana, knowledge of, qualification of members of the Variyam, 497
Mantris, 463
Manumasiddharasa, (his title of Calukya-Narayana), 430
Manumasiddhi, Tikka's son, 435
Mannaikkaḍakkam (Mānyakheṭa), 197, 198
Mannaikonḍa-śōḷa, a mandapa at Tiruvorriyur, 199
Mannandippai, its palace was burnt by Cōḷās, 254
Mannar-kovil (Tin.), 203
Manram, hall, 70, 71, 79
Mantota, 173
Manu (Cōḷa) legend of the calf, 8
Mānūr, (assembly of), 486, 495, 506
Mānyakheṭa identical with Mannaikkadakkam (=Malkhed), 198
Māppāḷam, 211, 216
Marakatadevar, 458
Maramaraiyar, 114
Māṟanjadaiyan, Trichinopoly inscription of, 105
Māran Paramesvaran, an officer of Parantaka I, 127; raid on Nellore, 152
Marappaḍai, 379, 382
Mārāṣi, feminine form of Mārāyan, 462
Marasimha, father of Prthvipati II, 114
Maravan Narasimha Varman, a Bana prince, 188
Maravadai, 533
Maravas (Samantas), 370, 379, 386
Māra-Vijayottunga Varman Sri, Lord of Sri Visaya, 185, 213, 219
Marayam, 226
Mārāyan, 263, 462
Marayan Arumoli alias Uttama Sola Brahmarayan, 226
Marco Polo, 15; his Lambri (Ilamuridesam), 217, 455, 460, 607, 609
Marijādi (customary dues), 531
Markanam, 22; salt pans at, 593
Marathi, inscription of, 1803, Tanjore, 7
Māri Venkō, Cera, 48
Māṟōkattu Nappaśalaiyār, 43, 44
Marudattur-udaiyan, 664

Maruvur-pakkam, one of the two parts of Puhar, 81
Māsanam, 70
Maski, The battle of, 206
Māśāttanār, of Āḍuturai, 45
Māśuni-dēśa (= the land of the snakes), 207, 208
Matangesvara, temple of, in Kanci-puram, 697
Mathas, 400, 452, 595, 628, 629, 632, 633; Vaisnavite, M. 647; M. of the Kalamukhas at Kodumbalur, 648, 650, 651
Mattikavatatatittha, 315
Mattiyur, 382, 385
Matottam, 455
Ma Tuan-lin, 317
Maula (hereditary), 457
Mauryas of Konkan, 101
Māvalattān, younger brother of Na-langilli, 36, 37
Māvankilli alias Neḍungilli, Killi-valavan, 37
Mayilai-nāthar, on the *Nannūl*, 685
Mayirudingam, 211, (= Ji-lo-ting the the region of Jaiya in the centre of the Malaya peninsula), 215
Mayūranātha temple of Mayavaram (Tj.), 696
Medava Mahadevi, wife of Vimala-ditya, 285
Medini-Vallaba, title of Virarajen-dra, 274
Melappaluvur (Tri.), 187
Melpadi (N.A.), 132, 142, 154, 153, 187
Mēlvāram, 539, 585, 586
Mēṟkelundarulina-dēvar, name of Gandarāditya, 152
Mēṟ-pāḍi-kāval, 534
Mevilimbangam, 211; not possible to identify, 216; sought in Perak by Rouffaer and Karmaranga by S. Levi, 242n
Meykaṇḍār, 679
Meyk-kirttikaḷ, 5
Meypporuḷ-nāyanār, 646
Mihindu, Vessagiri slab inscription of, 155
Milada(u) (2000), 266
Milinda-Panha, 216
Mimāmsa, provision for study of, 629, 630
Miraj grant (1024 A.D.), 205
Mithila, 209; the Karnatas of, 210
Mittā, sister of Vijayabāhu—married a Pāṇḍyan Prince, 311
Mitāksarā, 549
Mī-yālun-gaṇam, 494
Mīyāṭci, 577
Mohan Alappirandan, Kudal, alias Kadavarayan, 404
Mohur (South Arcot dist.) chieftains of, 20, 21
Moriyar (= Mauryas), 20, 21
Mōsi, the lame (Muḍamōsiyār), 49
Mt D'Eli, 222
Mucukundesvara, The, temple of Kodumbalur (C. 912), 707
Mudaliyars, The santānas of, 650
Mudakkāru, battle of, same as Kudal Sangamam, 262, 264, 274, 281n
Mudaligal, 355, 501
Muḍamōśiyār, 49
Muḍar-paḍai-kalanaiyār, 595
Mudigondacola, title of Rajendra I, 227
Mudigonda-solapuram, confused with Gangai-konda-colapuram, 227
Mudikonḍa-śōḷan, 267
Mudikonḍa-śōḷapuram, 332; (Palai-yāru), 346; (alias Āyiraitaḷi), 386, 393, 421
Mudikonda-sola-caturvedi-mangalam, 490
Mudikondasolamandalam (alias Gangapadi), 472, 483n
Mudit-talai-konda-solapuram (Madura), 382
Muḍittalaik-kōpperu-narkilli Cōḷa, 49
Mudi-valangu-śōḷa, title of Kul. III, 398
Mudi-valangu-sola-caturvedimangalam, 398
Mudi-valangu-solapuram (alias Karuvur), 398
Mudukaṇṇan Śāttanār, Uṟaiyūr, 39, 95
Mūlam-kilār of Āvūr, 42, 66, 92
Mukavetti (Sri-mugavetti), 467, 468, 470
Mukkōkkilān, queen of Kul. II, 349
Mukkokkilan, queen of Rajendra I, 228
queen Mukkokkilan, of Rajaraja II, 351
Mukkokkilanadigal, queen of Vikrama-cola, 346
Mukutesvara, temple of, 697
Mūlaparuḍai, 599
Mūla-pariṣat (Mūla-paruṣai), 500
Mūlaparuṣai(dai)(yār), 489, 494, 500, 501
Mulasthanam-udaiyar, Sri (at Ennayiram), 646
Mulgund inscription (1053 A.D.), 256
Mullai flower, 75
Mullaiyur, ancient, 221
Mummadi-cola-deva, title of Gandaraditya, 142
Mummadicola-deva, title of Rajaraja I, 169, 172, 186
Mummadi-sola, a title of Ambalavan Paluvur-nakkan, 160
Mummanik-kōvai, of Kamban, 672
Mummudi-sola-mandalam, Northern Ceylon, a Cōḷa province, 173

Mummuḍi-śōḷa-pōśan alias Irāyiravan Pallavaraiyan, an Officer of Rājarāja I, 189
Munaiyar, 347
Munisandai record (on the Ainnurruvar), 596
Munnur, 353
Mūṉṟukai-Mahāsēnai, 455, 456
Muṟaippāḍu (plaintiff's case), 474
Muruga(n), 32, 80; the favourite deity of the Tamils, 94
Mūṣakavaṁśam, a Kāvya on the Musaka Kings, 222
Mūṣaka Kings, 222; Mūṣaka country, 223
Mūṣaka hill, 222
Muśangi, Jayasimha turned his back at M. 204; 205; 224
Musiris, 83
Muttamilkkut-talaivan, title of Rājarāja II, 351
Mūtta-nambirāṭṭiyār, queen of Uttamacōḷa, 160
Muttaraiyar(s), 112, 113
Mūvaḍi-cōḷa-Rājāditya, 131
Mūvarkōvil, *Vimāntrayam* at Koḍumbāḷūr, built by Vikramakesari, 648; description of 707-709, 717, 721
Muyangi, 204. See Musangi
Mysore, Rajaraja I's expedition into Mysore, 174, 177; 194, 198, 204, 226

Naccinārkkiniyar on Veḷḷāḷar, 87; (Kāḷagam=Kaḍāram), 218, 666, 685
Nāḍaka-magaḷir, 78
Nāḍāḷvān, 477
Nāḍu, rāṣṭra, 66, 465, 477, 489, 490, 491, 503, 504, 505, 507, 527, 531, 538, 646
Naḍukal, stone planted to mark the spot of a hero's death, 47
Nāḍu-kiḻavan, 466
Nāḍu-kūṟu (Settlement Officer), 472
Nāḍu-vagai, 456, 472, 555
Naḍuvirukkai, 467, 468
Nāga, family, 20
Nāgadīpa, 154
Nāgalai, daughter of Cāmuṇḍarāja, 263
Nagamangala Taluk (Mys.), 326
Nāgapaḍams (motifs), 721
Nagaram, 492, 503, 505, 506, 508, 522, 527, 598-599
Nagarangal, 507
Nagarattar, of Kaccippedu, 166n, 526
Nāgavaṁśi King, 292
Nāgavaṁśi, copper plates (1065 A.D.), 208
Nāgavaṁśi ruler Dhārāvarṣa, 303
Nāga-vaṁsodbava, Kings of the Chindaka family, 208
Negesvara, temple of, at Kumbakonam, 703, 706, 723, 724, 735
Naippur, battle of, 125
Nakkaṉṉai, 50
Nakkavaram, 213; (= Nicobar), 217. See Manakkavaram
Nakkirar, 43
Nalangilli, the foe of Nedungilli, 19, 36; a sketch of, 37-9; 40
Nalavenbā of Pugaḻēndi, 673
Nālāyirakkōvai, 669
Nālikais, divisions of time, 82
Nalkote, 132
Nalladikkōn, son of Śenganān, 53
Nallaman, 376
Nalla-siddha, son of Madhurantaka Pottappic-cola Eramasiddha, 388
Nallasiddha alias Manmasiddha, 388-390; 412-413n
Nallasiddha, brother of Erasiddha, 390
Nalodaya, of Vasudeva, 688
Nālūr, Saba of, 509
Nallur (Tj.), 296
Nalluruttiransolan, 50
Nālmaḍi Bhima, title of Araiyan Rajarajan alias Vikramacola Coliyavaraiyan, the general of Rajendra I, 205
Nal-vayalur, 504
Nāmanaikkōnam, part of Māśuṇidesam, 207, 208
Nambi Andar Nambi, 12, 13, 51, 106; author who arranged the Saiva Canon, 637, 638, 675, 677, 678
Nambi Ārūran (Sundaramūrti), 475
Nambihalli (Mys.), 225
Nambikāḍa Nambi, 678
Nambi Neḍuñjeliyan, 50
Nambaya, Mahamandalesvara, Lord of Kollipaka, 343
Nambillai, 681
Nambirāja, son of Malla, 330
Nambiyahapporuḷ of Nāṟakavirājanambi, 674, 684
Nammālvār, 638, 681
Nānādeśis, 595-597
Nānādēśiya-daśamaḍi eri-vīrappaṭṭina (Siravalli), 597
Nānārthārṇava-saṁkṣepa, a Sanskrit lexicon, 686
Nānasambandar, 6, 53
Ñānasambandar, 636, 637, 678
Ñānaśivadeva alias Umāpatideva, 373
Nandalur alias Kulottunga-sola-caturvedimangalam, 323, 350
Nandas, 20, 233
Nandā-viḷakku, 6
Nandipura(m) Sundaracola, King of, 157, 187
Nandivarman, Kasyapa gotra, Renadu Cōḷa, 103
Nandivarman III, Pallava, 104

Nangaivaraguna Perumanar, sister of the Cola King, 155
Nangili, 307, 327
Nāngūr, 35; brick temple at, 697
Nanjinad, 203
Nandan, the Pariah saint, 568, 647
Nandikkalambakam, 662
Nannamarayar, Vaidumba chief, 188
Nannayya Bhatta, the composer of *Āndhra Bhārata* (1051-2), 225
Nannilam, 53
Nanni-Nulumban, Calukya leader killed at Koppam, 257
Nannūl, of Pavanandi, 401
Naralokavira, 314, 333, 334, 345; (Arumbakkilan Ponnambalakkuttan alias N.), 347
Narasimha, Calukya chief, 233
Narasimhavarma, a Colasamanta, 327
Narasimhavarman I, 105
Narasimhavarman, a feudatory of Rajendra II, and chief of Miladu, 266
Narasimha-varman alias Kari-kalasola Adaiyur Nadalvan, a Malaiyaman, 405
Narasimha II, Vira (Hoysala) (his intercession in Cola affairs), 378, 423-425, 428, 429. See Vira Narasimha
Narasinga-munaiyadaraiyar, a contemporary of Sundaramurti, 405, 727
Narasinga Vikkirama Virar, 457
Naravahana, son of Udayana, 665
Narayana, author of the Sanskrit Prasasti of the Tiruvalangadu plates, 195
Narayana Bhatta, a Minister of Somesvara, 256
Narayana-kramavittan, 539
Narayanapuram, merchant communities of 595
Nārkavirāja-nambi, author of *Nambiyahapporul*, 684
Nāṭakaśālas, 506, 512
Nataraja temple at Cidambaram, Parantaka I, covered it with gold, 152; Vikrama Cola's gifts to, 342, 344, 345; Kul II's works at 348; 643; icon of N. 728-731
Nāthamuni, who arranged the Vaiṣnava canon, 638, 639
Nāṭṭār, 467, 504, 507
Nāṭṭarasa, 471, nāṭṭarāja, 478
Nāṭṭuk-kaṇḍu-kāṭci, 472
Nāṭṭukkōn, 466
Nāṭṭuppaḍai, 457
Navacola-caritra, 14
Navarāma, 103
Navile-nad (Navilai), 308
Nayavivekadīpika, by Varadaraja, 688
Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi, 37
Nedumpirai, merchant communities of 595
Neḍungiḷḷi, Kāriyārruttuñjiya, 38
Negapatam, 19 (Nikama of Ptolemy) 22; Buddha image of solid gold looted by Tirumangai Alvar 107; Buddhist monastery at N., 157; Cūḍāmaṇi Vihāra, 185, 220, building of two Buddhist Viharas by the King of Kaḍāram, 318, 504, 656
Nellore, northern limit of Parantaka's empire, 121; 152, 178
Nellur, merchant communities of, 595
Neminādam (of Guṇavīrapaṇḍita—called after the *tirthankara* Neminatha), 684
Nenjuviḍu-tūtu, 680
Nēriyan Madeviyar, Nambirāṭṭiyār, queen of Vikramacola, 346
Nettūr battle of, 380, 384
Niccapaṭṭālagan, (the sculptor), 726
Nicobars, 213, 217
Neydalanganal, 49
Nidubrolu, 343
Nigamana, 55
Niganṭu-cūḍāmaṇi, 685
Nigarili-sola, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Nigirili-sola-Caturvedimangalam, 596
Nikama (= Negapatam), 22
Nilakanthesvara temple (at Laddigam), 717
Nimbaladevi, wife of Indaladeva, 226
Niranjanaguru, 649
Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇamu by Tikkana, 434
Niṣkas, 613
Niśśankamalla of Ceylon, 384
Niśśankamalleśvara, 385
Niṣumbhasūdinī Durgā, 110
Nittapperaraiyan (grand-master of the dance), 462
Nittavinoda-Sambuvarayan, feudatory of Rajaraja II, 353
Nityavinoda, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Nivandam, 557
Niyamam, 112
Niyāyattār, 491, 494, 513
Niyogam, 502
Nolambadhiraja, Corayya, 175
Nolambas, 120, 127, their relation with the Gangas, 175; 224; see Nulumbas.
Nolambavāḍi, 174, 224; see Nulumbapāḍi.
Nṛpa-kama (Hoysala), 325
Nṛpatunga, Kopperunjinga's title, 424
Nṛpatungavarman, 113
Nulambadhiraja (Kul III, official), 400
Nulambadaraya, 499
Nulumbapadi, 176; see Nolambavādi.
Nulumbas, 268, 430; see Nolambas.
Nungama, queen of Nallasiddha, 388

Nuniz, 168
Nūrmaḍi Cōḷa Rājēndra Vidyādhara, son of Rajaraja Nityavinoda advanced against Satyasraya, 178
Nuruganda, vassal of Somesvara, 255
Nuvaragiri, 311
Nyāyapraveśa, 55
Nyāyattār (judges), 467, 473, 491

Odda-(visaya), 207; (= Orissa), 208
Oddas, 205, 206
Ōlai, 468, 469
Ōlai-nāyagam, 467, 469
Ōlai-eḻudum, 467
Oḷiyar, a Naga tribe, 35
Oḷugu, 536
Ōmkāradeva, Iravalar, 642
Ōmkārasundari, Goddess of, 646
Oppu (comparison), 468
Orattanan (Urattayan) Sorabbaiyar Agramahadeviyar or Muttanambirattiyar or Tribhuvanamahadeviyar, 160
Oratti (Chingleput), 420. See Uratti
Orissa, 208, 231
Orungallu, 391
Orthura regia Sornati (= Uraiyur), 22
Oṭṭa King, 207 Rajendra's victory over, 231
Oṭṭakkūttan, 13, Kaviccakravarti, 14, 116, 137, 351; his Paraṇi on Vikrama-cōḷa's Kalinga war now not available, 664, 669, 670, 672, 673, 684
Ovāda-kūttar, the grand-son of Oṭṭakkūtan (set up Saraswati shrine), 670
Ovikula, 548

Pabhuparru, plates of Saktivarman, 180
Pāccur, 423
Pāḍi-kāppār, 534
Padaipparru, 505
Paḍai-vīdu (camp), 356
Paḍaiyilār (the military), 537
Pādāvikoṇḍa Narasinga Pottaraiyar, 111
Padaviya, 191n
Paḍi, 572
Pāḍikāval (village watch), 533-534
Padmakōśa, 718
Paes, 168
Pagan, King of 216; embassy from, to China, 317, 318; Burmese story of the conversion of a Cola Prince to Buddhism by Kyanzittha of, 325
Pahang, 217
Paiśāca, form of marriage, 64
Pāki-nāḍu, conquered by the chief of Kāru-kuḍi, 178, 458
Paḷaiyan-Māran, 43
Paḷaiyanūr, 466, 507
Paḷaiyāru, 227, 449
Paḷaiyanūr-Uḍaiyān, Vedavanam Uḍaiyān, Ammaiyappan alias Aṇṇan Pallavarayan, 369, 373
Palam-puḷḷi-mādai, 616
Palangāśu, 537, 619
Palembang, on the east coast of Sumatra, 214-16
Paḷiyili-ainnūṟṟuvar, 457
Pallavaniccaram, 25n
Pallavas, their inscriptions, 4; 156, 170, 404, 459, 486, 662
Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai (Tj.); P. inscription of the 8th year of Rajadhiraja II, discussed, 354-60, 368
Pallavarāyar of Kārigai Kulattūr, 355-59, 367, 371; (Tiruccirrambalam-Udaiyan, Perumanambi), 373, 376
Pallavatilaka, race, 114
Pallaravayar Kalappalarayan of Kunrattur, younger brother of Sekkilar, 676
Palli (a revenue term), 572
Palli (Jain or Buddhist temple), 452, 460, 655, 657
Pallic-candam, 318, 493, 505, 507, 655
Paḷḷip(p)aḍai, 143, 153, 453
Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar chieftains, 125, P. Princess, 187
Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kandan Amudanār, 122
Paluvettaraiyar Kandan Maravan, Adigal, a feudatory of Rajaraja I, 187
Paḻuvūr, 187
Pamaḷūr, a Cera fortress, 49
Pampa, The, 322
Panai, old Pannai, 215
Pancavanmadevisvara in Ramanathan koyil, 453
Pancavan Mahadeviyar, 451
Pāṇḍikkōvai, 662
Pānan, 50, 382
Pānar, 76, 82
Panca-ganga: Fleet's identification of its confluence with Krishna as Kudal Sangam, 281n
Pancapandavamalai, 188
Pancapalli, part of Masunidesam, 207, 208
Pancavan-madeviyar, wife of Pillaiyar Sola-Vallabadeva, 259
Pancavan-Madeviyar, queen of Rajendra I, 228
Pancavanmaraya, title of Rajendra I, 172; Mahadandanayaka ruled over Ganga and Vengimandalams, 187
Pancavas, the race, 49

Pandian, of the Periplus, 22
Pandimandalam, 312, 368, 382
Pandita Cola, title of Rajendra I, 227, 254n.
Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-iṟakkina, 140; title of Sundara Cola, 145
Pāṇḍiyanai-ven-kaṇḍa-śōḷa-catm, Iḍavai, 117n.
Pandiyan-talai-konda (Vira) Parakesari, 140, 148
Panduranga, in Campa: Rouffaer's identification of Valaippanduru, 242n
Pandya-cola, the Mahapataka Tamilian devastated the Belavola country, 258
Pandya, country, 7, 32, 196, 221-3, 245, 253
Pandyakhandana, title of Narasimha II, 396
Pāṇḍya-kulāntaka, title of Vīrarajendra, 274
Pāṇḍya - kula - Samrakṣaṇadakṣa - dakṣiṇa-bhuja, title of Vīra Somesvara Hoysala, 432-433
Pāṇḍya-kulāśani, title of Rājarāja I, 186
Pandyan inscriptions, 9
Pandya-raja, royal official, 400
Pandyas, The 20, 169-171, 199; Kul. I's reconquest of 310; his war with P. 311-13; 347; civil war 354, 355, 358, 359, 360, 365-372, 376; Imperialism of the P. affected the Colas, 377; P. war under Kul. III, 378-386; invasion of Cola country, 393-397; 424-25, 428, 429; Rajendra III's wars against, 432-433, 435; Pandyan expansion, 437; 486, 662
Panei, 215
Panimakkal, 463, 465
Pan-mahesvarar, 489
Pannai, 211, 215
Pannan, the lord of Śirukuḍi; friend of Killivaḷavan, 40, 77
Papphalam, a Port in Ramanna in the Talaing country of Burma, 213, 216. See Mapappalam.
Paradavar, 79
Paraicceri, 535
Parakesari, 503, 655
Parakesaripuram, 503
Parakkoma, Ceylonese Prince slain in the Cola war, 251-2
Parakramabahu I, of Ceylon, 216; 311, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 378, 383, 384
Parakramabahu II of Ceylon (1236 A.D.), 423
Parakkamabahu, ally of Kop-perunjinga, 423
Parakrama Pandya 327; (of the civil war), 366, 371, 378
Paraman Maḷapāḍiyār alias Mummaḍisōḷan, conquered Śītpuli-nāḍu and Pākināḍu, 178, 187
Parameśvara-varman I, 105
Paripāḍal, 686
Parivāras, 450
Parmaras, hostility between the W. Calukyas and the P. 175; their attack of the W. Calukyas, 178, 198
Paraṇar, 33, 50
Parandur, record of Parthivendravarman, 150
Parankorranar, a Sangam poet, 26n
Parantaka, son of Vikramakesari by Karraḷi, 155
Parantaka, title of Kul I, 330
Parantaka I, delay between royal order of grant and time of engraving, 9; Gramam, inscription of, P, 16n; date of his acc. fixed by Kielhorn, 111, 113, 114; reign of P. 120-139; extent of the empire under P. 120; Pandyan war, 121-23; Ceylon war, 124; allies of P., 125; war with the Banas, 126; war with the Vaidumbas, 127-8; policy of P., 129; Rastrakuta invasion, 129-33; close of reign, 133-34; 140, 142, 144; Maduraikonda Parakesari, 145; the *Tiruviśaippā* refers to his conquest of Madura and Ilam and to his covering the temple of Nataraja with gold, 152, 155; Cola expansion up to Nellore, 178, 187, 200, 345, 379, 453, 466, 486, 489, 496, 507, 678; patron of Venkata Madhava, author of *Ṛg Veda bhāṣya*, 687, 703, 705, 706
Parantaka-deva; three inscriptions of the ninth year, 161n.
Parantaka II (Sundara Cōḷa), 141, 142, 153, 155, 168, 174, 638, 648
Paranjoti—his *Tiruvilaiyāḍal-Purāṇam*, 677
Parantaka Iḷangōvēḷār, a title of Vikrama Kesari showing his subordinate relation to Parantaka II, Sundara Cōḷa, 155
Parantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar, 226
Parantaka-Pandya, contemporary of Vikramacōḷa, 321, 366
Parantakan Siriyavēḷār of Kodumbālur, his expedition to Ceylon and his death, 154, 155
Parantaka Vīranārāyaṇa, Śrī, Pāṇḍya king Aditya I's contemporary, 115, 120
Parasurama, 31, 201, 222
Parigi, ancient Parivi, 126

Parimelalagar: on Poyya Vilakkam, 16n; on origin of the name Cōḷa, 19, 70; on Uruporuḷ, 96n, 686
Parivi, later capital of the Banas, 126
Parthivendra Aditta Parumar, perhaps identical with Aditya II, 149
Parthivendradhipati-Varman, 141
Parthivendra Aditya Varman, Viceroy of Tondaimandalam and a prince of the royal family, 148; Parthivendra, a title of Aditya II, 149
Parthivendra Varman, 140, 142, 147, perhaps identical with Aditya or Karikala Parakesari, 148-49; the date of his Parandur record discussed, 150-51, 155, 156, 159, 497
Pāśi, 367, 368
Pataliputra, 20
Pati-pāda-mūlattār, 489
Pattadakal, temples in, 699
Pattinak-kūrram, 467, 504
Paṭṭaśālins, (weavers), 594
Paṭṭinam (= a port town), Cōḷa capital, 22
Paṭṭinap-pākkam, one of the two parts of Puhar, 82
Paṭṭinappālai, 22, 33, on early rural life, 65, 71, 75, 80, 82, 218
Paṭṭinavar (fishermen), 555, 556
Paṭṭōlai, 468, 470
Paṭṭuppāṭṭu, 54, 242n
Paura, 505
Pavanandi, author of *Nannūl*, 401
Pedda-Tippasamudram, 248
Pedekallu, (Kurnool dist.), 179, 180
Pegu (Ramanna), 311
Pegu, alleged conquest by Rajendra I, 213, 216
Penang, 218
Pennadam (S. A.), 331
Perak (= ancient Mevilimbangam) 242n
Pērambalam (at Cidambaram), Kul. II, covered it with gold, 349
Pērarayan, 462
Pērāśiriyar, 686
Pēreyil Muruvalār, 51
Pērilamaiyār, 489
Periplus (*Maris Erythraei*), 3, 21, 23, 54, 83; on different types of Indian ships 85; Uraiyur, a great centre of cotton stuffs, 88, 459
Periya-nāṭṭār, 490
Periya-Purānam of Śēkkilār, 12, 51, 53, 105, 106, 635, 655, 667, 674-676, 678, 717, 718, 735, 739
Periya-Vāccān Piḷḷai, 681
Perumbarrap-Puliyur Nambi, author of *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purānam*, 674, 677
Persian Gulf, The, 459
Perumakkal, 502
Perumanadigal, Western Ganga king, 129
Perumanadigalu, title of Kul. I, 330
Perumanambi, 373, see Pallavarayar,
Perumbānappāḍi, the big Bana country, 129
Perumbānārruppaḍai, 83
Perum Tirumā Vaḷavan, who died at Kurāppaḷḷi, 49
Perumarkiḷḷi, of Rājasūyam fame, 48
Perundaram (= nobles), 146, 160, 187, 189; 455, 463
Perundevanar, author of *Bhāratavenbā*, 662
Perundevanar, his commentary on *Vīraśōliyam*, 682, 683
Perundiṇai, abnormal love, 64, 65
Perungaḍai, the Tamil version of the *Bṛhat-kathā*, 665
Perun-guri (Sabha), 502
Perungurimahāsabhai, 502
Peruvaḷudi, Paṇḍya who died at Veḷḷiyambalam, 49
Peru-virar-kiḷḷi, 56n
Peutinger, chart of, 83
Phanrang (= Panduranga - Valaippanduru), 242n.
Philip of Macedon, 183
Piḍarttalai, rendered help to Karikala, 57n.
Piḷḷaiyār, a term applied to junior members of the royal family, 142
Pingalam, an old lexicon. 218
Pipilikesvara, The, temple of Tiruverumbiyur (T. poly), 706
Pirudigangar-Valanadu, 172
Pithapuram grants, 288
Pithapuram inscription of Mallapadeva, 328
Pithapuram Plates of Vīra Cōḍa, 319, 320
Pittan (Siva), 475
Pliny, the elder, 21; on Indo-Roman trade, 84
Podiya mountains, 80
Podiyil, common place, germ of a popular assembly, 70; mountain, 312
Polonnaruva, capital of Ceylon under the Cōḷas, 173, 200, 310; renamed Vijayarajapura, 311, 316, 507
Pon-kalañju, 560; (P. same as Kaḷañju), 561
Pon-māligait-tuñjina-deva, title of Sundara Cōḷa, 156, 187
Ponmukhari, The, 322
Ponnamaravati, fight at, 367
Ponni (Kaveri), 304, 393
Ponparappina-Isvara, image set up at Kugaiyur, 401
Ponparappina Magadesan, 401

Pon-parappinan, a Malaiyaman of Kiliyur, 405
Ponperri, Buddhamitra, chieftain of, 275
Pon-vāriyam (gold-committee), 496
Pōrrippahirodai, a short work of 100 lines, 680
Porulani (arthālankara), 683
Porunar ārruppaḍai, 70, 88, 90
Porvaik-kōpperunar-Killi, 50
Pottappi, king of; killed by Virarajendra, 267
Pottappi, (in the Pullampet Taluq, Cuddapah dist.), 388, 400
Pottappicola, Madhurantaka, the first ruler among the Telugu-Cōḍas, 387
Pottiyar, 45, 46, 70
Pon-kan (Pagan), 317
Poygai (yar), author of *Kalavali*, same as Poygaiāḻvār, 51, 52, 74, 94
Poyyā-moḻi Pulavar 674
Prabhākara school of Mimāmsā, 686
Prabodha-Candrodaya, 239n, 641
Pradhanis, 388
Prajapatya form of Aryan marriage, 65
Prambanam, 709
Prapanna-gayatri, 681
Prayogavivekam, 684
Prithvipati II Hastimalla, 8, 110, 114, 115, 121, 125-29, same as Parthivendra?, 148
Prthivipati, Ganga king, 110, 113
Prthivi Vallabha, a title of Punyakumara, 104
Pritipatiyar, son of Maramaraiyar; (= Prthvipati II, son of Marasimha), 114; see Prthvipati II.
Prola of Anumakonda Kakatiya chief, 329, 386
Ptolemy, 3; on the Cōḷa country, 22-3, 54, 85, Takola, 216
Pūdi Ādicca Piḍāri, wife of Arikula Kesari and daughter of Tennavan Iḷangō Vēḷār, 125
Pudoliyarasa, 430
Puduppakkam, 467
Pugalaccōḷa-Nāyanār, 105
Pugalendi, 673, 684
Pugalvippavaraganḍan, Udayiār Iḷāḍarājar; Vīra-Śōḷar, the son of, 188
Puhar, 22, 30, 31, 36, 78, 79, as described in Sangam literature, the great emporium of the kingdom, 80-82; rows of boats in the port of, P., 86, 95. See Kaveripatnam.
Pulaicceri, 389
Pulaiyas, a low class of people, 88
Pulakesin, Calukyan leader killed at Koppam, 257
Pulakesin II, 105
Pulatthinagara, 200, 250, 271, occupation by Vijayabahu, 310, 315
Puligere, (300), 256
Pullārrūr Eyirriyanār, 46
Pūṇḍūr; described as a Kaḍakamānagar or cantonment city, 253, 254
Punganur, 126
Pūngōyil, Nambi, 664
Punjai, Siva temple at, 704, 721, 735
Pūnjārrūr, 92
Punyakumāra, 36, 103, 104
Puramalai-nadu, 504
Purambadi (outer city), 449, 461
Pura(m)-nānūru, 37, 43, 50, 51, 54, 57-60n, 72, 88, 92, 95-99n.
Purāntaka (= Śiva), 135
Puruṣakāra, a commentary by Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka, 689
Pūrvadeśam (= Pūrvarāṣtra, southern Kosala country), 228, 292
Purvadesam, Gangai, and Kadaram, conquered by Rajendra Cōḷa, 228, 246
Purva-Phalguni, star of Rajadhiraja's nativity, 259
Puravu-vari, 467; (P. Varippottagam) 469, 504
Puravuvari-tinaik-kalam, 467, 469
Puravuaritinaik-kaḷattuk kankāni, 467
Pūrvācāram, 509
Puṣpabodhikas, 722
Puṣpaka, elephant, 264

Qais (or Kish) entrepot of Indian trade, 606
Questions of King Milinda mentions Kola Pattana, 23
Quilon, Ku-lin, 219, 384

Rācamalla, 128
Rāḍha (= Laḍa, part of Bengal) 259
Raichur doab, 197, 198, 224, 272
Raja-droham (in), 427, 480
Rajadhiraja I, (1018-1054); appointed yuvaraja by Rajendra I, 195-197, 221-226, 228, inflicting a studied and barbarous insult on the Calukyas, 224; his reign, 245-260; his Prasastis, 247-248; his Ceylon war, 249-53; second Calukyan war, 254-58; title of Anaimerrunjina, his queens, titles and feudatories, 258-59, 273, 293, performed asvamedha, 451; (his gurudeva), 452, 528, 531, 558, 562, 585, 597, 616, 619, 622, 631
Rajadhiraja II, 351; Pallavarayanpettai Inscription of R., 354-60; date of his accession discussed, 360; his

reign, 365-375; his Prasasti, 365; Pandyan civil war, 365-372; extent of empire, titles and feudatories, 372-73, 375, 376, 464, 473, 490, 556, 616, 622
Rajaditya, Aditya's grandson, 119n, also called Kodandarāma, Parāntaka's eldest son; lost his life in the war with the Rastrakutas, 121; part in resisting the invasion of, Krṣṇa III, 129-134, 141, 144, 649
Rājagambhīra, title of Virarajendra, 272; title of Rajaraja II, 353; Anjukōṭṭaiñaḍālvān, 370
Rājagurus, 452
Rajakesari—measure, 561, 585, 623
Rajakesarivarman, 495, 509, 561, 640
Rājākkal-tambirān, (title of Kul. III), 397.
Rajakunjara, title, 454
Rajamahendra-deva, Rajakesari, acc. before Virarajendra, caused Ahavamalla to turn his back; probably son of Rajendra II, 246, 247; Rajendrasolan, 261; heir-apparent c. 1059; 262, 264, 265, his gifts to Srirangam temple; land revenue assessment in Kollimalai-nadu; his queen Loka Mahadevi, 266
Rajamahendran-tiruvīdi, 268
Rajamārtāṇḍa, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Rajamayan, Western Calukyan general, 270
Rajanarayana, a Sambuvaraya, 353
Rajapura, capital of Bastar, 22 miles N. W. of Jagadalpur, 208
Rajapura, Plates, on Chindaka family, 208
Rajaraja I (985-1014), initiated the practice of engraving on stone an account of the leading events of the reign, 4; Ceylon type coins appear, 11; conquest of Vengi, 100; gloom for four decades before his acc., 121, 127, 140, 142, 147, 148, built a Pallipadai to Arinjaya, 153, 156, 157, 158, 160, reign, 168-193; his acc., star of nativity Satabhisak, his reign a great epoch, 168; Kerala war and war against the Pandyas, 169-70; his southern campaign, 170-1; his invasion of Ceylon, 172-3; conquest of Ganga country, 174; war with the W. Calukyas, 175-178; conquest of Vengi, 179-82; conquest of the Maldives, and Rajendra made yuvaraja, 183; the Tanjore temple, 183-4; his administration and religious policy, 185; titles and family, 186; his officials and feudatories, 187-189; 194, 198, 202, 208, 214; first Cōḷa mission to the Song dynasty, 219; 226, 231, 243n; the real founder of the Cōḷa empire, 245, 285, 313, 318, 321, 325, 353; his Byzantine royalty, 447-448, 449, 450, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 458, 459, 465, 475, 480, 489, 497, 504, 521, 522, 525, 527, 528, 530, 534, 535, 539, 550, 553, 555, 581, 599; (mission to China), 605, 618, 622, 630; (perhaps Nambi Andar Nambi was his contemporary), 637, 639; (state of Saivism), 642; (his toleration), 643, 650, 678, 682, 695, 696, 697, 703, 710, 724, 726, 733, 736
Rajaraja, Eastern Ganga, or Kalinga king, 289, 319, 323, 395, 408
Rajaraja I, Narendra, Eastern Calukya king, 228, 260, 264, 285, 286, 287, 289
Rajaraja II, ula on, 14; 279n; his reign, 351-4; peaceful reign, his Praśastis, his queens, 351; extent of empire; growing weakness of the central govt., 352; his capital, titles, his feudatories, 353; his successor Rajadhiraja, a grandson of Vikrama Cōḷa, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359-60, 372, 373, 376, 386, 406, 490, 595, 686, 717
Rajaraja III, the tribulations and relief of, 5; 7, 391, 407; his acc. and relation to Kul. III., 417; his Prasastis, 417-18; epoch of great political changes in South India, 418; disturbances and conflicts, 418; Pandyan invasion, 421; Kopperunjinga's part in the overthrow of Cōḷa power, 422-23; defeat of the Pandyas by the Hoysalas, 424; disorder and weak government, 426-7; Hoysala influences in Cōḷa country, 428; his feudatories, 429-30; 431, 432, 433, 435, 436, 457, 468, 479, 500, 501, 532, 559, 580, 585, 587, 616, 715
Rajaraja Brahmadhiraja, ruler of Maharajavadi (7000), 260
Rajaraja-Caturvedimangalam (Ennāyiram), 630
Rajarajadeva, Cera, 581
Rajarajadevan alias Adiyamān of Tagaḍūr, 406
Rajarajadevan (alias Ponparappīna Magadesan), 401
Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan alias Kūḍal Ēlīśai - mōgan - mana - vālap-perumāl, alias Vānīlai-kaṇḍa-perumāl, 405
Rajaraja Karkudi-maraya, 370
Rajaraja-mādai, 614, 618

Rajaraja-mādas, gold coins of the Vengi Kingdom, 260
Rajaraja Maharajan alias Senapati Kuravan Ulagalandan, 189
Rajaraja-mummadi Coda, son of Kulottunga I, made Viceroy of Vengi, 288, 304, 319
Rajarajan Kasu, 614; (stone used for weighing, at Tiruvarur), 620
Rajarajapura (Talakad), 327
Rajarajap-perumballi, a Buddhist Vihara at Negapatam built by the King of Kadaram, 318
Rajarajap-peru-nīrāviyōm, 595
Rajarajapura, new name of Mahatittha or Mantota, 173
Rajarajapuram, (Dadapuram), 643
Rājarāja-śōlan-ulā, on Kulottunga II's work in Cidambaram, 348; on the titles of Rajaraja II, 353
Rajaraja-vijayam, 663
Rajarajendra, title of Virarajendra, 274
Rajarajesvara, temple at Mahatittha, 173
Rajarajesvaram, temple built by Rajaraja I, at Tanjore, 8, 158, 173, 175, 183, 184, 382; (of Darasuram), 399, 448, 449, 653-654, 678
Rajarajesvara-natakam, a drama, 663
Rajarattha (Northern part of Ceylon), 173, 200, 310
Rajasimha, Cera King, 203
Rajasimha, Pandya King, his exile at the hands of Parantaka, 121; 122-124, 200
Rajasimha, Pandya, 379
Rājāśraya, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Rajasraya, title of Virarajendra, 274
Rajasraya, place at Tanjore, 460
Rajasraya-Caturvedimangalam, 542
Rajasundari, daughter of the Cola King Rajendra Cola and chief queen of Rajaraja, eastern Ganga-ruler, 289, 322
Rajasvam, 599
Rajavidyadhara Sri Samanta, envoy sent by the King of Kadaram to Kul. I, 318
Rajendra I (1012-44), 15n, 51, 124, 127, 168, 170, as crown prince, his southern campaign, and then Mahadandanayaka of the Vengi and Gangamandalas, 172; 173, his capture of Manyakheta, the Calukyan capital, 176; his Rattapadi invasion in the time of Rajaraja I, 176; made Yuvaraja 1012 A.D., 183; confirmed the grant of Anaimangalam by his father, 185; 186, reign, 194-244; accession of R: extent and organisation of his empire, 194; his Prasastis, 195; Rajadhiraja Yuvaraja, 196; early conquests, 197-8; Ceylon war, 199-200; Kerala war, 201; Cola-Pandya Viceroy at Madura and date of appointment 203; the Calukyan war, 204-5; the Ganges expedition, 206-10; capture of Sakkarakottam, Madurai-mandalam, Namanaikkonam, Pancapalli, Masunidesam, Odda country, Southern Kosala and war against Dandabhukti, 208; Ganges campaign historical, 209; its effects, 210; the Kaduram campaign, 211-20; unity of the above campaign, 214; Sri Vijaya (= Palembang in Sumatra); other identifications, 215-18; intercourse between the Eastern Islands and S. India; embassies from Cola Kings to China, 219-20; remaining years of reign not peaceful, 221; suppression of the rebellions in the South by Rajadhiraja, 222; mildness of Cola Imperialism; Ceylon invasion, 223; war against Calukya Ahavamalla, 224; the closing years, a splendid period, 225; Feudatories, 226; Birudas; his new capital Gangapuri, 227; his queens, 228; note on Mahipala, 229-33; Gangaikondacolapuram, a 19th cent description (1855) 234-35; the Victorious tiger-banner carried far into the north, 245, 247, deportation of Mahinda V, and annexation of Ilamandalam, 249-50; 272, 285, joy at the birth of Prince Kulottunga, 293; 318, 408, 448, 449, 452, 453, 455, 458, 459, 466, 529, 530, 548, 551, 573, 575, 586, 599, 600; (mission to China) 605, 606, 621, 623; endows College at Ennāyiram, 630-631; (perhaps contemporary with Nambi Andar Nambi), 637; 638, 639, 642, 683, 695, 696, 715, 717, 736
Rajendra II (1052-64), 223, 228, crowned himself on the field of Koppam, 246 and 247, 248, 253, 254, 256-59, his reign, 260-266; his Prasastis, 260; his part at Koppam, 261; battle of Mudakkaru same as Kudal Sangam? 262; close of his reign and his feudatories, 265-66; 267, 270, 405, 473, 477, 586
Rajendra II, Calukya-cola Kulottunga I, 245, 265; 285-302, 325, 330
Rajendra III, 400, 407; recognised as heir apparent, 426, 431; his successes, 432-33; alliance with Coda Tikka, 433; Victory over the Vira Raksasas of Uttara Lanka, 434; Kanci not recovered, 435; relations with the Hoysalas, 436; final con-

quest of Cola power by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, 437; end of his reign, 437-38, 468, 616, 619, 715
Rajendra Coda, son of Gonka II, 329; 387
Rajendra-cola Rajakesari, a spurious inscription of, 7, 561, 585
Rajendra-Peruvilai, 539
Rajendrapuram, 653
Rajendrasimha, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Rajendra-sola Brahmamārāyan alias Senapati Sri Kṛṣṇan Raman of Amaṅkuḍi mentioned in the larger Leyden grant, 189
Rajendra-sola Māvali-vāṇarājan, a throne in Gangaikonda-solapuram, 274
Rajendrasolan maḍai, 614
Rajendrasolan (Keralan) alias Nisadarajan, 375
Rajendrasolap-periya-eri of Punganur, 583
Rajendra-solap-perumballi (a Buddhist Vihara built at Negapatam by the King of Kadaram), 318
Rajendra-sola Mavali-vanarayar, an official under Rajadhiraja I, 260
Rajiga, lord of Vengi (Kulottunga I), Somesvara combined with him against Vikramaditya VI, 294; 296, 306, 335n
Rākṣasa, a form of marriage, 64
Ramaghaṭa (= Irāmakudam) Principality round Mt, D'Eli or Mūṣaka hill, 222, 223
Ramagrama, 333
Ramanatha, Hoysala, 436, 687
Ramanathan koyil, 453
Ramanna (desa), the Talaing country of Burma, 213; 216; 311
Ramanuja, 13, his persecution connected with the extinction of the direct line of the Colas, 295, 296, 297, 636, 639 (persecution of), 644-645, 648, 681
Rāmānujabhāsya (provision for expounding), 629, 631, 640
Ramanuja-nūrrandādi, 681-682
Rāmāyana 11, 90, 629, 631, 681; (Kamban's), 670, 671-672; scenes of, 735
Rameśvaram, Kṛṣṇa III's march to 132, 156; 327, 366, 384, 425
Ranabhima-mangalam, 505
Ranastapundi grant of Vimaladitya, 286
Raṇaśūra, Rajendra I's general captured the treasures of, 207-9; 232
Ranganatha, Lord, 106, 266
Ranganatha temple at Srirangam, (its fifth wall, a temple of Rama, etc., built by Vikrama Cola), 345; 638; Tirumangai's part in its construction, 656
Rāṣṭrakūṭas, 10, 100, 113, 114, 120, R. invasion of Cola empire, 131-34; 152, 156, 159, 168, their disappearance about 973 A.D. 175; 178, 198 and no evidence of their rule over Magadha, 229, 447, 467
Rāṣṭrakūṭa (inroad), 600, 641
Rathakāras, 527
Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakh country, captured by Rajaraja, 175 and Rajendra's invasion, 176; the ancestral territory of the W. Calukyas, 178; invasion by Rajendra I, 197, 205, 206; 226, 256, 268, 272. See Irattapadi, Rattapadi, attempt to extend Cōla-empire into R. given up, 301
Rattiga, 172
Ravi-deva, dandanayaka, 433
Ravikulamāṇikya, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Ravitadanakoppa, Narasimha's camp at, 424
Ṛg-veda Bhāṣya of Venkata Madhava, 687
Renadu, Telugu Cōla country, 101; genealogy of R. Colas, 103; 104, 105, 106, 127
Revakā, sister of Kṛṣna III, 128
Rohana, hill country S. E. of Ceylon, 124, Mahinda V, took refuge here, 173; independent of the Tamil Province and ruled by Vikramabahu I, 200, 250, 251, 253, 271; freed by Kitti, 310
Roman coins (finds of), 10, 59
Ṛṣisamudāya of Jina Kanci, 656
Rūdramāheśvaras, 490
Rudranganṇanār, Kadiyalūr, 75, 86
Rum (Byzantium), 460
Rupāvatāra, 630, 686
Ryali plates of Vijayaditya VII, 286, 289, 291

Sabha, 477, 490, 492-493, constitution and working of 494-503, 504, 505; Procedure 506-507, 508-511, 513, 514, 527, 529, 536, 645
Sabhaip-podu, 586
Sabhaivilai, 602
Sabhāvinīyogam (local cesses), 502, 524
Saciva, 465
Śadagopar-andādi; work of Kamban, 672
Śadaiyam, festival, 171
Śadaiyan, Patron of Kamban, 671, 672
Ṣadguruśiṣya (Pupil of six gurus) 687
Sahyadri mountain, 113, 115, 202

Sailendra King, 185; builds Cudamani-Vihara, 219
Saivas, the 640, 643, 644, Saiva Siddhanta Sastras, 679-680
Śaivaparibhāṣā of Jnanasivacarya, 688
Śaiva Siddhānta, 688
Saivism, 4, 12, 452, 453, 635, 636, 637, 639, 641, (state of S. under Rajaraja I), 642, 647; literature of Tamil, S. 677-680
Saiyya mountain, 312
Saka, era, 9
Sakala-bhuvanāśraya, title of Vira-rajendra, 274
Śākkai-kāṇi, 575
Śakkarakkōṭṭam seized by Rajendra I, 207, identified with Cakrakotya, 208; 292, 293
Sakkasenapati, 121, 122
Śaktibhadra, 687
Saktivarman I, Eastern Calukya, 180; war with Coda Bhima; his exile and restoration, 181, 182
Saktivarman II, E. Calukya, 286, 287, 289
Śākyarakṣita of Orissa, 325
Śālābhoga, 570, 571
Śālai, 170, 174, 313, 459
Śāliyanagarattār (tom), 503
Samantas, 143, 226, 368
Samanta Bhoja, 435
Sāmantasena, taken to be the founder of the Sena dynasty, 210
Samantan Adiyaman, 406
Samarakesari title, 454
Sambanar koyil, 371
Sambandar, 52, 185, 636, 637, see Ñāna S.
Samburaja, 434, 435
Sambuvarayas, The, of the Sengeni family, 347, 375, 401, 430
Samudragupta, 104
Samudra Gopayyadandanayaka, 423, 424, 428
Sandayan Tiruvayan, Vaidumba chief, conquered by Parantaka I, 127
Sāndimattīvu, 201, 202
Sandu-vigraham, 472
San-fo-tsi (= Che-li-fo-che, Sri Vijaya), 214, 215, 217, 219, 317
Sangam age, 2, 3, 8, 11, Cola Kings of the Sangam, age 31; 40, 48, 55, 63-99, 100-109; 447, 451, 458, 662, 666, 667, 668
Sangamaraja, 376
Sangappai, Somesvara's queen captured by the Cola Rajendra II, 257
Sangamayya, 224
Sangara, vessels made of single logs bound together, 85
Sangili-Kanadarava, 252
Sangrama Raghava, title of Parantaka I, 122
Sangrama-Vijayottunga-Varman, King of Kadaram, 211; a successor of Maravijayottunga-Varman, 213; 214, 272
Sankara, 633, 647, 662
Sankaran, chieftain of Puduvai, 669
Śankarappāḍiyār, 489
Sankarasolan, 376
Śankarasōlan Ulā, 376
Sankarpa-nirakaraṇam, 680
Sānulu, 490
Saptamatargal, Sri, shrines of, 646
Saptapadi, 90
Śāradātanaya, of *Bhava Prakāśa*, 688
Śāradīya, 688
Sarasvati, image of, 729
Sarasvatiyandādi of Kūttan, 670
Sariradandam (Corporal Punishment), 511
Sarvalokasraya, title of Visnuvardhana-Vijayaditya, 287
Sarvalokasraya (title of Kul I), 330
Sarvalokasraya Sri Visnu Vardhana Maharaja alias Calukya Vijayaditya Vikkiyanna, 203
Sarvānukramaṇī, 687
Śarva Śiva, rāja-guru of Rajendra I, 452; 642
Śaṭhakōpa (alias Nammālvār), 639, 672
Satī, 91-2, 553-554
Satiyaputa, 21
Śātru-bhayankarat-terindavēlam, 451
Satsahasra country, 330
Śātta-gaṇam, 489
Śāttamangalam, 493
Śāttan, author of *Manimēkalai*, 23
Śāttandaiyār, 50
Sattiyavvai, queen of Somesvara captured by the Cola King, 257
Satyāṣāḍha Sūtras, Provision for the study of, 631
Satyasraya, W. Calukya, King, his accession and war with Rajaraja I, 175; the 'slayer of the Tamil'; he rolled back the tide of Cola invasion, 176, 177-8, fight with Rajendra I, 197-8
Satyavacakas, the 595
Śāvā-mūvāp-pērāḍu, 6
Śāvērs, 312, 313
Śēkkilān Ammaiyappan Parantaka-devan alias Karikalasola Pallava-rāyan, 676
Śēkkilār, 12, 51, 53, 106, 349, 474, 475; his account of Adanur, 568-569, 655, 672; his life and work, 674-676, 717, 718
Śēkkilār Nāyanār Purāṇam, by Umāpati Śīvācārya, 674
Sellinagar (now Panaiyur in Tinnevelli dist.), Nambi's birth place, 677

Śembiyan, applied to the king who rescued the dove from the falcon, 20, 31; Ranadhira (Pandya) assumed the title of, 105
Sembiyan Mahadevi (Tj.), 453, 500
Sembiyan-mahadeviyar, queen of Gandaraditya and mother of Uttama Cōḷa, 142, 152; village bearing her name, 160, 169, 187, 453, 641, 643
Śembiyan Tamila-Veḷ, title bestowed on Vikki-Annan, 115
Śembon (red gold), 620
Śemponmāri (Ramnad dist.) battle of, 313
Sena, Senapati of Mahinda IV, 154
Sena dynasty, 210
Senāpatis, 456, 463
Śēndan Divākaram, 685
Śenganān, 52, 53, 55, 72; see Koccenganān.
Śengēni line, 347, 373, 375, 401
Sengundar, 669
Śenjiyar, 347
Senjiyar-kon Korrandai, 673
Sennipperaraiyan, his fight with the Pandya and Ceylon troops at Velur, 123
Seralan (Cera), 381
Sermadevi (Tin.), 455
Seraman Perumal, 106
Seris (= wards) named after the titles of the king and other members of the royal family, 186, 489, 496; gods of, 646
Śeruppāli-yerinda, 49
Śēṭcenni-Nalangiḷḷi, 37
Seunas, The, 419
Sevai-kavalar, (Sekkiḷār), 675
Seven mothers, The, (sapta matargal), 646
Sevur, battle of, Aditya II's part in, 151, 153-4; 404 see Cevur
Shi-lo-lo-cha yin-to-lo-chu-lo, Sri Raja Indra Cōḷa; 2nd mission to China in 1033 A.D., 219, 606
Shiyali (Tj.), 427
Sholingur rock inscription, 125, 145
Sho-po (Java), 219
Siang-fu period, 606
Sibi, Cōḷa legend of the dove, 8, 20, 90
Siddhalingamadam (S.A.), 130
Siddhānta Ratnākara, 399.
Siddhanta Saravali of Trilocana Siva, 642
Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, 623
Siddhi (1000), Sidhout country 104
Sihalas, 311, 314
Silappadikāram, 3, 31, 36, 54, 64, on kulus and āyams, 69, 77, 78, 80, 90, 94, 665, 683, 686
Śilavatī, mother of Kopperunjinga, 402
Simhalas, 169, 249
Simhavisnu, 100, conquers Cola country, 105
Simhaviṣṇu (Renadu Cōḷas), 103
Sinakkan of Araisur, 674
Sindas, used the tiger-crest, 20
Sinda, the eponymous ancestor of the Nagas, 20
Śindāmani, 666-667
Sindavadi (1000), 255, 258
Sindhu-yugmantara desa, identified by Hultzsch with the land between the Krishna and Godavari, 320
Singalantaka, title of Rajaraja I, 183
Singalas, 172
Singalavan, 380
Singan, the king of warlike Kosalai, 263
Singanam, 307, 308
Singana Dandanayaka, 433
Singanan, 263, 307
Sinnamannur Plates, 105, 121, 125
Sippuli nadu, 458
Siraf, 459, 460, 604-605
Śirrānaiccur, 510
Śirriyārrur, 466
Śirudanam, 455, 463, 464
Śrudanattup-perundaram, 463
Śirukōṭṭai, 405
Siriyavelar, Parantakan, his part in Ceylon war, 154
Śirukudi, 40
Śirukulattur, 127
Śitpuli-nādu, 127, 128; conquered by the chief of Kāru-kudi, 178
Sittannavāśal, 736, 737
Sitti, 268
Siva-brahmanas, 427, 489, 507
'Siva Devale'—the Siva temple in Polonnaruwa, 173
Śivadharma, 629, 640
Siva-drohum, 427, 479
Śiva-jnāna-bodha, commentary by Jnanasivacarya of Suryanarkoyil, 688
Sivakama Sundari temple, (Cidambaram), 715
Śivaka-sindāmani, 672
Śiva-Ñana-Bōdam of Arunandi, 679
Śiva-Ñana-Śittiyār, 679
Śivapādaśekhara, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Sivappirakāśam, 680
Sivapuri (Rd.), 375, 503
Siyagangan, Amarabharana, Ganga patron of Pavanandi, 401
Siyyali (Shiyali), princes of Cōḷa descent, 101
Skandaśisya, 111, 696
Smrtis, (influence of), 477, 487
Sola-Gangan, a feudatory of Rajendra III, 438, 574-575

Sola-Kannakucciyan, 261
Sola-Kerala(deva)—(title of Kul. III), 382, 398
Sola-Kerala-maligai, a palace in Gangaikondacolapuram, 274 ,449
Sola-Kerala-mandalam, (Kongu), 398
Sola-kula-madeviyar, queen of Rajendra III, 438
Solakon, a feudatory of Vikrama Cōḷa, 347
Sola-kulavalli-pattinam, (Negapatam) 318
Sola-madevi-Caturvedimangalam, 597
Sola-maligai near Palaiyaru, 449
Solamandalam, 368
Solamuvenda-Velan, 467
Sola-muvenda-Velar Adigarigal, 539
Solan-Nalluruttiran, 50
Śōḷan Śōṟuḍaiyāḷ alias Kāḍavan Mahādevi, Kul. I, queen, 333
Solapuram record, 129, 130
Śōḷiya Kāṣus, 619
Śollani, 684
Somadeva, 306; see Somesvara II.
Somaladevi, Narasimha's queen, 423
Somanatha-Caturvedimangalam, 576
Somasiddhanta (provision for expounding), 629, 640
Somesvara I, Calukya Trailokyamalla Ahavamalla, war with Rajendra I, 224-5, 248; second Calukyan war of Rajadhiraja I, 253-58; Virarajendra's war with S., 267,-70, 272, 287, 290, 393
Somesvara II, elder brother of Vikramaditya VI, his war with Virarajendra, 272-4; Rajiga induced him to combine with him and fight against Vikramaditya VI; loss of the throne, 294, 305, 306, 308
Somesvara III, Viceroy of Vikramaditya VI, at Kollipaka, 197-8
Somesvara, Vira, Hoysala protector of the dynasty of the Pandyas, defeat of Cōḷa Rajendra III, 432-433, 435, 436, 437
Somur, 456
Śōṇāḍu-valangiyaruḷiya, title of Sundara Pāṇḍya, Māṟavarman, 393
Song, dynasty of China, 214; 1st mission to China from Chulien or Cōḷa in 1015 A.D., 219
Sopatma of the Periplus, same as Śopattinam of Tamil literature—identical with Markanam, 22
Sorai nomads, 22-3
Soremati, The battle of, (850 A.D.), 127
Soringae, 22
Sravana Asleṣa, asterism of Virarajendra's birth, 274
Sreni (militia), 457
Sribhoja, wrong form for San-fo-tsi, 215
Sri - bhujagavara - bhuṣana - maharajulu, a title of one of the Chindaka family, 208
Sri-Culamani-Varmadeva, 214
Srikantha of *Brahma mimamsa bhaṣya*, 688
Sri-Kantha (a deity), 646
Srikantha-Caturvedimangalam, Sabha of, 477, 509, 540, 620
Srikantha Sambhu, father of Isvarasiva, 399
Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha, (815-862 A.D.), 105
Sri-muga-vetti, 470
Sri-mukh(g)am, 466, 469, 496
Sri-Mulavasam, in Malabar, centre of Buddhism, 657
Srinatha (Nathamuni), 638
Srinivasanallur (Tri.), 495, 697
Sri Purambiyam battle of, 110, 112, 113, 120
Śrī-Purāṇa of Aḷuḍaiyanambi, 640
Srirangam, 345, 380, 381, 382, 386, 389, 396, 422, 423, 438
Śrirangam Kōyilolugu, on Vikrama Cōḷa's gift to the temple of Ranganatha at Srirangam, 345
Srirangam temple, 639; Tirumangai's part in building it, 656
Srivaisnavas, 489, 639
Sri Vallabha of Ceylon, 369, 370
Srivallabha, Pandya king, his queen's gift to the Tiruvisalur temple, 226; his son killed by Virarajendra, 267, 314
Srivijaya, 211-17; mission to the Chinese govt. of the kings of S., 219, 272, (= Palembang), Kul. I's connection with 316-18, 458
Sri Viṣaya, 185
Śruti-sūkti-mālā by Haradattacarya, 688
Sseu-li-ma-lo-pi (= Sri-Mara-Vijayottunga-Varman), 214
Sthānapati, 490
Sthānattār, 490, 514, 556
Sthānu-Ravi, Cera king, 115
Stri-Rajya, 596
Subhadeva, 53
Subhadrā-Dhananjaya, 688
Subrahmanya, image of, 646
Sucindram, 331, 378
Sudi Plates, the 'spurious', 132
Sugatur (Mys.), 343
Sukhāsanamūrti, image of, 728
Śukranitisāra, on portraits, 724
Śūḷāmani, 662, 682
Sulamani-Padma-Vihara, 460, (Cudamani Varma), 466

Sumati, a disciple of Buddhadatta, 101
Sumatra, trade with Malabar in the hands of the Tamils, 85, 86, 214-5, 217, Tamil inscription of 1088 A.D., 220, 318, 596, 608
Sundara-Cōḷa-Catm. (= Sucindram) 203
Sundara Cōḷa Pandya, Jatavarman, Cōḷa-Pandya Viceroy, 228
Sundara-Cōḷa-Pandya, Udaiyar, 573
Sundara Cōḷa Parantaka II, 141, had title of Madhurantaka, 145; 146-7, made his son Aditya II co-regent soon after his acc.,149; reign 153-58; a domestic tragedy—the assassination of Aditya II, 157; his son was Arumolivarman, alias Rajaraja I, 168, 448, 453, 465, 577
Sundara-Cōḷavinnagar-ātulaśālai—a hospital at Tanjore endowed by Kundavai, 450
Sundaramurti, 51, 53, 106, 185, 405; his dispute with Siva, 474-475, 476, 675, 678
Sundara Pandya, contemporary of Rajadhiraja I, chief of the confederacy to throw off Cōḷa yoke, 222, 225
Sundara Pandya I, Jatavarman (acc. 1251 A.D.), 429, 430, 432, 436, 437
Sundara Pandya, Maravarman, acc. 1216 A.D., carried fire and sword into the Cola country—and performed a vīrabhiṣeka at Ayirattali, 386, 390, 393, 395-397, 398, 400, 419, 421, 425, 432
Sundara Pandya II, Maravarman acc. 1238, 432
Sundari, mother of Madhava, 687
Sungam, its meaning; its abolition by Kul. I, 331, 599
Sungamum Karaiyum Seygira, 472
Sungandavirtta, title of Kul. I, 331
Sung government of China, 605; (S. annals), 606
Sura Nayaka (alias Amarābharana Siyaganga), 401
Śurṟam, the eighteen, 69
Surya, image of, 646, 729
Sūryasiddhanta, 623
Surya Varman I, (1002-1050), the illustrious king of Kambuja, 220
Suttamalli—daughter of Kul. I, 316, 333
Svamidevar (a holy man), 368; (Udaiyar S, the guru of Kul. III), 452
Syria, 460

Ta-Chung period, 606
Tadigaipāḍi, conquered by Rajaraja I, 174; attack on, 175
Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri), 326, 391, 400, 406
Taila II, Ahavamalla, restores the ancient Calukya line; claims victory against the Cola King; his death, 175; 177, 205
Takkanalāḍam, conquest of, 195; 207
Takkayāgapparani of Oṭṭakkūttan, 14, 266, 272, 343, 348, 463, 669
Takkola of the *Milinda-Panha* in the Malay peninsula (= Talaittakkolam), 216
Takkolam (N.A.) temple of, 114; battle of, 130-34; 159, 503
Takola of Ptolemy (= Talaittakkolam = modern Takuapa), 216
Takuapa, Tamil inscription at, 459
Tāla II, 179-80
Tālaccemmai (fineness prescribed by the royal treasury), 529
Tālai, Pandanus, 71, 79
Talaiccangadu (Tj.), 490
Talaikonda, meaning discussed, 143
Talainayar (Tj.), 499
Talakad, 115, 175; captured by the Hoysalas from the Colas, 326, Rajarajapura, 327
Talakadu-gonda, title of Bittiga Visnu-Vardhana, 326
Talaing country of Burma, 213, 216
Talaittakkolam, 216. See Takola, Takkola
Talavakāra Sāma, 630, 633
Talicceris at Tanjore, occupied by hetaerae, 450
Tāmappal-kaṇṇanār, 36
Tambalagama, 311
Tamil civilisation, its high watermark under the Cola empire, 2; 63; influence of Arya ideas on, 89
Tamil-nāvalar-caritai, 672, 684
Tammusiddha(i), son of Erasiddhi, 388, 389, 390, 595
Tamralinga, 217
Tandabutti, 207
Tandal, 494
Tanḍuvān (Collector), 499
Tanjai (Tanjakkur in Maranadu, near Madura), 674
Tanjai, 125; 394, 649
Tanjai-māmani-temple at Tanjore, 450
Tanjai-vāṇan-kōvai, 673, 674, 685
Tanjākkūr; the Tanjai of the *Kovai*, 674
Tanjavur, Patnam, 114; 116, 132, Kūrram 178; not consecrated by Devaram hymnists, 184, 449-450, 461, 537; (T. Peruvali), 594; Tanjore, 2, 8; capture of, by Vijayalaya III; 120; 'taken' by Kṛṣna III, 132; 134, 152, image of Vanavan-mahadevi set up in the temple, 156; 173, the T. tem-

ple was enriched by treasures captured in the war with the Calukyas, 175; inscriptions of the 29th year of Rajaraja I, 183; description of T. temple, 184; decorative sculptures on the walls of T. temple, 185; 187, 188, 189, 230, 275; 345, 398, 400, 430, 448, 450, 453, 556, 558, 638, 642, 642, icons presented to temple of, 646; great temple at, 652-654; description of T. temple, 710-713, 722, 728, Painting in T. temple, 737-742
Tanic-cēvagam of Udaiyar Kodandarama, 451
Taniyūr, 465
Tan-ma-ling, 215, 217
Tapatisamvarana, 688
Tāranāth, the Tibetan historian, 21
Tārkika-Rakṣā, 688
Ta-shi, Arabs, 219
Taṭṭārakkāni (goldsmiths' holding), 575
Tayatonga, title, 454
Tchou-lien (Cola), 317
Teki, plates of Rajaraja Coda-ganga, 288, 291; 319
Telingakulakala, title of Rajaraja I, 186
Telinga Viman of Kulam, 320; (Bhiman), 342; 366
Teḷḷāru (battle of, defeat of Rajaraja III, by Kopperunjinga), 424
Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II, 286, 289
Telugu-codas, The, 3, 36, 102-105, 387-390, 400, 419, 430, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 505, 616
Telugu Vidya, 388
Tembeling (Temiling), 217
Temple, as a religious institution, 641-642; the role of 652-654; origin of 694-695; classification, 697; main features of C. temples, 703-704
Tennavan Āpattudavigal, 455
Tennavan Iḷangōvēlār of the Koḍumbalur line, 125, 155
Tērvanmalaiyan, a chieftain, 48
Tigulas (Tamils), 327
Ti-hua-kia-lo, King of Chulien, 316, 317
Tikka I (alias Gandagopala) Tikkanrpati (alias Tirukkalattideva), 389; 430, 433-434, 435, 436
Tikkana Somayaji, 434, 435
Tillainagar (Cidambaram), 348
Tillaisthanam, 503
Tinais, the five, 64
Tiraimur, 506
Tirappu, 505
Tirimalakke, 366
Tirthamalai, 504
Tiruccāḷai of Māṇikkavāśagar, 638
Tiruccirrambalak-kovai, 667, 686
Tiruccirrambalam-Udaiyan Perumanambi, the elder Pallavurayar, 373
Tiruccurrālai, 189
Tiru-Ñāna-Sambandar, 105. See Sambandar
Tirukkadaiyur (Tj.), 380
Tirukkalar (Tj.), 491
Tirukkalirruppaḍaiyār, 679
Tirukkālattideva (Tikkanrpa of literature), 389
Tirukkaḷukkunram inscription of the 27th year of Rajakesari, 111; 114
Tirukkāmakkōṭṭams, 719
Tirukkannappadēvar Tirumaram, 668
Tirukkarrali-piccan, earliest dated portrait of the Cōḷa period, 725, 726
Tiruk-korra-vāśal, 522
Tirukkattalai, temple at, 701-702
Tirukkovai of Manikkavasagar, 643, 668, 674
Tirukkovalur, 302, 405
Tirukkoyilur, 490
Tiruk-kuḍa-mūkkil (Kumbakonam), 489
Tiruk-kural, 680, 686
Tirumaḍai-vilāgam (temple premises), 532
Tirumalavadi (Tri.), 196, 228, 349; temple of 697
Tirumalai (hill), 406
Tirumalai rock inscription of Rajendra I, 229, 231
Tirumāligaittēvar, 678
Tirumaluvadi (Tri.), 332; see Tirumalavādi.
Tirumandiram of Tirumūlar, 678
Tiru-mandira-ōlai, 322, 427, 468, 499
Tiru-mandira-ōlai-nāyagam 468
Tirumangai Alvar, 35, 51, 52 54, 106-7, 636, 643, 656
Tirumanjana Salai (coronation hall), 318
Tirumanjanattārvēḷam, 449
Tirumānikuli (S.A.), 381, 384, 406, 511
Tirumannivalara, introduction of Rajendra I, 195, 197, 200, 203, 231; cited in the commentary on *Vīrasōliyam*, 683
Tirumāvaḷavan, Perum, 49, 50
Tirumayam, cave temple of, 736, 737
Tirumeykāppār, 450
Tirumugani (royal letter), 467, 469
Tirumukkudal, (inscription of Virarajendra), 468, 472, 557; (Provision for a College and Hospital), 632; a mandapa named after Sembiyan Mahadevi at, built by Rajaraja I, 187
Tirumular—author of *Tirumandiram*, 678
Tirumunaippāḍi (nāḍu), 129

Tirumurai, 678
Tirumurai-kaṇḍa-purāṇam, 675, 678
Tirunageśvaram (Tj.), 153, 489; Sekkilar devoted to the deity of, 675
Tirunamanallur, 267, 274
Tiru-ñāna-sambandar, 678, see Sambandar
Tirunaraiyur, the Sabha of, 491
Tirunarayana-bhatta alias Kavikumuda-candra, author of *Kulottunga-cola-caritai*, 664
Tirunedundāṇḍagam, 640
Tirunāvukkaraśu, 160
Tirunirruc-cōla, (Kul. I's surname), 331; a title of Kul. II, 349
Tiruppadiyam, singing of, 558, 559, 633; (sung by a choir of 50 persons to the accompaniment of musical instruments), 653
Tiruppalaivanam (Chingleput), 388
Tiruppalanam (Tj.), 458, 503
Tiruppārkkadal, 497
Tiruppavitram, supply of, 642
Tirupper, 344
Tiruppugalur, 397
Tiruppurambiyam (Tj.), 348
Tiruttakkadeva, Jain poet author of *Śīvakaśindāmani*, 666
Tiruttiṇḍīśvara, The, temple of Tindivanam (S.A.), 706
Tiruttondar puranam, (Periya purāṇam), 674
Tiruttoṇḍattogai of Sundaramurti, 675, 678
Tiruttōrram-Uḍaiya-mahādeva, brick temple of, built by Paluvettaraiya chieftain, Kaṇḍan Maṟavan, 696
Tiruttōṭṭam-Uḍaiyar, temple in Mēlappaluvūr, 187
Tiruvadi (S.A.), 333, 344
Tiruvadiyār, 502
Tiruvaduturai, medical school at, 632
Tiruvaiya-Isvara, temple of Tiruvallam, 188
Tiruvaiyan Sankaradeva of Ganga descent, built Tiruvaiya Isvara at Tiruvallam, 188
Tiruvalangadu (N.A.), grant or plates 8, 51, 53, 113, 116, 131, 154, 141, 143, 144, 148, 151, 154, 158, 168, 169, 172, 176, 195, 201, 203, 204, the Ganges expedition under Rajendra I, 206; 208-9, 211, 227, 229, 231, 273, 466, 470, 507, 541, 587, 600, 602, 664
Tiruvalanjuli (Tj.), 186, 187
Tiruvāliśvaram (Tin.), 455, 456, icons of 728
Tiruvallam (N.A.) Tiruvaiya Isvara temple built, 188
Tiruvaḷundūr-(nāḍu), 372
Tiruvaḷḷuvar, author of the *Kuṛaḷ* connected with Elela Singa, 29n, 66-7, 71, 76
Tiruvannamalai, 159, 397, 399, 401, 404, 405, 603
Tiruvarangattu Amudanar, disciple of Ramanuja, 681
Tiruvarur, stone monument of the story of the Calf and the Prince, 29n; the *Periyapurāṇam* localises the calf legend here, 57n; 295, 345, 383, 473
Tiru-varuṭ-payan, 680
Tiruvāśagam, The, of Mānikkavāśagar, 678
Tiruvāyk-kēḷvi, 460
Tiruvāymoli, 559, 637, 638
Tiruvayan Srikantha, Vaidumba king, 127
Tiruvembāvai of Mānikkavāśagar, 638
Tiruvendipuram, 5, 397; T. inscription on the Hoysala intervention in the Cola kingdom, 422-424, 428
Tiruveṇkāḍu (Tj.), 142, 267, 427
Tiruvennainallur (S.A.), 402, 474, 475, 476
Tiruverumbur, 477, 509
Tiruvidaimarudūr (Tj.), 357, 380, 506
Tiruvidaimarudil, 456
Tiruvidaiyāṭṭam, 490, 505, 511
Tiruvidaivayil inscription containing a new Devaram hymn, 6, 637
Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam of Perumbarrap-puliyūr Nambi, 674, 677
Tiruvisaippā of Gaṇḍarāḍittar, 188
Tiruvisalur, performance of tulābhāra and hiraṇyagarbha by Rajaraja and his queen, 186; the sculptural representation of a king and queen may be of Rajaraja, 189n; 202, temple, 226
Tiruvorriyur, 127-8, 146, limit of Cola rule under the successors of Parantaka I, 178; 199, 226, 248, 331, 353, 381, 473, 490; Vyakarana school at, 632-633
Tiruvottur (N.A.), 344
Tiruvoundiyār, 679
Tiruvuṇṇāḷigaik-kaṇapperumakkaḷ, 489
Tiru-vuṇṇāḷigai-sabhai, 489
Tisaiyāyirattu-Aiññūṟṟuvar, a Mercantile Corporation of South India, 319
Tittan, 50
Tittu (document), 467, 469
Tolkāppiyam, 64, 93, 462
Toḷudagaiyūr, held by Solakon, sacked by the Hoysalas, 423
Tondaimanad near Kalahasti, place of Aditya's death, 115
Tondamanad, 453
Tondaman-nallur, 423

Tondaimandalam, settlement of agrarian colonies in, by Karikala, 26; Cola conquest of 111; 113, 128-31, 145, 148-9, 151, 267, 404; Kopperunjinga ruler of, 424; 465, 467, 674, 675
Tondaimandalangonda Pallavandar alias Kodavarayar, 404
Tondai-mandala-śatakam, 673
Tondaimān Ilandiraiyan, ruled over Tondai-nāḍ, 36
Tondai-nāḍ, 36, 113
Tondamanallur, 423
Tondar-śirparavuvār, title conferred on Śekkilār, 676
Tondi, 367, 368
Trailokya-mahadeviyar, Perumanadi-queen of Parthivendravarman, 149
Trailokya-mahadevi, queen of Kul. I, 332
Trailokyamalla title of Vikramaditya VI, 273
Trailokyamalladeva, Somesvara I, 255
Trailokyam Udaiyar, title of the queen of Rajadhiraja I, 259
Trailokyasara, a fine ruby presented to Nataraja of Cidambaram, 274
Tranquebar, 19
Tribhuvana-Cakravartin, title of Kul. I, 302, 330
Tribhuvana Cakravartin, Karikalacoladeva, the title of Rajadhiraja II, 372
Tribhuvanacoladeva, title of Kul. III, 398
Tribhuvana-mahadeviyar, 160. See Orattanan Śorabbaiyār
Tribhuvana-Mahadeviyar, queen of Rajendra I, 186, 228
Tribhuvana-madevi (alias Kampamadevi), Kul I's queen, 333
Tribhuvana-mahadeviyar, big bazaar of, at Tanjore, 449
Tribhuvanamalla Mallicoda, Mahamandalesvara of Hemavati, 400-1
Tribhuvanamalla Pandya, 306
Tribhuvanaviradeva, title of Kul III, 382; T. Coladeva, 397; Periya-devar T., 400
Tribhuvanesvara, temple at Tribhuvanam, 381-2, 398; Ramayana reliefs at 399
Tribhuvani (Pondy.), 302, 492, 511; College at, 631
Trichinopoly rock, 105; T. inscription of Maranjadaiyan ib; 198
Trigarta, 347
Trilocana Śivācārya, 210, 642-643
Trilokasundari of the Kalinga royal race and queen of Vijayabahu, 311
Trinetra Pallava, 36
Tripura (the three cities) burnt by Siva, 90
Tripurantaka, icon of, 727
Tripurantakam (Karnul), 323, 430, 432, 437
Tripurasundari, image of, 727
Tripuri, 309
Triśanku, 201
Triśūlam, 331
Tukkarai, father of Nannamarayar, 188
Tulābhāras performed by Parāntaka I, 135; performed by Rajaraja I, at Tiruvisalur, 186, 451-2
Tuṇḍira (Tondaimandalam), 274
Tunga, 265
Tungabhadra, 176; the boundary between the Colas and the Calukyas in the days of Rajaraja, 177, 197-8, 205, 224, 245, 255, 265, 268, 272, 273; 295; 304, 306, 307, 308, 323, 448
Tūngeyil-erinda-toḍittōṭcembiyan, 31
Turaigal (departments), 355
Tuttan, Calukyan leader, 257
Tuvarai (Dvaraka), 350
Tuvarapati-velan alias Kandan Mangalattevar, 375
Tuvarapati-velan (Rajendrasola) alias Kandan Sundarattolan, 375
Tyagapataka, Vikrama Cola's queen, 346
Tyagamavinodan, a title which recalls the surname of Kulottunga III, 672
Tyagavalli, (with title of Puvanamuluḍuḍaiyāl, chief queen in the later years of Kul I), 332
Tyagavalli alias Bhuvanamuluḍuḍaiyāl, queen of Kul. II, 349
Tyāgavārākara, Vikramacōḷa's title, 346
Tyndis, 83

Uccangi, the Pandyas of, 101
Uccangidroog (Uccandi), 455
Uccangidrug (= Musangi?), 204
Udagai, 171, 267-8
Udaipur inscription re: Bhoja of Dhara, 208
Uḍaiyān, 464
Uḍaiyārguḍi record of Rājakesari, 157-8
Uḍankūttam (Council of Officers), 357, 468, 472-73
Udaya IV, Celyonese king, 124, 128
Udayakumara, 86
Udaiyanambi, 726
Udayanankadai (*Perungadai*) by Kongu-vēḷir, 665
Udayendiram, Plates of Prthivipati Hastimalla, 8, 110, 114, 120-1, 125-6, 655
Ugra, his rising, 120
Ugrapperuvaludi, Pandya, 48
Ujjapuri (Ujjini), 368

Ukkal, (N. A.), 189
Ulagaḷanda-Śōḷa, perhaps a title of Rajadhiraja I, 259
Ulagaḷanda-Śōḷa Brahma Mārāyan alias Adhikarigal Parasarayan Vasudeva-Narayanan, 259
Ulaguḍai Mukkōkkilan, queen of Rajaraja II, 351, 352
Ulaguyyavanda-Perumal, Parakesari Tribhuvana Cakravartin, 418
Ulās, the three, 13-4, 116, 171
Ullālai (inner city), 449
Ulvari (disguise), 501
Umai-nangai, mother of Trailokyamahadevi, 333
Umāpati Śiva Ācārya, 637, 674, 676, 677, 680, 688
Umā Prasāda, image of, 709
Umā Sahita, aspect of Śiva, 646
Unmāda Vāsavadattā of Śaktibhadra, 687
Uṇmai-neri-viḷakkam, 680
Uṇmai-viḷakkam of Manavāśagangadandar, 680
Ūn-Podi-Paśunguḍaiyār, a poet, 49
Upanaya, 55
Upasagga (plague), 121
Ur, 247, 477, 491, 492; relation to Sabha, 493; constitution of, 494, 501, 502, 503, 505, 507, 508, 509, 601
Uragam, 489
Uragapura, 102
Uraiyur, capital of the Cōḷas, 19, 22, (= Argaru of the Periplus), (= Orthura regia Sornati of Ptolemy) ib; 30, 36, siege by Nalangilli, 38-40; 45, 49, 50, 53; manram of, 70; a great centre of cotton trade, 88, 95, 100, 102, 104-5, 106, 110, 120, 152
Uraiyūr-nāccciyār, 106
Ūr-āḷvārgaḷ, 494
Ūrandai (Uraiyur), 394
Urangai, 382, 386, 390; (Orangallu Urangai), 391
Uraṭṭayan Sorabbaiyar, 160; see Orattanan.
Uratti, fight at 420
Urom, 494
Ūruḍaiyān, 466
Uruttirangannanār, author of the *Paṭṭinappālai*, 35
Utkṛṣṭa-āyogavas, 549
Uttama Cōḷa Parakesari, immediate predecessor of Rajaraja I, 141; Madhurantaka, 142, 146-52; his part in the murder of Aditya II, 157; installed Arumoli as yuvaraja; his son was Madhurantakan Gandaradittan, 158; his acc.; Cōḷa recovery; his is the earliest Cōḷa coin, 159; his "Madras Museum Plates"; his family, 160; he had the title of Vikrama, 161, 187, 466, 467, 489
Uttama-gandamada, 615
Uttamaśili son of Parantaka I, 134
Uttama-Śōḷan, a title, 261
Uttamaśōḷa-Caturvedi mangalam, 497
Uttamasoḷa-Pallavan, 675
Uttara-lāḍa, Mahīpāla of, 208
Uttara Lanka, Rajendra III's expedition against 434-435
Uttaramantri (ōlai eḻudum), 467
Uttaramerur, Sabha of, 135, 159, 449, 477, 486, 489, 495-6, 506, 509, 514
Uttara Purāṇa of Guṇabhadra, 666
Uttara Rāḍha, 232
Uttiralāḍam, 207
Uvaccar, 507
Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai, The, temple of, (T.P.), 696

Vaccanandi (Vajranandi), of Kalandai, 685
Vaccaṇandi-mālai of Guṇavīra, 685
Vācciya-Mārāyan, 462
Vādibhasimha, author of *Kṣatracūḍāmani*, 666
Vaḍugar, 20, 21
Vāḍugapperuvali (Andhra road), 594
Vaḍugu (Telugus), 382, 386, 390, 455
Vāgbhaṭa, author of *Aṣṭāngahṛdaya*, 632
Vagai-śeydal (settlement operations), 571
Vaidumbas, 120, 125, 127-9, 142, 153, 188, 268, 430
Vaidyanātha, image of, 703
Vaigal, 53
Vaijayanti of Yādava Prakāśa, 688
Vaikhānasas (priestly group of Vaiṣnavas), 489, 523; (V. śāstra), 631
Vaikunṭhaperumal temple at Kanchipuram, 693, 695
Vairamegha-taṭāka of Uttaramerur, 495, 583
Vaiṣnavas, 94
Vaiṣnavas, Sri, 636; (V. hymnology), 638-639, 640, 644, 647, 656, 681
Vaiṣnavism, 4, 13, 636, 637, 638, 645, 655; paucity of Tamil works of V. 681; four V. bronzes, 733-734
Vājasaneya, provision for, 513, 630
Vajra, country, 36
Vākaipparandalai, battle of, Karikala defeated a confederacy of nine minor chieftains, 33
Vakkur (Bahur), 473
Vālādeva, Dandanayaka, 262
Vāḷagiri, 394
Vaḷaippandūru, 211; not possible to identify, 216; Rouffaer identifies it with Panduranga in Campa, 242n.
Vaḷaiyāpati, a mahakavya, 667

Vālaka-Kāmaya, 438
Valanāḍu, 465
Valandanar, Kadava chieftain, 403
Valangai-idangai-mahanmai, 531
Valangai-mahasenai, 538
Valangai, (velaikkarar), 454, 550-552
Valanjiyar, 448, 595, 598
Valavan (= Cōḷa), 19, 44-5
Vaihala of the Tamils, 73
Vallabha (Calukya), 303
Vallabha Sri, 249
Vallabha Vallabha, title of Vijarajendra I, 274
Vallai-andādi, 664
Vallala, fight at, 125
Vallaladeva (Hoysala Ballala II), 400
Vallam, tableland, 18
Vallān (Cālukya), 455
Vallavan Sri, 223, 248-9
Vallavarayar-nadu, 226
Vallavarayar Vandya devar, the husband of Kundavai, the elder sister of Rajaraja I, 186; a feudatory of Rajendra I, 226
Vallaya Dandanayaka, a Pradhani of Hoysala Narasimha, 428
Vallikamam, 369
Valli, dancing girl, 671
Valluru, capital of Maharajavadi 7000 in Cuddapah dist., 260, 390
Valmikesvara at Tiruvarur (gopura
Vāḷperṟa Kaikkōḷar (swordsmen), 454 built by Kul. III), 399
Valuvur (Tanjore), 296
Vāmana, author of *Kāśikā*, 688
Vanadhiraja, Kulottunga's official, 499
Vanagappadi, 504-5
Vanakovaraiyars, 534
Vāna-Kōvaraiyan, Malaiyaman, 405
Vāṇakularāyan, a Kiḻiyur Malaiyaman, 405
Vāṇan, 347
Vāṇan of Tanjai, hero of the *Kovai*, perhaps minister of Maravarman Kulasekhara I, 674
Vanapati, The Dirghasi Inscription of, 289
Vanavan Mahadevi, mother of Rajasimha Pandya, 124
Vanavan-Mahadevi, a princess of the line of Malaiyamans, and queen of Sundara Cōḷa, 156; mother of Rajaraja I, 168
Vanavan-Mahadevi, alias Tribhuvana-Mahadevi, mother of Rajendra I, 186
Vanavan-Mahadeviyar (or Tribhuvana), queen of Rajendra I, 228
Vanavasi, 197 455
Vancivel, 15
Vaṇḍuvāṇjeri, old Vandalnagar, 333
Vangala-desa 207, Govinda Candra of, 208, 209
Vānidāsan, 671
Vāniyan Tūdan, 671
Vāniyar (oil mongers), 532
Vanji, 44, 95, 125; garland of V. flower, 221, 674
Vanniyapparru, 505
Vanniya-Revan, perhaps same as Revarasa, 257
Varadaraja (12th cen.) author of *Tārkika-rakṣā*, 688
Varadaraja-Perumal, shrine at Tiruvakkarai, 643
Varadayap-Pulavar of Kuratti, 664
Varaguna (Perumanar), queen of Bhuti-Vikramakesari, 155
Varaguna (Varman), lord of Pandyas, 110; defeat at Sri Purambiyam; the Muttaraiyars threw in their lot with the Pandyas, 112, 120
Varaha-avatara, panel, 735
Varahamurti, image of, 702
Varanam, 494
Varāṭikai, 254
Vārāvaigal, 509
Varendra, 209
Vari, 468
Varippadu, 522
Varippottagak-kanakku, 467, 468, 469
Varippottagam, 467, 468, 469, 470
Vāriyams, 494-496, 497-498, 502
Vāriyapperumakkal, 495
Vāriyar, 494
Variyiliḍu, 467, 468, 470
Variyur (salt pans at), 593
Vārya, 494
Vāśal-tiraman (door-tax), 532
Vasanta-Pori-Cōḷa-Mahadevi, queen of Punyakumara, 104
Vasiṣṭha (sage), 732
Vasudeva, race of, 596
Vātagiri, 311
Vatapi, 455
Vaṭatīrthanātha, The, temple of Andanallur (T. ply.), 707
Vatika, 621
Vātsyāyana, 87
Vattava 347
Vaṭṭeḻuttu (script), 7, 223
Vātti (teacher), 628
Vayirākaram, 293
Vāykkēlvi, 467, 468
Vedanai (forced labour) 530
Vedanta, its influence on Indian outlook, 446; provision for study of, 513, 629-32.
Vedānta Dēśika (Venkaṭanātha), 688
Vedas, (provision for the study or recitation of), 630-632, 647
Vedavanamudaiyān of Paiyyur, 684
Vedic sacrifices rare in Cōḷa times, 513, 629-32

Vedura II, Velananti Prince, 320
Vēlai, 454
Velaikkāra, a division of troops, their revolt, 315; suppression, 316, 454, 455
Vēlams—the female part of the palace establishment, 380, 449, 450, 456
Vēlanāḍal, 94
Velanandu (chiefs), 343, 352, 386
Velananti, Prince Vedura II, 320; (Rajendra), 329
Vēli, 505, 585
Velik-kāśu, 531
Vēlir, 35; chiefs, 125
Vellai arisi (white rice), 526
Vellaikkuḍi-nākanar, 40
Vellalars rich, and poor, V. 87-8, 473, 478, 672, 675
Vellangumaran, Kerala general of Rajaditya, 129, 134
Vellān-vagai, 531, 571-574
Vellaru, the northern and the southern, 18, 234
Velli-yambalam, Peruvaḷudi, who died at 49
Vellūr, battle of, 122, 123
Velkulattarasar (Calukya king), 307
Vēlpulattarasu, (Calukya king), 307
Vēlūrpālaiyam Plates of Nandi Varman III, 104
Vēmbarrūr, *Ghatikā* of, 633
Vēṇāḍ (South Travancore), 314, 347, 379, 384
Venbāppāṭṭiyal of Guṇavīra, 684
Vendrādivarman, other name for Parthivendra Varman, 141
Vēṇḍu-kōl, 531
Vengai-mandalam, 320, 382, 386
Vengi, 100, 152, 172, 174; Vengi-mandala, Rajaraja I's intercession in, 177; causes of war with Vengi under Rajaraja I, 179; 180-1; Rajaraja's claim of the conquest of; not an integral part of the Cōḷa empire, but perhaps a protectorate, 182, 187; Vengi affairs under Rajendra I, 205; in close alliance with Cōḷas, 207; 224-25, 228, 256, 260; Vengai-nadu, 263, 264-65, 269-70, 287-92, 294, 297; ruled by Kulottunga's sons as Viceroys, 301; its loss and recovery ib.; restored to Vijayāditya, 303, 304, 305, 308; Yaśahkarna's invasion in, 309; Viceroys of, 319-20, 321; Vikramaditya's activity in, 328-30, 342-43, 352, 359, 366, 382, 386, 390
Vengi-mandalesvara, title of Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayaditya, 287
Vengipura-Varesvara, title of Someśvara's feudatory, 225, 256
Venhudāsa, monastery, 102
Venkaṭa-Mādhava, author of *Ṛg Veda bhāṣya*, 687
Venṇai, the place of Meykaṇḍār, 679
Venṇi, battle of, 32
Venṇikkuyattiyār, a poetess, 33
Ver - pahraḍakkaip - peru - viraṛ (nar)k - kiḷḷi, 50
Vessagiri Slab Inscription, 155
Veṭṭi, 529; (V. Kāśu), 574
Veṭṭi-muṭṭai-yāḷ (free labour on specified occasions), 532
Veṭṭippēru, 507
Veṭṭippuḍavai, 532
Vēṭṭuvar, 94
Viccaya, 254
Vicitra-citta (Mahendra Varman), 641
Viḍaiyil adigāri, 468
Viḍēl-viḍugu-kal, 620
Viḍiviḍangan (measure), 623
Viḍukādalagiya Perumāḷ Adigaiman, son of Rajaraja-adigan, 393, 406
Vidvan (learned), 499
Vidyādhra-torana, 211
Viharas, Bauddha, 452
Vijaya, Arjuna, 160
Vijayabāhu I, coronation at Anuradhapura, 173; acc. of V. in 1058, 254, 271; ruler of Ceylon, 309; Kitti assumes the name V., 310; ruler of 'all Ceylon' ib. 311, 314, 315-16
Vijayābhiṣeka, 377, 385, 391
Vijayaditya II Prabhameru, Bana king, 126
Vijayaditya III, Pugaḷvippavar-gaṇḍa, Bana king, 126
Vijayaditya VII, Eastern Calukya Vengi king, restoration to Vengi, 269, 270, 282n, 285-6, in Western Calukya inscrr. I, 224, 258, 287; relation between him and Kulottunga, 289-90, 291 and 297, 303-4, 309, 319
Vijayālaya, 2, 4, his legendary ancestors found in the Udayendiram Plates, 8; 12, 100; rise of 110-13; conquest of Tanjore, 110; his political position, 111; his success meant the weakening of the Muttaraiyar, 112, 445, 448, 449
Vijayalaya Colesvara temple of Narttamalai, 698, 699-700, 704, 719, 734; Paintings of 742.
Vijayalaya line, 2, 4-5, 30, 100, 101; the kings were ardent Saivites, 116, 168, 225, 687
Vijayalayan, a title, 261
Vijayamāmuḍi (great Crown of victory), 382.
Vijayamangalam, shrine built of stone by Ambalavan Paḷuvūrnakkan, 160.

Vijayanagara rulers, 645, 687, 716.
Vijaya - Nandi - Vikrama - Varman, Pallava, 637.
Vijayarājapura, new name of Polonnaruwa, 311.
Vijayarajendra (deva), 247, title assumed by Rajadhiraja I, after sacking Kalyanapura, 255; 259, 562
Vijayarajendra Parakesari, two doubtful inscriptions of V., 247-8.
Vijigīṣu, 331.
Vijñāneśvara, Jurist, 549
Vijñapti, 104
Vikkalan, 262-3, 307; 381.
Vikkamabāhu I (Ceylon), made Rohana independent of the Tamils and ruled over it, 200; 223, Rajadhiraja I took the crown of V. 248; Rohana asserted its independence, 250; 252.
Vikkama Pandu, (1044-47), the only son of Mahalana Kitti, 250-52.
Vikki, afterwards Vikramaditya VI, 224.
Vikkiyanna, son of Prithivipati, figuring in a Ganga inscription, 115, 128.
Vikrama, a title of Uttama Cola, 160
Vikrama Cola, title of Kul. I, 330.
Vikrama Cola, a surname of Rajendra I, 206
Vikrama Cola, Parakesari, Ula on 14; 266, 320, 321, 328-30, fourth son and successor of Kul. I, 332, 333, reign 342-7; Prasastis, 342; Literature under ib.; recovery of Vengi, 343; of Gangavadi ib.; flood and scarcity, 344; gifts at Cidambaram, 344-5; royal tours, 346, titles and queens ib.; feudatories, 347, 349, 354, 357, 365, 366, 375, 403, 435.
Vikrama-Colapperaru, 528
Vikramaditya II, Bana king, 126-7
Vikramaditya Satyaditya, Colamaharajadhiraja, Sri, 104
Vikramaditya III, Vijayabahu, Bana king, friend of Kṛṣna III, 126
Vikramaditya V, acc. 1008 A.D., W. Calukya king, 197, 204
Vikramaditya VI, 198, 224, 255, 264, 266-70, 272-3, his intervention in Cōḷa affairs; proclaimed the ruler of the Dekkan, 294, 295-297; his digvijaya described by Bilhana, 303; fight with Kul. in the north; war with Kul. I, 305-10, 326; his peace with Virarajendra, 304; his activities in Vengi, 328-30, 561
Vikramakesari, Bhuti, of Kodumbalur, 155-6; builder of Muvarkovil at Kodumbalur, 648
Vikramānkadeva Carita, 369, 272, 285, 291, 292, 294, 295, 296
Vikrama Pandya, seeking Cōḷa help, 379, 383, (probably his son was Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara), 385
Vikrama-Pandyan, 248, 250, 251-2
Vikrama Śōḷa Malāḍuḍaiyār, a Cōḷa feudatory, in the hilly tract of South Arcot in the days of Uttama Cōḷa, 161
Vikramasola-marayar, title bestowed by Uttama Cōḷa on Ambalavan Paluvur-nakkan, 160
Vikrama-sola-puram, 332; palace at 353, 398
Vikramasolan-tengu-tiru-vidi, one of the main streets of Cidambaram, 345
Vikramasolan-tirumāḷigai, first prakara of Cidambaram temple, 345
Vikramaśōḷan-ulā, 14, 31, 51, 261, 266, 292, 297, 308, 313, 333-4, 342, 346-7
Viliñam, 170, 171, 313, 455
Viḷinda, 169
Villavan Cera, 221
Villavan Mahadeviyar, Udaiyar-deviyar, queen of Parthivendra Varman, 149
Villigaḷ (bowmen), 454, 456
Vimaladitya (E. Calukya), acc., 181; marriage with Kundava, daughter of Rajaraja I, 182, 187, 285-86
Vimaladitya, the king of Kuluta, 231
Viman, Telinga of Kulam, 320
Viman Kundavaiyar, queen of Arinjaya, 152
Viṇai, 78
Viṇā-Veṃbā, 680
Vinayāditya (Hoysala), 326
Vinaya Viniccaya by Buddhadatta, 101
Vinayaka, the spiritual guru of Perumbarrappuliyur Nambi, 677
Vindanur, 511
Viṇṇandāyan, 92
Virabāhu, Uparāja, 315
Virābhiṣeka of Rajadhiraja I, 255; 377, 385, 386, 394
Vira Campa (son of Vira Coda), 438
Vira Coda, king of the Udayendiram Plates, 438
Vira-Coḍa, title of Parantaka I, 687
Vira Coda, son of Kul. I, Viceroy of Vengi, 319, 320
Vira-Cōḷa, Karikala (= Virarajendra); (and in Calukyan inscriptions Vira); 246, 282
Vira-Cōḷa, title of Virarajendra, 274
Viradhara, Rajaraja II's title, 353
Vira-Ganga (Viṣnu-Vardhana), 327
Vira Kerala, 380, 381, 384
Vira-Keralan, 221
Viraliyar, 75, 76

Vīramādevi, queen of Govindavalla varaiyar, daughter of Parantaka I, 134
Vīra-mādevi, the queen of Rajendra I, who apparently performed sati at the king's death, 228
Vīramē tuṇai (followed by Pugaḷ madu viḷanga), Kul. I's Prasasti, 302
Vira Narasimha, Hoysala, 296, 417, 420
Viranarasingadeva Yadavaraya, 420
Viranarayana - Caturvedimangalam, (Kattumannarkoyil), 346
Viranarayana-Catur, Sri, Sabha of, 157
Viranarayana Kṛṣṇa, 639
Viranarayanapuram, 639
Viranukka-Vijayam, a poem in praise of Vira-Śōḷa-Aṇukkar, 664
Vira Pandya, 'whose head was taken' by Aditya II, 143-4, Parakesari who took the head of 147, 149, 153, 154-5
Vira Pandya, son of Parakrama Pandya of the civil war, 367; set up on the throne of Madura by the Cōḷas, 371, 378, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384
Vira Pandya (13th cent.), Semapillai, a feduatory of, 437-38
(Vira) Pandyan-talai-Konda Parakesari, 140-147
Virapperumal, Sinhalese prince (married Suttamalliyar, daughter of Kul. I), 316
Virarajendra, title of Rajendra I, 227
Virarajendra, Rajakesari 1063-9; Kanyakumari inscription, 8; Buddhamitra lived in his days, 13, 31, 116, 141, his claim of Kadaram conquest, 220, 227-8, 245; victor of Kudal-Sangamam, 246, 253, at Kudal-Sangamam, 262-65; his reign 266-75; his early wars, 267; his biruda—"who saw the back of Ahavamalla three times" ib.; Kudal-Sangamam again and the absence of Somesvara I, 268, Vengi affairs 269; battle of Bezwada, 270; Ceylon war, 271; Kadaram expedition, 271-2; war with Somesvara II, 272; alliance with Vikramaditya VI, 273; his titles, death, 274; Buddhism in his reign, 275; 285, 290, 291-2, made Kulottunga crown-prince, 293-4; 295-6; his Prasastis coupled with that of Kul I; 302; his challenge to the Vallabha (Somesvara I), his war with Vikramaditya, 303; death of 304, 306, 310, 468, 472; Tirumukkudal ins., 632
Virarajendradeva (title of Kul III), 397
Virarajendravarman, title of Rajadhiraja I, 259
Vira Ramanatha, Hoysala, 436, 437, 687
Viraśaiva Vīra Pratāpa Cōḷa Rāja, 438
Viraśalameghan, 249, 251, called king of the Kalingas, 252; 260
Vira-śāsana, 596
Viraśekharakādava, also called Arasanārāyaṇan Āḷappirandān, 404
Vira Sola, the street of, at Tanjore, 449
Vīraśōḷa (Iḷangōveḷār), 553
Viraśōḷa Aṇukkar, 664
Vira-śōḷa-maṇḍalam (Kongu), 391
Virasolar, Udaiyar, Rajaraja I's feudatory, 188
Viraśōliyam, 13, contains a poetic eulogium of Sundara Cola's reign, 157; a Tamil grammar on ultra-sanskritic lines, 275, 525, 668, 683
Vira Somesvara, Hoysala, 424, 425, 428, 429, 432, 433, 434, 436, 437
Virāṭa-dēśa, country round Hangal, 226
Virodaya, title of Rajaraja II, 353
Virudaraja or Vikramaditya, 303
Virudarajabhayankara (title of Kul I), 303, 330
Virundangal (wives,), 358
Viśalur, temples of, 701
Viṣayams, 489
Viṣṇu, 525; (temple at Tirumukkudal), 632, 663; image of 702, 733
Viṣṇu Citta, Commentary on *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 687
Viṣṇuism, 635, see Vaiṣṇavism
Viṣṇukuṇḍins, 103
Viṣṇupurāṇa, 94
Viṣṇuvardhana-deva, Piḷḷaiyār (= Rajaraja I, Eastern Calukya King), 260
Visnuvardhana Maharaja (Kul I), 323, 330
Visnu-vardhana Bittiga, 326; (Vira Ganga), 327, 396, 405
Visnu-vardhana-Vijayaditya, Western Calukya, 224, 258, 287
Vivekatilaka of Uḍāli, 687
Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Codaganga, 289
Vṛtti, 570
Vyāghralānchana, 20
Vyaghra-Pādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam, 131
Vyakarana, Provision for study of, 513, 629-32
Vyakarana-dana-(Vyakhyana) mandapa at Tiruvorriyūr, 632
Vyavahāranirṇaya, a treatise on law, 688

Vyavasthas of local associations, 461, 496, 497, 500, 501, 502

Wairagarh, Kulottunga I's campaigns in, 294
Walawe Ganga, 311
Wassaf, 607
Western Calukyas, 10, 100, 104, revival under Taila II, 175; 176, 177-8, 198, war with the Colas in the days of Rajendra I, 224-5; 245, 267

Yādava king, of Devagiri, his help to Vikramaditya VI, in his war against the Cola, 306
Yadava Bhima alias Uttama Cola Miladudaiyar, a feudatory of Rajendra I, 226
Yādavaprakāśa, 681
Yadavarāyas, The, 348; 430
Yājnavalkyasmrti, 549
Yakkhas, 200
Yāl, 78
*Yāli*s, 734
Yāmunācārya, 681
Yanamadala, 182
Yapparungalak-Kārigai of Amitasagara, 13, 102, 682; 685
Yapparungalam, of Amitasagara, 13, 682
Yasahkarnadeva, Haihaya ruler, in Vengi, 309
Yatirāja-Vaibhavam, 295
Yavanas, 82, Y. Carpenters, 88
Yelusēvira country in N. Coorg, 227
Yuan-chwang, his visit to the Kingdom of Cu-li-ya (= Colas), 102; 104

Zayton, 608; 722

PLATE I

Fig. 1. General view of the Śiva temple, Vijayālayacōḷēśvara on Mēlamalai, from north-west, Nārttāmalai (Pudukkottah State), Tiruchirapalli Dist.

Fig. 2. The main temple, Vijayālayacōḷēśvara on Mēlamalai, from north-west.

PLATE II

FIG. 3. Agastyēśvara temple (Śiva, early Cōḷa) from north-west, Panangudi, (Pudukkottah State) Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 4. Śiva temple, early Cōḷa style, Ēnādi (Pudukkottah State), Tiruchirapalli Dist.

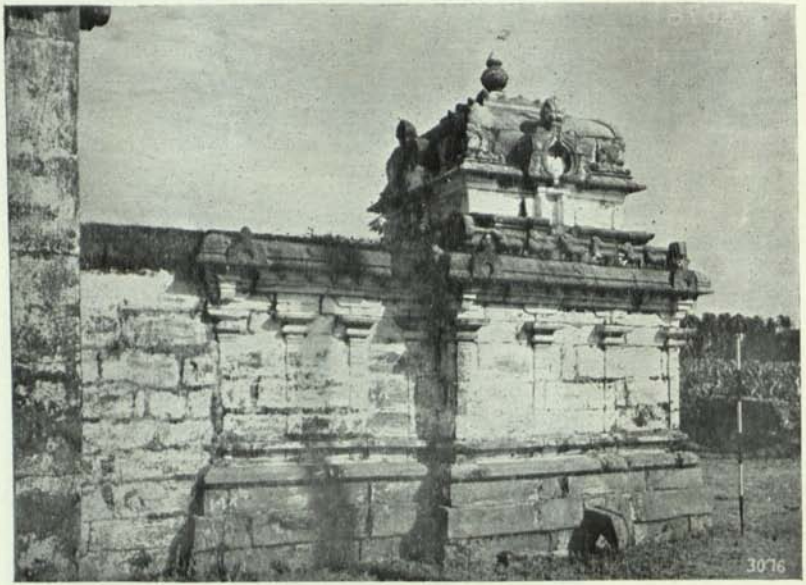


FIG. 5. Śiva temple — Vimāna (early Cōḷa) from north-east Koṛkai, Tirunelveli Dist.

FIG. 6. Nāgēśvara temple, Kumbakonam.

FIG. 7. Mūvarkōvil, No. 1, south view, in Koḍumbāḷūr, (Pudukkottah State), Tiruchirapalli Dist.

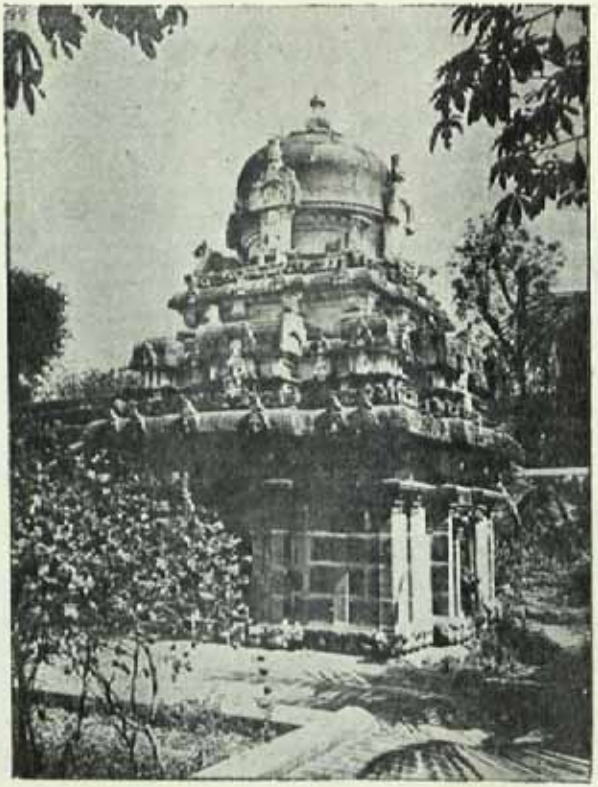
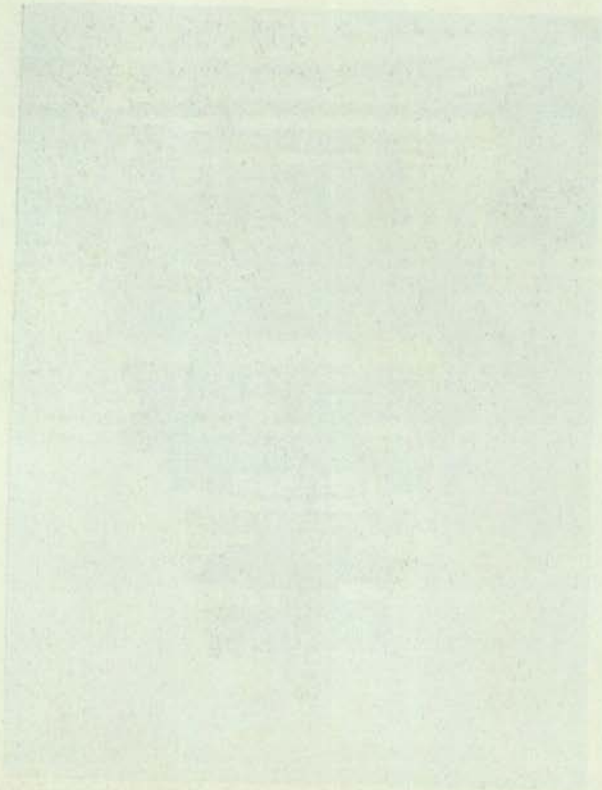


FIG. 8. View of the Agastyēśvara shrine at Mēlappaḷuvūr, Tiruchirapalli Dist.



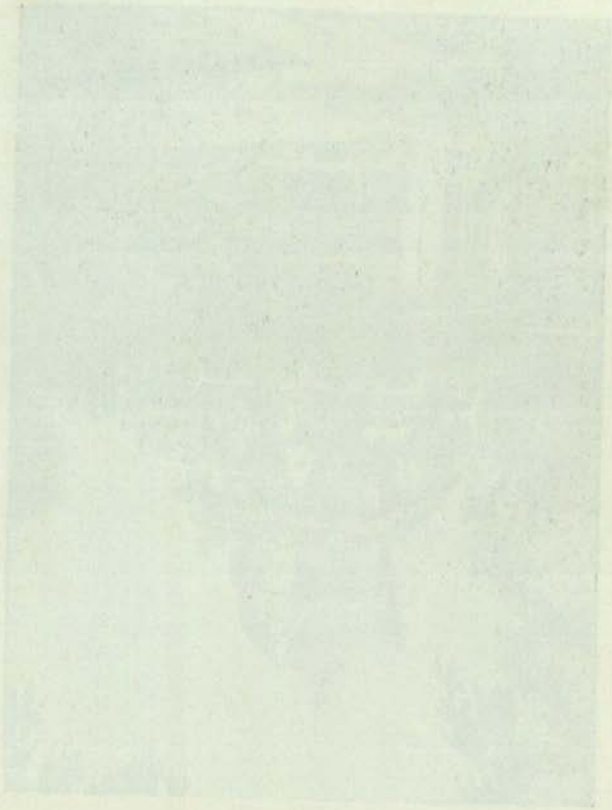


FIG. 9. Agastyēśvara temple—Lion Pillars, at Mēlappaḻuvūr (Tiruchirapalli Dist.)

FIG. 10. Koranganātha temple, from south-west, Śrīnivāsanallur, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

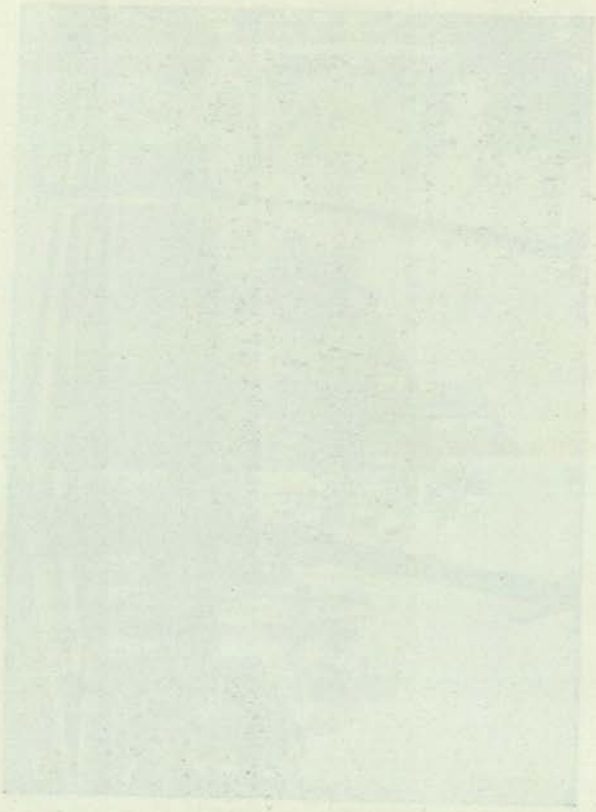


FIG. 11. Bṛhadīśvara temple, general view, from South-east, Tanjore, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 12. Bṛhadīśvara temple — Vimāna from North-west, Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

PLATE VII

Fig. 13. Bṛhadīśvara temple, north doorway with Dvārapālakas on the main shrine, Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

Fig. 14. Laddigam, entrance *gōpura*.

PLATE VIII

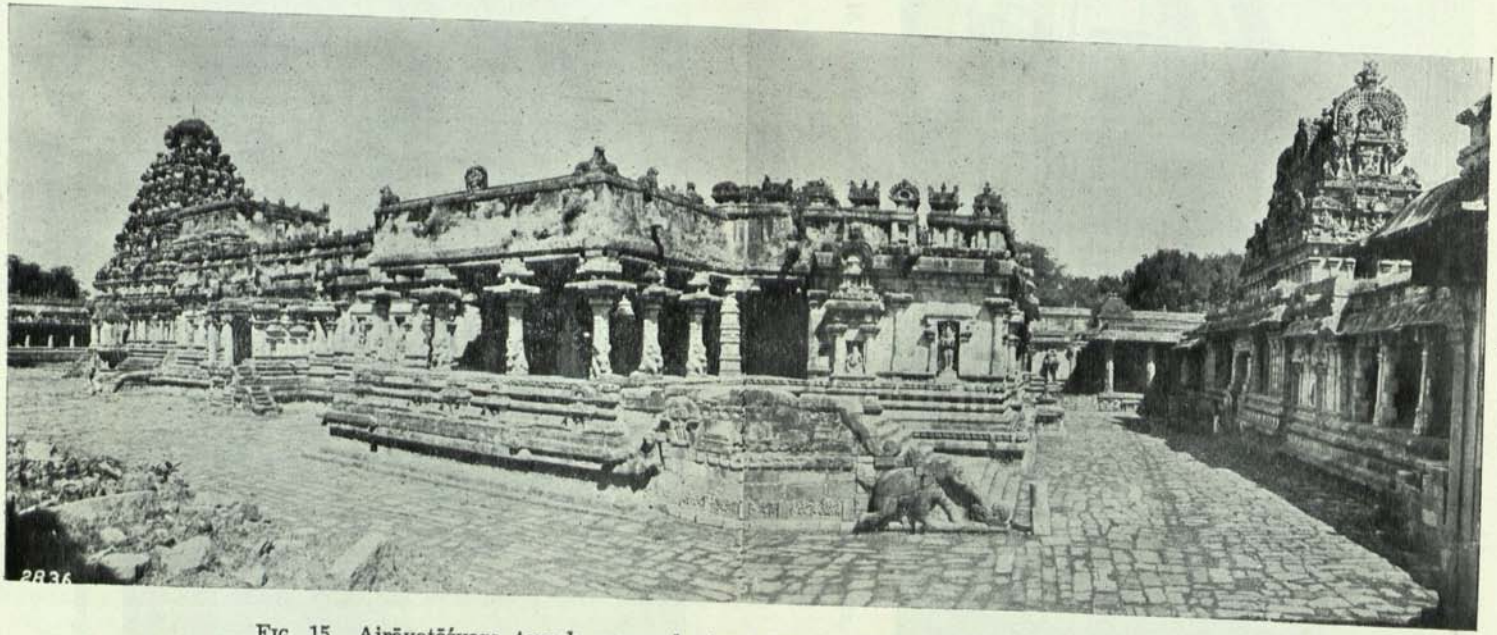


FIG. 15. Airāvatēśvara temple, general view, from south-east, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

Fig. 16. North-east view of Airāvatēśvara temple, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

Fig. 17. South-west view of Alankāra maṇḍapa in Airāvatēśvara temple, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 18. South-east view of Devanāyaki Amman shrine, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 19. North-west view of the Svāmi shrine, Tribhuvanam, Tanjore Dist.

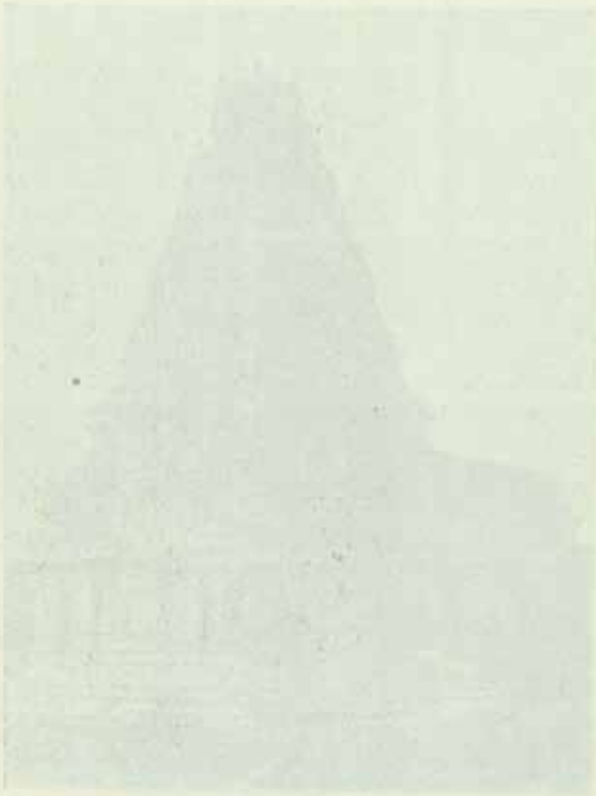


Fig. 20. (A) Basement frieze of the Ta-hsiung-pao tieu hall, Chuan Chow (Zayton)

Fig. 20. (B) Elephant worshipping a Śiva-liṅga.

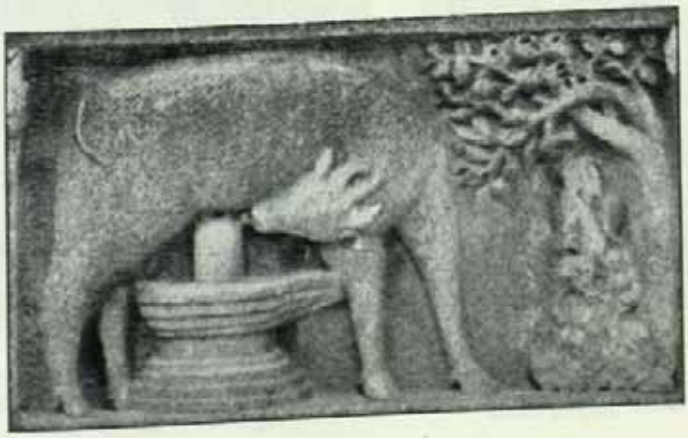


Fig. 20. (C) Cow worshipping a Śiva-liṅga.

FIG. 21. Koranganātha temple — A panel of male figure in the niche on the south, Śrīnivāsanallur, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 22. Koranganātha temple — A panel of female figure in the niche on the west side.

FIG. 23. Koranganātha temple— A panel of female figure in the niche on the western side.

FIG. 24. Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple, sculpture of a woman, Kumbakonam, Tanjore Dist.

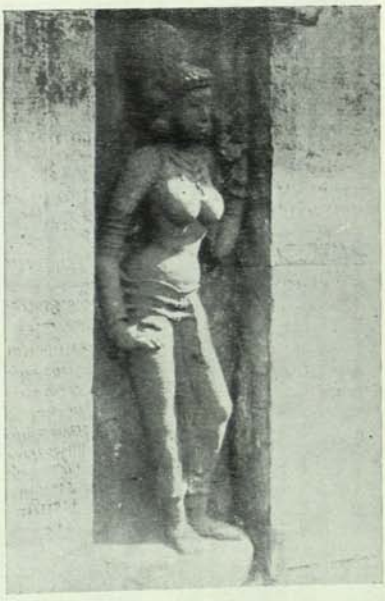


FIG. 25. Another woman, *ibid.*

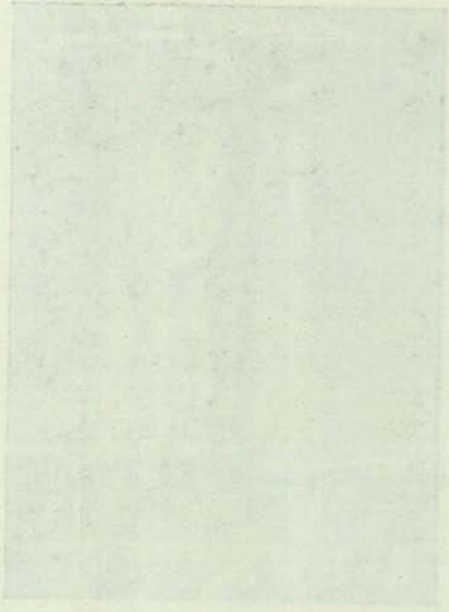
FIG. 26. Nāgeśvarasvāmi temple, sculpture of a woman, Kumbakonam, Tanjore Dist

FIG. 27. Nāgeśvarasvāmi temple, sculpture of a woman, Kumbakonam, Tanjore Dist.

Fig. 31. Lakṣmī (?)

Fig. 32. Cōḷamādēvī, Kāḷahasti.

Fig. 33. Kulōttunga III. (?)
Kāḷahasti.



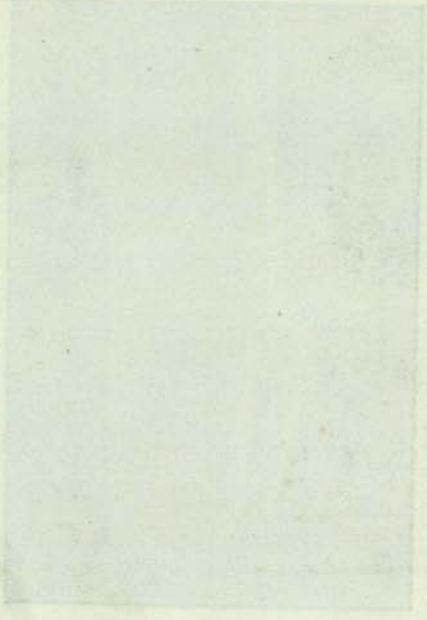


Fig. 37. Pudukkottah State, Tirukkaṭṭaḷai, Tirumēninātḥasvāmin temple — Image of Dakṣināmūrti (?) (standing) in a niche on the south wall of the central shrine.

Fig. 38. Viṇādhara Dakṣināmūrti, Mūvarkōvil, Koḍumbāḷūr, (Pudukkottah), Tiruchirapalli Dist.

Fig. 39. Tripurāntaka, Koḍumbāḷūr, Pudukkottah.

Fig. 40. Tripurasundarī, Koḍumbāḷūr, Pudukkottah.

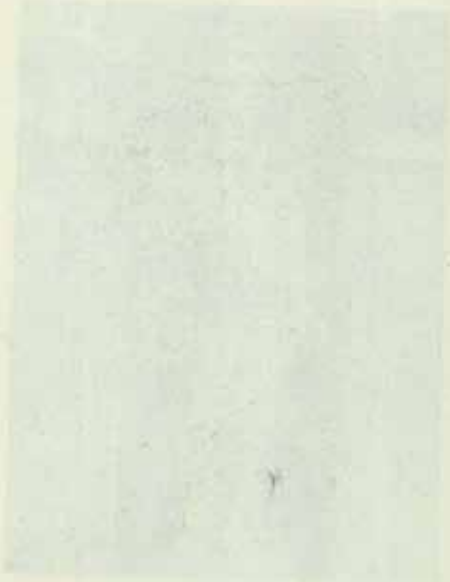


FIG. 41. Koḍumbāḷūr temple, No. 2—Image of Ardhanārī, (Pudukkottah State, Tiruchirapalli Dist.)

FIG. 42. Ardhanārī, Nāgēśvara, Kumbakonam.

FIG. 43. Brahmā, Nāgēśvara, Kumbakonam.

FIG. 44. Koranganātha temple—A panel of Śiva in the niche on the south, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 45. Koranganātha temple — A panel of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the niche on the south, Śrīnivāsanallūr. Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 50. Sculpture of Gajahāmūrti, Vāliśvara temple, Tiruvāliśvaram, Tirunelveli Dist.

FIG. 48. Sculpture of Naṭarāja on the south side of Vimāna, Vāliśvara temple, Tiruvāliśvaram, Tirunelveli Dist.

FIG. 53. Bhikṣāṭana, Nāgēśvara (Kumbakonam)

PLATE XX

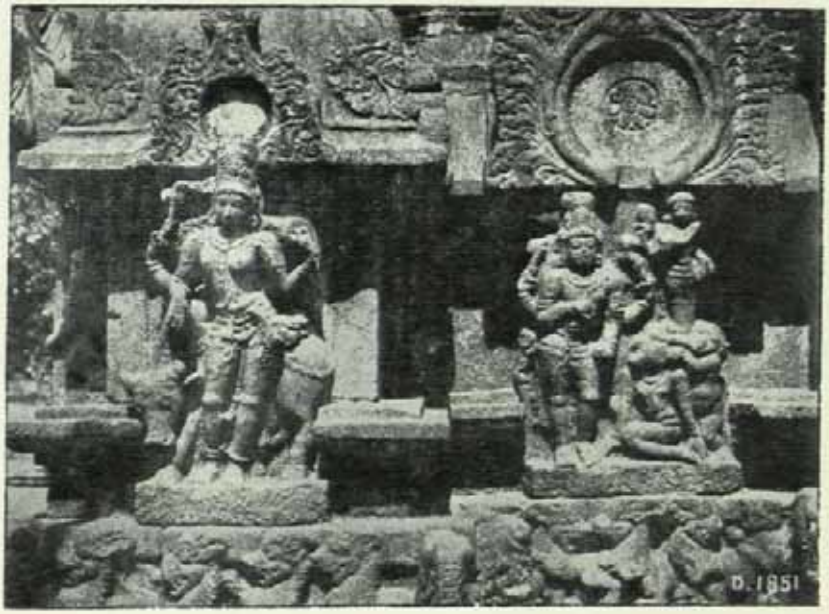


FIG. 46. Sculpture of Ardhanārī, Vāliśvara temple, Tiruvāliśvaram, Tirunelveli Dist.

FIG. 47. Sculpture of Gangādhara and Vṛṣabhāntika Vāliśvara temple, Tiruvāliśvaram, Tirunelveli Dist.

Fig. 49. Sculpture on the west side of Vimāna, Vāliśvara temple, Tirunelveli Dist.

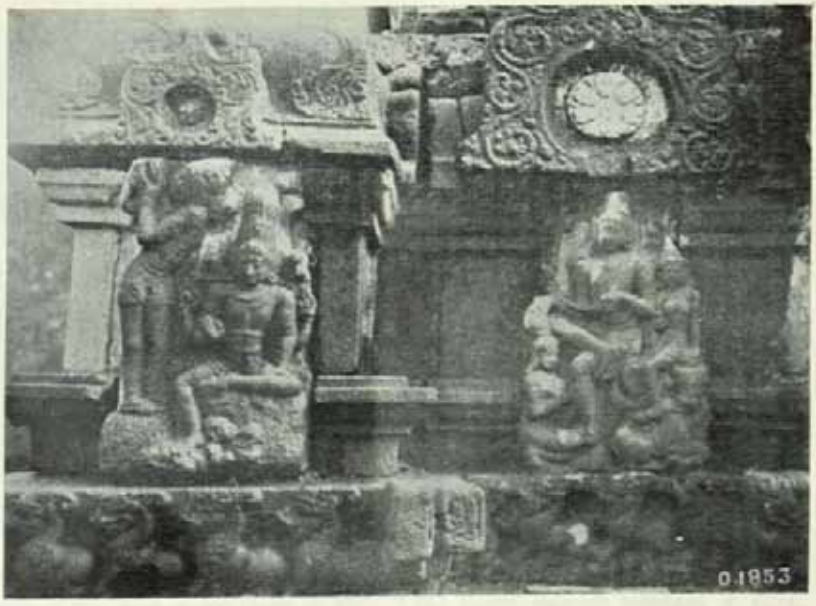


Fig. 51. Sculpture of Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti and Śiva, Vāliśvara temple, Tiruvāliśvaram, Tirunelveli Dist.

FIG. 52. Image of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in Angāḷamman temple, Kāvēripākkam, North Arcot Dist.

FIG. 55. Naṭarāja — Image on south side of sanctum tower, Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 56. Bṛhadiśvara temple — A panel of Harihara in the niche on the south side of Vimāna, Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 57. Caṇḍēśānugrahamūrti on the north side of sanctum of Śiva temple, Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, Tiruchirapalli Dist.

FIG. 58. Bṛhadīśvara temple — Kāmāntaka in a niche on north wall of main shrine, Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram.

FIG. 61. Sculpture of Kankālamūrti in Airāvatēśvara temple, Dārāśuram. Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 62. Sculpture of Gajahāmūrti on the north side of sanctum in Airāvatēśvara temple, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

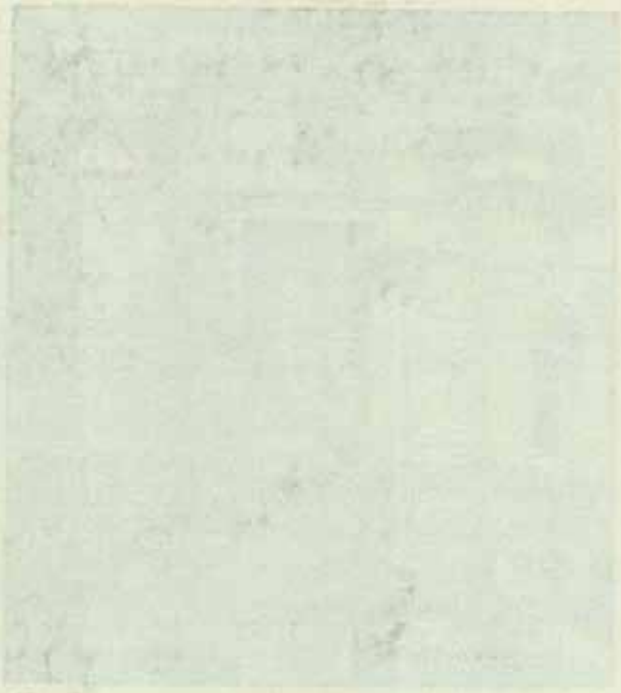


Fig. 63. Bṛhadīśvara temple, metallic image of Naṭarāja at Tanjore.

Fig. 64. Naṭarāja, Velāṅganṇi (Tanjore).

Fig. 65. Naṭarāja, Tiruvālangāḍu (Chittoor)

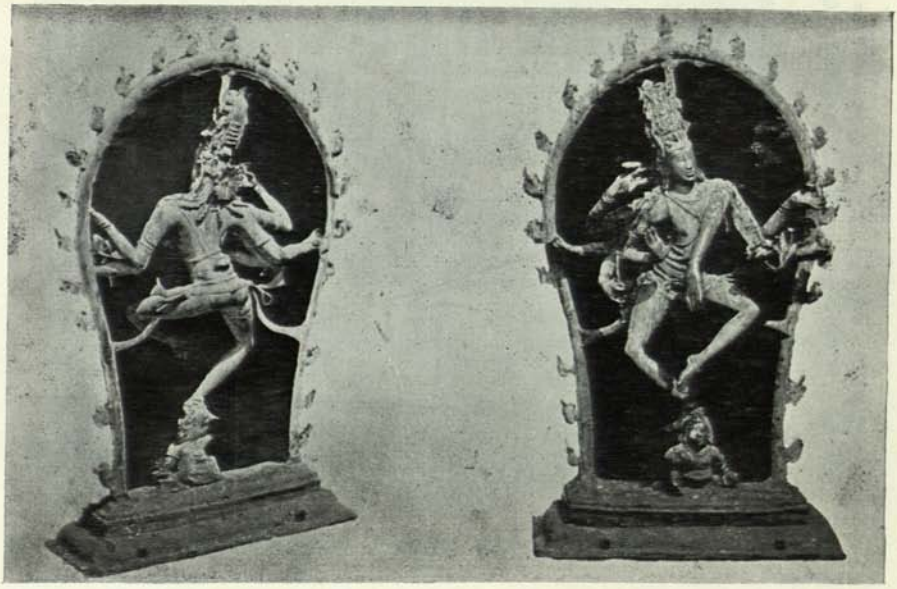


FIG. 66. Image of Naṭarāja with eight hands, front and back view, Nallūr, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 67. Śiva temple — Metallic image of Naṭarāja (Sandhyā-Tāṇḍavamūrti), Tiruvarangulam, Pudukkottah State.

Fig. 68. Bronze—Image of Śiva as Vṛṣabhāntika with Umā, front view, (Treasure trove) Tiruveṇkāḍu, (Shiyali Taluk), Tanjore Dist.

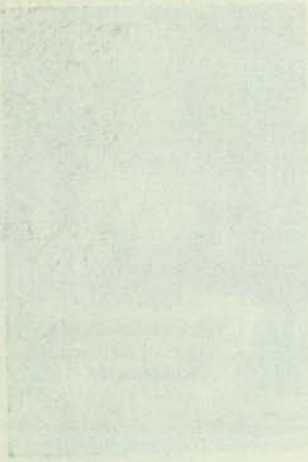
Fig. 69. Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷēśvara temple — Metallic image of Śiva (Vṛṣabhāntika).

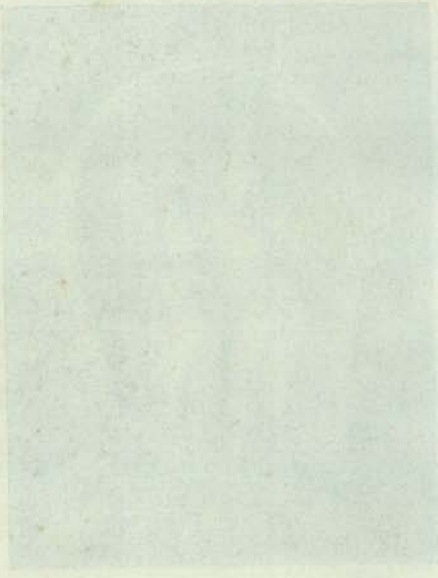
FIG. 70. Sukhāsanamūrti (late), Pudukkottah museum.

FIG. 71. Bronze statue of Kirātamūrti — Tiruvēṭkaḷam near Cidambaram.

FIG. 72. Metallic image of Kirātārjunamūrti, Radhanarasimhapuram, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 73. Metallic image of Ālinganamūrti at Tiruvāḍuturai, Tanjore Dist.





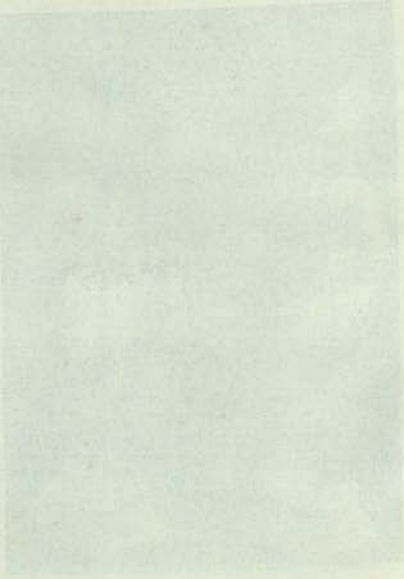


FIG. 74. Metallic image of Bhikṣāṭanamūrti (Pichchāṇḍār) in the Śiva temple at Tirunāmanallūr.

FIG. 75. Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple—Metallic image of Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, (late), Tirucceṅgōd, Salem Dist.

FIG. 76. Subrahmaṇya temple—Metallic image of Skanda with four arms (Tiruviḍaikaḷi), Tanjore Dist.

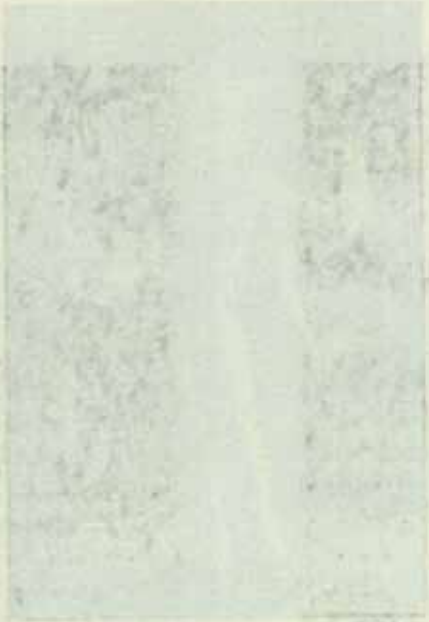


PLATE XXX

FIG. 77. Viṣṇu.

FIG. 78. Viṣṇu.

FIG. 79. Lakṣmī (?)

FIG. 80. Lakṣmī

FIG. 81. Viṣṇu temple, metallic images of Rāma Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, Tirukkaḍaiyūr, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 82. Bronze image of Śiva as Kalyāṇasundara — Pārvatī being presented to Śiva in wedlock by Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu, (Treasure trove) Tiruvenkāḍu, (Shiyali Taluk), Tanjore Dist.

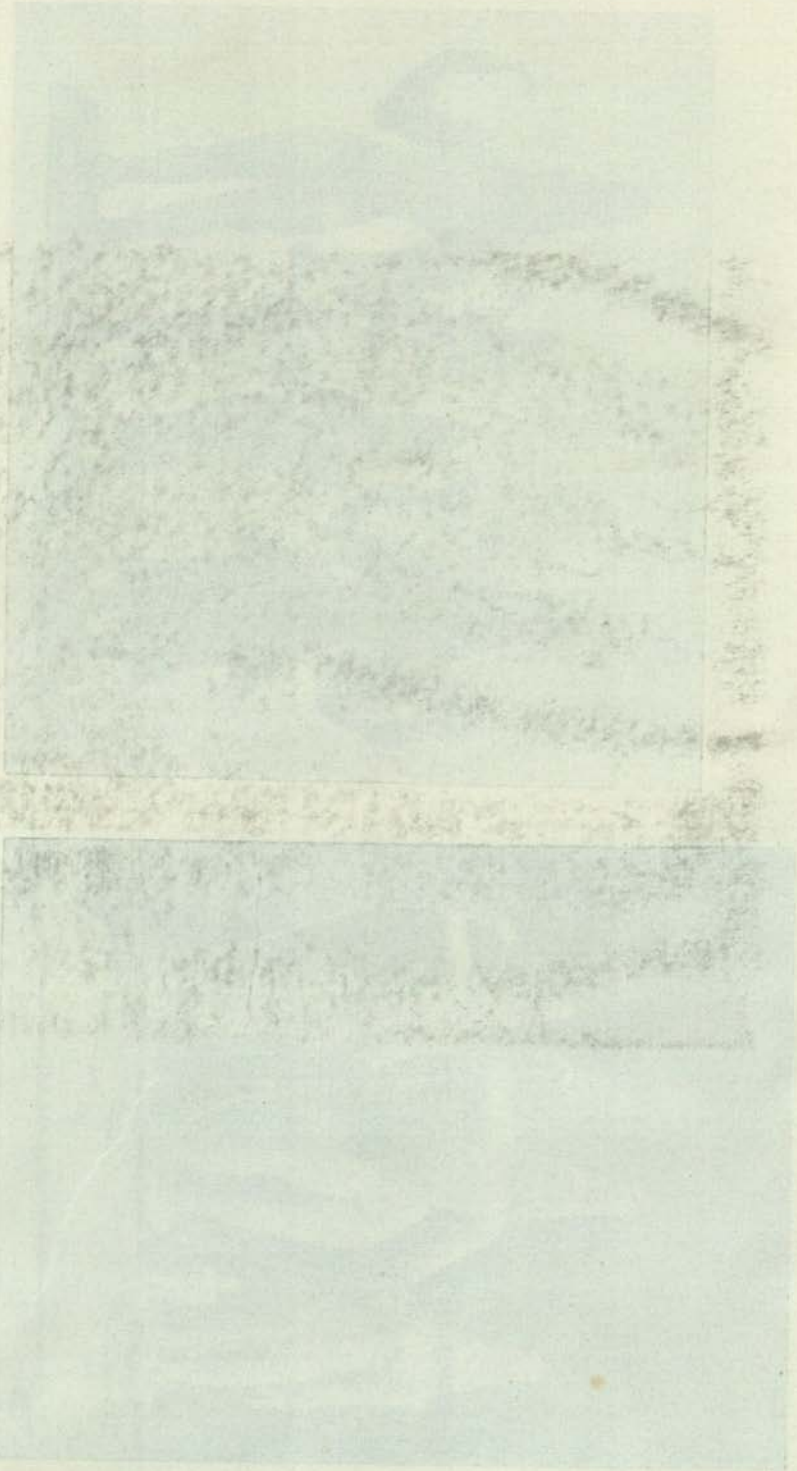


PLATE XXXII

Fig. 83. Seal on Karandai plates.

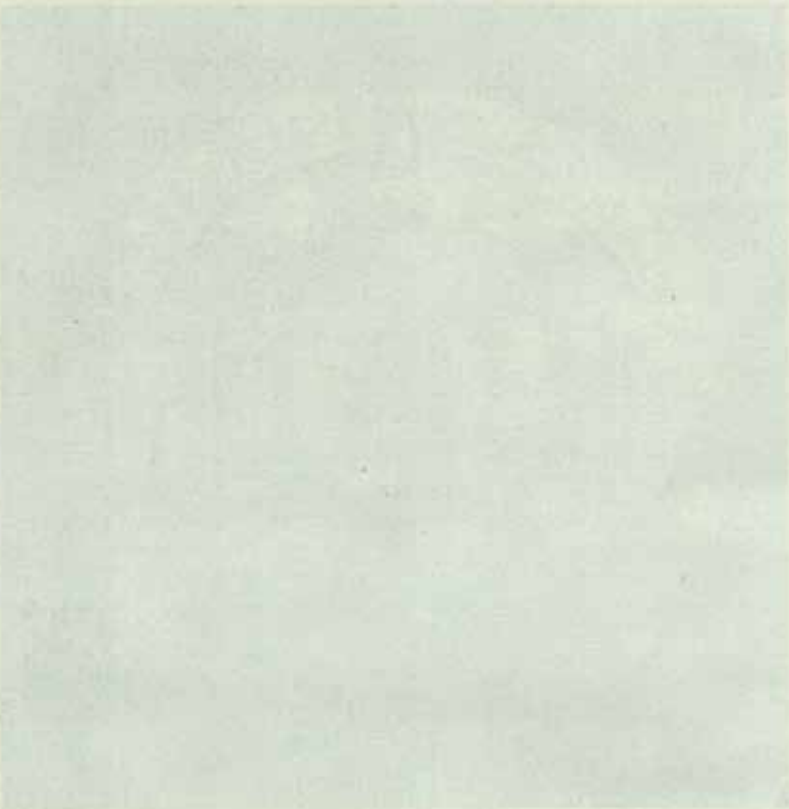


FIG. 84. Dvārapālaka, Vijayālaya-cōḷēśvara, Nārttāmalai.

FIG. 87. Detail of sculptured elephant and lion fighting in the open court, Airāvatēśvara temple, Dārāśuram, Tanjore Dist.

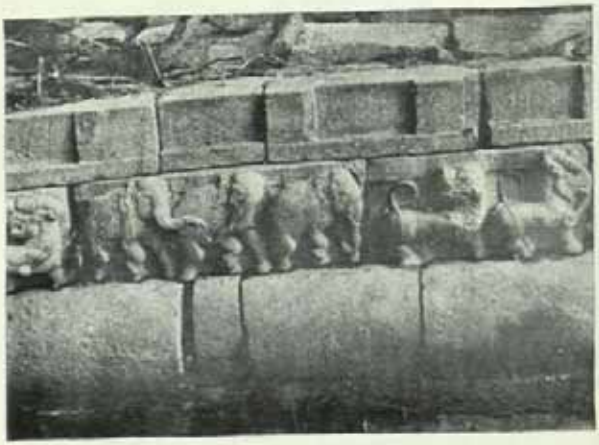


FIG. 86. Nārttāmalai — platform before Śamaṇakuḍagu.

FIG. 85. Female door-keeper Kampaharēśvara temple Tribhuvanam, Tanjore Dist.

FIG. 88. Balustrade, Tribhuvanam

FIG. 92. Nāgēśvara, Agni presenting *pāyasa* to Daśaratha.

FIG. 93. Nāgēśvara, Daśaratha distributing *pāyasa* among queens.

FIG. 94. Nāgēśvara, Birth of Rāma.

FIG. 89. Tribhuvanam — Ornamental niche, north basement of Vimāna.

FIG. 90. Tribhuvanam — Ornamental niche, south wall mahāmaṇḍapa basement.

FIG. 91. Tribhuvanam — Another ornamental niche.

FIG. 99. Puñjai, Kṛṣṇa and Pūtanā.

FIG. 95. Nāgēśvara, Rāma's fight with Tāṭakā.

FIG. 96. Nāgēśvara, Hanumān before Rāvaṇa.

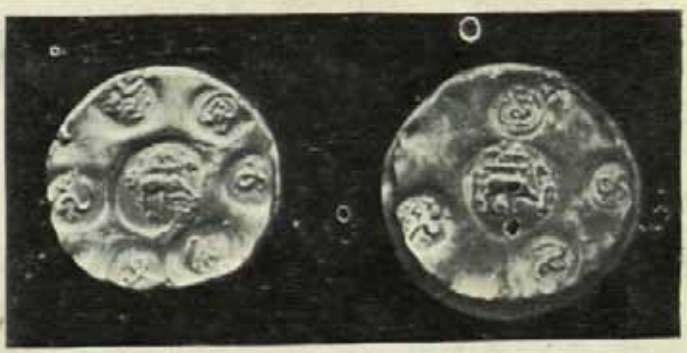
FIG. 97. Tribhuvanam, Rāvaṇa, Śītā, Jaṭāyu.

FIG. 98. Puñjai, Varāha panel.

PLATE XXXVII — COINS

1 2

3 4



5 6

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